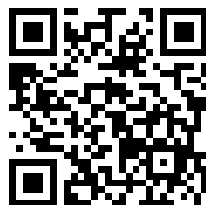
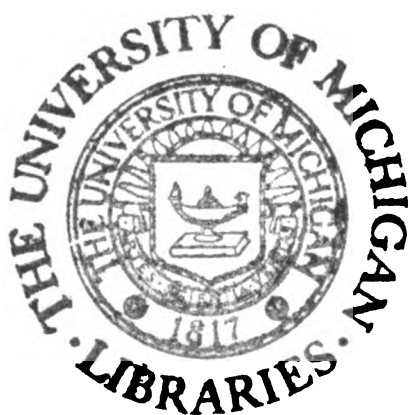

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STUDIA PATRISTICA

VOL. XV

Papers presented to the Seventh International Conference
on Patristic Studies
held in Oxford 1975

Part I

Inaugural Lecture, Editiones, Critica,
Biblica, Historica, Theologica, Philosophica, Liturgica

Edited by

ELIZABETH A. LIVINGSTONE



AKADEMIE-VERLAG · BERLIN

1984

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AKADEMIE · VERLAG · BERLIN

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Foreword

The Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies met in Oxford from 8 to 13 September 1975 under the direction of the Rev. Dr. M. F. Wiles, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and the Rev. Dr. G. C. Stead, then Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. *Studia Patristica* XV–XVI contain the majority of the papers delivered at this Conference. It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who presented papers, and especially those who allowed their papers to be included in the Proceedings; it is on those who participate that the value of these gatherings mainly depends. The Conference could not have taken place, however, without the guidance of Professors Wiles and Stead and thanks are due to them for their counsel and help at every stage in the planning of the Conference and also in the production of these volumes. I must also thank Dr. S. P. Brock, the late Mr. C. W. Macleod, and the Rev. Prof. H. F. D. Sparks for advice on various matters, and Dr. Kurt Treu and Dr. Ursula Treu of the Berlin Academy for their skill and patience in the face of many difficulties.

15 St. Giles,
Oxford.

E. A. LIVINGSTONE

16 September 1983

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I. INAUGURAL LECTURE

Henry CHADWICK

Priscillian of Avila

Occult and charisma in the ancient Church

HENRY CHADWICK, Oxford

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Colleagues and friends:

When the late Dr. Leslie Cross, of blessed memory, first brought to Oxford in 1951 a large assembly of patristic scholars from many countries, he can hardly have foreseen that the acorn he had planted would become so robust an oak. He was taken from us in 1968, and since the last Patristic Conference Dr. T. M. Parker's brilliant portrait of this reticent but decisive scholar has appeared in volume 55 of the Proceedings of the British Academy. We owe a debt of gratitude to his secretary, assistant, and literary executor Miss Elizabeth Livingstone, for an equal decisiveness in continuing the organisation of these conferences. It is a happy coincidence that we meet in the centenary year of the Abbé Migne. We who have the good fortune to live and work in Oxford count it a notable privilege to be hosts to this large and distinguished assembly. And by your presence, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you are a living sign of the high significance that the University attaches both to this meeting and to the subject of our studies.

In 1975 it is impossible for us to come together without being painfully aware that our studies stand in a critical situation. Our profession as patristic scholars is to seek to understand the formative period in the making of the Christian tradition that has shaped so much of the mind of Europe and without which even our modern world is largely unintelligible. Yet we live in a world where it is becoming rarer and harder to understand the past, where less Greek and Latin are being taught in our schools, where inflation threatens to destroy academic publishing of texts and monographs at prices that scholars can afford, and where academic specialisation may even be reducing the number of scholars possessing the variety and range of interests without which the best patristic work is hard to do. We are a scientific conference, committed to the rigorous use of historical method in our endeavours to understand the Christian take-over of the ancient world. But we meet for more than the elucidation of variant readings in ancient texts or for remote minutiae of late antiquity. We have the almost unique luck to pursue a subject where the student is continually amazed by the continuity of Christian history. Like Abel in the epistle to the Hebrews, the Fathers of the Church are dead, but still speak to us in accents that seem fully contemporary.

Priscillian of Avila is a striking illustration of the way in which a distant and obscure figure, when patiently read in the context of his time, can suddenly come alive and be seen to be raising questions of permanent importance for the church historian. He is also an important witness to the vitality of the fourth century church in the Iberian peninsula, and certainly one of the most fascinating figures of ancient Spanish history. During the seventies of the fourth century while still a layman, of high education and senatorial standing, he began a movement of ascetic discipline and inward renewal. He asked his fellow Christians to take their baptismal renunciation seriously: 'None can be Christ's disciple if he loves anyone more than God.' He called Spanish Christians to supplement the normal Sunday worship of the church by coming aside for nocturnal Bible study and prayer and for special retreats apparently at country villas away in the hills. Before a great festival like the Epiphany on 6 January, they ought to retire to three weeks of quiet and spiritual study; and similarly before Easter. If a three-week withdrawal before Epiphany meant absence from the festival of the nativity on December 25th, which may have been beginning to penetrate Spain at this time, the Priscillianist reply was that the feast of the Nativity should be spent in solitude and fasting: indeed, when the Lord was born at Bethlehem, Joseph (as a man of proper feeling) would certainly have left Mary in solitude while she was in labour.

Where Priscillian's estate was and where his activity began is unknown. But controversy began to emerge when his ideas affected the churches in Baetica and Lusitania in the south. Soon, however, the message spread westwards and northwards to Galicia, and across the Pyrenees to Aquitaine. The movement had that contagion characteristic of a revival Awakening and, like such movements in later times, or indeed the contemporary Messalian movement in Syria and Asia Minor, its effects came to be passionately divisive. The bishop of Cordoba was disturbed and consulted his colleague, Hydatius bishop of Mérida who turned towards his friend Ithacius, bishop of Ossonuba (near Faro in the Algarve). The bishops of Mérida and of Ossonuba were to become Priscillian's principal opponents.

The opposition objected to the excessive austerity of Priscillian and his followers, to fasting on Sundays; to walking without shoes; to women attending Bible studies in the houses of men to whom they were not related; to the use of the title 'teacher' by unauthorised lay instructors. The austerity of Priscillian's asceticism was suspected of resting on a dualism which devalued the physical order.

The evidence of the documents which emerge from within the Priscillianist community greatly fills out the picture. First among these documents we may take the canons on the Pauline epistles, transmitted in a corrected recension made by a mysterious bishop Peregrinus and preserved in a large number of Vulgate manuscripts. These canons are collections of Pauline texts grouped under summary headings, and the headings reveal much of Pris-

cillian's interests: for example, a sharp antithesis between God and the world (2-6); a defence of vegetarianism and teetotalism (35); demands for celibacy (33-34), voluntary poverty (37) and almsgiving (60). Marriage is legitimate for those who cannot rise higher (57). At the level of the spirit the distinction between bond and free, male and female, is abolished (55). To the saints charismatic gifts are given (44 and 9), and high value is set upon the service of the laity (61). Within the church teachers (doctores 39, magistri 48) play an essential role; but their teaching scorns the foolishness of the wisdom of this world (89 cf. 4). The Christian teacher's work continues both by day and by night (39). Merely nominal Christians are rejected (58). They fail to realise that the righteous are at war with evil powers (38) and are an élite called to share in a mystery to which God has predestinated them (15 and 24).

That the Priscillianists practised vegetarianism is attested by a number of fifth century texts from Augustine onwards. Abstinence from meat was understood in antiquity to elevate the soul, which would be weighed down by heavy meat and so prevented from rising to the afflatus of the spirit. Priscillian's Italian contemporary Filastrius of Brescia (154) attacks the opinion that the ravens who fed Elijah the prophet supplied bread in the morning and meat in the evening. To him it is unsuitable for any charismatic figure to make his soul soggy with meat. On the other hand, Filastrius thinks it dangerously heretical to suppose that prophecy has not come to an end with Christ and that there may still be live prophets in the church (78). Priscillian disagrees. He is convinced that the gift is still present and has not died out. The mark of a prophetic ministry is *libertas*. The Spirit's activity is not confined to the ordained clergy, but is found in all who aspire to holiness and an understanding of the secret inner meaning of scripture. To despise prophesyings is characteristic of the worldly - a doctrine twice repeated with emphasis in the Priscillianist tractates contained in the very early codex in Würzburg university library of the 5th or 6th century: (CSEL 18, tr. i p. 29, 6; iii p. 54, 29). Moreover, both men and women may receive this gift (i p. 28, 16).

We naturally want to know what the nature of the gift of prophecy is taken to be. Unlike the Messalians in the East, with whom Priscillian had something in common, his followers did not set high value on mystical visions of light or of demonic powers. Nor did they speak with tongues. Priscillian seems to have shared the opinion of the anonymous contemporary commentator on St. Paul whom we call Ambrosiaster. In his commentary on Ephesians IV 11 Ambrosiaster declares that the ministry of apostles is continued by bishops, but that of prophets is continued by commentators expounding holy scripture.

The eleven Würzburg tractates offer a rich collection of Priscillianist exegesis, and it is of such an astonishing and esoteric character that 'prophecy' seems an apt word to apply. Exhortations to celibacy are found in improbable places. The appeal to the order of creation as vindicating the

divine intention in marriage is overcome by the argument that the renunciation of sex is the specific content of that moral advance which the New Testament marks over the Old, and that believers have passed beyond the six days of the created order to enter the sabbath rest of the people of God (*tr.* v p. 66, 2-3). The author of the sixth of the eleven tractates, whom I take to be almost certainly Priscillian himself, sees number mysticism as a clue to the biblical cryptogram; yet at the same time number is associated with the successiveness and disintegration characteristic of our earthly condition. The observance of special days in the calendar is a pagan feature. Moreover, to be counted and countable is ipso facto a mark of being finite and creaturely. Christ is uncountable, where the world is countable. It is no great step to the conclusion that the spiritual man is delivered from the bondage of feasts and calendrical observances. But Priscillian takes the principle through to extraordinary lengths. All division is inferior to unity. The *opus mundi* consists of *opera divisa* (vi p. 70, 9); the terms are synonymous. By contrast Christ is the principle of unity: 'one in all things he desires man to be one in him' (vi p. 75, 9). So to introduce any notion of division into the doctrine of God is to fall into the Arian error of dividing the One (ii p. 38, 9).

Detachment from all that is narrow and limited is part of Priscillian's message. This conviction leads him to a paradoxical attitude towards the biblical canon. On the one hand, the fixed limits of the canon are strongly asserted. The fourfold gospel canon corresponds to the three immersions and one font of baptism (i p. 31, 28). The fourteen epistles of St. Paul answer mysteriously to the mystique attaching to the number fourteen which appears in the genealogy of Jesus in St. Matthew's gospel. Priscillian never explains his interpretation of the number fourteen, but a likely clue may be seen in Gregory the Great's remark that fourteen symbolises the secrets of both Law and Gospel: ten for the ten commandments, four for the gospel makers (*Moralia in Job* 35, 20). Yet Priscillian eloquently insists that the reason for fixing the limit of the canon is grounded in numerological mysticism. For that very reason, the canon cannot be the limit of divine revelation outside which no authentic apostolic teaching can be found. The canonical epistle of Jude quotes the book of Enoch. The apostle Paul tells the Colossians to read his letter to the Laodiceans, a document not in the canon of fourteen epistles; he thereby relaxes their 'liberty to read the things written about Christ' elsewhere (iii p. 55, 14). On such grounds Priscillian justifies the right of spiritual Christians to study apocryphal gospels and acts. Admittedly these documents have suffered interpolation by heretics and need to be read with discretion by men of experience. But the gift of faith brings an intuition to distinguish false from true. Moreover, it is sad illusion to suppose that heresy is more likely to be based on apocrypha than upon canonical scripture itself (i p. 23, 11).

The test of orthodoxy is whether an apocryphon teaches that Christ is God. If it does, there can be no objection to reading it. Priscillian was much

influenced by apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, especially the Acts of John with their strong monarchianism. From this source he seems to have taken his repeated belief that Father, Son, and Spirit are different ways of talking about one and the same God, who is present throughout the natural order and whose inspiring, prophetic spirit is present to every man. Paradoxically Priscillian combines emphatic language about the identity of Christ and the Father with a rejection of the notion that the incarnation is unique in an exclusive sense. Christ is in all creation. Nothing is outside of him. Only a bigoted clericalism can treat divine revelation as confined within the constricting borders of the books admitted to the church lectionary. 'Who would not rejoice to know that Christ has been spoken of not by a few prophets but by all . . . and that the divine secrets are proclaimed to all the world and to every man?' (iii p. 53). The rigidity of the conventional church doctrine fails to bring out the truth that there is no one who may not become a vehicle of the word of God to those who have ears to hear.

At first sight the passion with which Priscillian defends the right to study apocrypha is surprising, since he surely could have found all that he needed for his encratism in the pages of the New Testament itself, e.g. in 1 Corinthians 7. In fact, the third Würzburg tractate is an essay of high eloquence by a man to whom the apocryphal texts are not minor or secondary matters. The apocryphal acts were explicitly encratite and monarchian, and portrayed an apostolic ideal (perhaps for Priscillian a personal ideal) of the itinerant charismatic and ascetic wanderer suffering persecution for the preaching of abstinence and self-discipline in bodily appetite. Above all, however, the acceptance of apocrypha is an essential sign that the spiritual man ought to be open to the mysteries of the spirit, and not confined within the ordinary and the expected. It is the perennial dilemma of all rational theology that the term 'rational' so often means the usual, that which is not anomalous or odd or in some way specially distinctive. To be open to the non-rational is to expect the surprising, the unusual disclosure, the possibility of heights and depths not dreamt of in our torpid philosophy.

Priscillian loves to discern mysteries. He possesses an amulet inscribed with the name of God in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and answers his critics by referring them to the white stone promised in the Apocalypse by the risen Christ to him that overcomes (Apoc. 2, 17; *tr.* i, p. 26). He exhorts his readers to be alert to the powers of evil. The entire world lies in Satan's hand (v, p. 57). Although bodily desires are not of diabolical creation, they are exploited by Satan's deceit (v, p. 63, 20; vii, p. 84). For man is a mixture of divine and earthly elements. By his soul he belongs to the 'divine race'. But his body is called by St. Paul the old man and 'figura mundi', a figure of this world (the reference is to 1 Cor. 7, 31; *tr.* vi p. 73, 4). I find it irresistible to connect this interpretation of 'figura mundi' as the human body with the famous and controversial account of Priscillian's heresy in the *Commonitorium* of Orosius, where the twelve parts of the human body correspond to the

signs of the zodiac just as the types of souls correspond to the twelve patriarchs. Orosius' account together with a fragment which he quotes from a letter of Priscillian has been strongly attacked for misrepresentation. That there is some degree of distortion is likely enough. But the main essentials are not actually incapable of an almost orthodox interpretation, and the doubts often expressed about the authenticity of the citation seem to me unnecessary. The Würzburg tractates certainly teach that earthly birth puts one under the power of destiny, controlled by the wheel of becoming (i p. 26, 21-22). Moreover, in his correspondence with Pope Leo bishop Turibius of Astorga reports that according to Priscillianist teaching the twelve patriarchs preside not only over the canon of scripture but also over twelve virtues which cause the reformation of the inner man. This latter doctrine is paralleled, to the best of my knowledge and belief, only in the Manichee texts preserved in Chinese of about 900 A.D.

The impression conveyed by Orosius and Turibius is, I believe, that Priscillian had been touched by cabbalistic speculations. Remarkably close parallels to Orosius' report on the role played by the signs of the zodiac may be found in the mediaeval Midrash. Perhaps Priscillian deserves a marginal note in the history of the Kabbala. He evidently thought that his investigations into occult mysteries needed justification. He declares that 'in order that we may desire the light of the Lord we need to understand the darkness' (i p. 15, 13), and explains that at his special meetings for spiritual study 'we study the scriptures to comprehend the depths of Satan' (i p. 13, 24).

The Manichees (according to Filastrius) were active in the Spanish provinces in the fourth century. The first and second tractates in the Würzburg codex contain an elaborate disclaimer of the charge that Priscillianism is influenced by Manichee dualism. The first tractate contains two lists of names of gnostic powers, mainly demonic archons with zoomorphic figures, which show an evident interest in Manichee texts as a source of illumination for the activities of the satanic order. Ithacius of Ossonuba also accused Priscillian of having taken some part in some peasant rites of country magic for ensuring good weather for the crops. Priscillian is charged of having pronounced magical incantations over the first fruits of the crops and of consecrating an unguent with curses to the sun and moon, in sympathy with whose eclipses and wanings the unguent diminishes. The unguent was evidently to be poured over a sacred stone in the countryside. Priscillian vigorously denies that he has ever heard of such a thing. Nevertheless, the plausibility of the accusation may be seen in its mildness. Country magic for the crops was not classified with black magic for treasonable or murderous purposes. A canon of the council of Elvira excommunicates Christians who make use of sorcery (can. 6). Later Spanish evidence shows that in Spain, as also in mediaeval Wales, the clergy were willing to say a requiem mass to bring about the death of the person whose elimination was desired. But Priscillian is not accused by his enemy of saying requiem masses to compass

the death of his opponents, but of having been present at a country ritual where well tried methods were employed for rain-making.

Priscillian complained that his enemies fabricated false accusations for the purposes of pursuing a private vendetta against him (i p. 33, 13; ii p. 43, 12), and this estimate of the opposition is supported by Sulpicius Severus' familiar assessment of Ithacius of Ossonuba as a man 'without weight, without touch of holiness, rash, talkative, impudent, given to high living, much enjoying the pleasures of the stomach', so stupid as to accuse all saintly men given to fasting and Bible reading of being fellow travellers with Priscillian. Sulpicius Severus adopts a melancholy view of the standards of discipline among the bishops of his time. He shared something of Jerome's acid judgement that generous episcopal hospitality turns too many of them into alcoholics. Severus does not suggest that Ithacius was much different from others. There is no special reason to doubt the sincerity of Ithacius' hysterical fear of Manicheism and magic. The pages of Ammianus Marcellinus provide many illustrations of the power of this fear in the fourth century. Ithacius portrayed Priscillian in terms that Ambrosiaster uses of the Manichees: as a man who preached celibacy while privately indulging in lust; a radical dualist corrupted by heretical apocrypha and monarchian doctrines of God; a man of no principle, lacking integrity, and ready to deny anything.

The attack upon Priscillian did not at first arouse wide support among the Spanish bishops. Of the twelve who assembled in October 380 at the council of Saragossa, two came from Aquitaine. An attendance of not more than ten Spanish bishops was a massive display of apathy. Himerius of Tarragona, who possessed high seniority by years of consecration, did not trouble to attend. When in 384 he wrote to Rome to ask advice about problems besetting the Spanish churches, he never mentioned Priscillianism overtly, though there may well be an allusion to the controversy in his report that there is deep division about the need for clerical celibacy, some bishops citing scripture to defend their right not merely to live with their wives but also to beget children. After the meeting at Saragossa the Priscillianists were militant and aggressive, launching an attack on Hydatius of Emerita and capturing the vacant see of Avila for Priscillian himself. After an initial setback when Hydatius won a rescript from Gratian against Priscillian as a pseudo bishop and Manichee, Priscillian and his friends were able to reverse the situation: they succeeded in getting Gratian's support and the flight of Ithacius to Trier. But the advent to power in 383 of Magnus Maximus proved fatal to Priscillian's cause. This was mainly because Maximus, struggling to reassure the Church bewildered by the murder of Gratian to whom orthodoxy owed so much, needed to find legitimacy. He found in Priscillianism, which Gratian had supported, a perfect demonstration that fearful pollution would have overwhelmed the Church if he had not arrived to act against it. Accordingly Maximus directed the affair to be remitted to a synod at

Bordeaux where the bishop was known to be hostile to Priscillian, and where popular rumour alleged that Priscillian had got with child the daughter of a wealthy but unpopular widow named Euchrotia, who had received him at her nearby estate on his journey to Italy.

At Bordeaux the hostile reception given by the synod to his episcopal colleague Instantius and the stoning of a female supporter Urbica by an angry mob quickly led Priscillian to the conviction that he could expect no justice of the council. He appealed to the emperor Maximus at Trier, and we all know the end. Under torture he with Euchrotia and other supporters confessed to sorcery, Manicheism, and lechery, and suffered execution. The sudden fall of Maximus before the barbarian troops used by Theodosius in 388 brought Priscillian an astonishing posthumous rehabilitation. The imperial panegyrist Pacatus, who in 389-90 congratulated Theodosius on his victory over the man whom it was now safe to call the usurper, speaks of the miserable men and women tortured and killed by this new Phalaris 'on a charge of excessive religion and too diligent worship of the deity', a charge brought by, of all people, delating bishops. Moreover, these bishops had not been content to see the wretches' property confiscated, but took sadistic pleasure in watching their victims writhing and screaming on the rack before going off to conduct sacred ceremonies with blood on their hands. Moreover, in a letter of this time Ambrose writes of the 'bloody triumphs of bishops' as a cause of passionate division of opinion. A passage in his 26th letter even compares Priscillian's accusers to the high priests handing Jesus over to Pilate for execution. In Spain Priscillian's supporters hailed him as a martyr, and transported his mangled remains back to a shrine somewhere in north-western Spain. In the province of Galicia support for Priscillian was almost monolithic, and his tomb became a sacred place where men swore solemn oaths.

Meanwhile, the part played by Ithacius of Ossonoba as principal accuser of a brother bishop on a capital charge became the subject of acute controversy in both Gaul and Spain. In 386 or 387 Ithacius had taken part in the laying on of hands at the consecration of a new bishop of Trier named Felix. The Gallic bishops became divided on the question whether one could be in communion with Felix of Trier for no other reason than the bloody hands of Ithacius. For Ambrose of Milan, to whom capital punishment and torture were utterly unfitting in a Christian society, Ithacius' role was intolerable.

In Spain, however, the devotion of Priscillian's Galician followers to his memory remained controversial. At the council of Toledo in 400 some of the principal Galician bishops abandoned their admission of Priscillian to the calendar of martyrs. Nevertheless, that was far from the end of the matter. When in the 440s Turibius became bishop of Astorga, he was appalled to discover the hold which Priscillian retained in the province; but he could find only two bishops to lend him support in his campaign to brand Priscillian as a heretic. These bishops did not include the bishop of Braga, by this time the capital of the Suevic kingdom. Under the protection of the

Suevi the Galician Priscillianists were happily free from the repressive hand of the imperial government, as Leo the Great noted with unconcealed regret (*ep.* 15, *praef.*). Not until the pressure of Arianism from the Visigoths made the Galician churches anxious to look for support to the churches elsewhere was it seriously possible for the Priscillianist hold to be weakened. Under the leadership of Martin of Braga in the sixth century the Galician bishops formally disowned and condemned Priscillianism as a heresy.

Even then the legacy of Priscillian lived on in unusual ways. His name succeeded in entering some mediaeval calendars of martyrs. Admittedly it cannot be claimed that his principal writings continued to enjoy wide circulation. The remarkable survival of the eleven tractates in the Würzburg codex is apparently due to the fact that in the 8th century they came into the hands of a noble lady dedicated to ascetic ideals, St. Bilihild widow of a duke of Thuringia and abbess of Altmünster by Mainz. She must have found congenial matter in their combination of demands for celibacy with strong opinions on the equal capacity of both sexes to receive charismatic gifts. Nevertheless other works of Priscillian survived to be widely read. His canons on the Pauline epistles came to be copied in many manuscripts of the Vulgate. Since the brilliant work of Dom John Chapman in 1908 it has been generally agreed by all sensible men that the Monarchian prologues to the four gospels, also transmitted with the Vulgate, come from the Priscillianist circle, if not actually from Priscillian himself. A particularly characteristic piece of Priscillianist argument for celibacy, the proposition that John the evangelist's virginity was the reason why he was more loved than the other disciples and why he was entrusted by the Lord with his Virgin Mother, achieved admission to the Latin liturgy, becoming the basis of the responsory at mattins of the feast of St. John the Evangelist in the Latin Breviary.

Finally, there is the question of the location of his shrine in Galicia. The shrine of St. James was first founded at Compostela in the old diocese of Iria during the ninth century. Before that time the history of the site is obscure, but not total darkness. Excavation beneath the great cathedral of Santiago (1946-59) uncovered under the nave a large necropolis with graves of the fourth and fifth centuries belonging to families of modest means. The necropolis has tombs which are out of alignment with the supporting walls and look as if they belonged to Christians who desired interment in proximity to some holy man. No graffiti survive to give any hint of the holy man's identity.

Priscillian has more of interest for us than as the first heretic who by suffering execution from the secular arm anticipated the disasters which befell Christendom a millennium later. Although much of his writing is of rare obscurity and can be unravelled only with much patience and by searching for parallels scattered over a vast range of ancient literature, yet he puts some questions that remain of lasting importance. In reaction against the limited character of normal church life, and against the apparent exclu-

siveness of conventional understanding of redemption, he tried to persuade his fellow-Christians to be alert to the unexpected, to the non-rational, to the operations of the Spirit in charismata, and to the operations of the demonic order. His endeavours to understand the realm of darkness seem to have led him to a bizarre fascination with the occult. And his contemporaries felt that in him they discerned not a programme of renewal but a threat. Perhaps they subconsciously realised that in an ultimate sense Priscillian implicitly challenged the divine gift of reason as an instrument for understanding human experience in this world.

To end, I have to thank you for your attention to a narrative of violence, torture, judicial murder, sex, occultism and charisms, and much else that must seem to you so very remote and unlike anything happening in our own time.

II. EDITIONES

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The Editions of the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus

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The text of the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus which is today available in Migne's Patrology¹ is a reprint of two seventeenth-century editions, that of Fronton du Duc in the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* of 1624, and that of Jean-Baptiste Cotelier, supplementing it, in the second tome of his *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* of 1681. Both editions pose the new editor of the work with certain codicological and palaeographical problems.

The question of Fronton du Duc's vagueness about his manuscripts to the point of inaccuracy and of Cotelier's mis-stating the numbers of those he used has already been mentioned, but since the problem was first considered,² the solutions of most of the difficulties have become apparent.

In his edition Cotelier noted the more significant variants of the text in the margins, and these are reproduced at the foot of each page in Migne. By comparing these readings with the manuscripts which were available to Cotelier it is possible to say with certainty which manuscripts he used and how. He mentions by name codex 2466 and three Colbert manuscripts in his list of contents,³ but this number in the Royal Library of Paris, the one he was using, does not relate to any known Moschan manuscript.⁴ His manuscripts and method were determined by his other editorial work. After completing the *Apophthegmata Patrum* which precedes Moschus in the *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* he found that the *Meadow* was the next item in the main⁵ manuscript he had been using, *Parisinus Graecus 1599*, which came from the library of Cardinal Mazarin and had entered the Royal Library in 1668.⁶ It is number 2384 in the catalogue of Clément,⁷ which was being compiled when

¹ PG. 87.3 (published 1860).

² Pattenden, P., "The Text of the *Pratum Spirituale*", *Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. XXVI (1975), pp. 38–54 esp. pp. 43–48.

³ The entry reads *Ex Prato Spirituali Johannis Moschi Capita quae Graecè desiderabantur, In Cod. Reg. 2466. & tribus Bibliothecae Colbertinae; praeter multa capita separata, cum variis MSS. collata.*

⁴ 2466 contains the Gospels. (2464 is a corruption introduced by Harles into his ed. of Fabricius, perpetuated by Migne, PG, vol. cit., col. 2846.)

⁵ See Guy, J.-C., *Recherches sur la Tradition Grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Bruxelles, 1962), p. 18.

⁶ Mazarin 59. See Omont, H., *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1898), tom. I, p. xx.

Cotelier was preparing his work. This manuscript was followed up to its break at f. 198v, though only the chapters not found in Duc's earlier edition were transcribed. This meant that he left the manuscript at chapter (Migne number) 51 b. The titles to the early chapters which he gives (they are not reprinted by Migne) are from this manuscript. Another manuscript used for the *Apophthegmata* was *Parisinus Graecus 916*, which is the first of the three Colbert manuscripts, being number 2500. This manuscript is not now, nor was then, so far as we can judge from Cotelier's conjectures, in a very legible condition. Though, since some things can now be read on ordinary microfilm which he could not see on the manuscript itself three hundred years ago, his conjectures may say more about his eyesight than the manuscript. Several folia are missing now as then.⁸ This manuscript was collated against 1599 up to chapter 51 b but, since it contains most of the chapters of Moschus found in the corpus given by the Latin rendering (printed parallel in Migne), it was used as a basis for all the rest of Cotelier's text. The two remaining Colbert manuscripts were both collated against either 1599 or 916 where they contain the chapters in question. These two manuscripts were *Parisini Graeci 914* (Colbert 694) and *917* (Colbert 5096), which is a "cousin" of 914 and contains more chapters. In addition Colbert used the curious manuscript containing iconophile texts, *Parisinus Graecus 1115* (1026 in the old 1622 catalogue of Rigault – which is the number given by Cotelier⁹). It appears for chapter 180 and 147, the latter of which comes in a marginal note in the manuscript.¹⁰ Though it contains other chapters also, these had already been printed by Duc, though not from this manuscript, and so Cotelier did not make use of them. It is possible that one or more of the very numerous *gerontica* on the Bibliothèque Nationale were also used by Cotelier, but there is no positive evidence at the time of writing. The above codices (and a few slips) account for all of his variant readings.

Though we can find fault with Cotelier, he was far more careful than Duc. Duc was a prolific writer, as a glance down the relevant columns of Sommervogel¹¹ will show, and the *Meadow* is only part of the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. Though other evidence shows he was not always the quickest worker – he kept a manuscript of Nicephorus Callistus for nine years¹² – speed of production was, in general, the objective. With so much unpublished Greek just waiting for his pen, it is easy to see how he was less than meticulous.

⁷ Clement, N., *Catalogus*, etc. Printed in Omont, H., *Anciens Inventaires de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), tom. III, pp. 164–514.

⁸ See *JTS*, art. cit., pp. 43 and 54.

⁹ See *PG*, vol. cit., col. 3011.

¹⁰ f. 31v. No mention at *Pratum* 180. See also *JTS*, art. cit., p. 41.

¹¹ Sommervogel, C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* tom. III, (Bruxelles, 1892) col. 233–249.

¹² See Petrus Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Augustana Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi Liber Primus* (Vienna, 1665) pp. 155–165. The manuscript was borrowed from Vienna in 1615 and returned by Sirmond in 1627. Duc had died in 1624.

He was librarian of the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris; his prime manuscript for the *Pratum* was ready to hand on the shelves of his own library and is now *Berolinensis Graecus 221 (Phillippicus 1624)*. This manuscript,¹³ probably once the property of François Olivier, chancellor of France from 1550 to 1560, was analysed by Sirmond, as the table of contents in his hand shows. It embodies most of the chapters of Duc's edition. However, as Duc notes in his table of authors¹⁴ at the beginning of the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, others (apparently intentionally plural) came from Rome. Only one such manuscript can have been used, *Vaticanus Graecus 738*. There is no direct indication that Duc worked at Rome, yet there is evidence that Sirmond, secretary there to the head of the Jesuit order, Acquaviva, from 1590 to 1608¹⁵, sent Duc texts of other authors from Vatican manuscripts, when for example he was working on St. John Chrysostom.¹⁶ It is quite likely that Sirmond, or an assistant of Duc, using one of the printed editions¹⁷ of the Latin, probably that of Heribert Rosweyde of 1617, copied out the chapters for him from the Vatican manuscript. However, the Clermont and Vatican manuscripts do not account for all the chapters found in Duc's edition. The chapters which either did not appear in these two manuscripts or else do not agree with their text bear a striking resemblance to the Turin codex (*Taurinensis Graecus B-II-10*) which is closely related to the Clermont manuscript but is not always identical with it. The history of this Turin manuscript is not well known. It was presumably acquired at the end of the sixteenth century and was probably originally in the Ducal Library of Genoa under the Ducate of Emmanuele Filiberto, but was later transferred to his newly refounded University of Turin by the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁸ It was not clear how Duc could have seen this manuscript, especially as there is no printed reference to it at that date. The problem is solved by turning to Heribert Rosweyde. This eminent Flemish Jesuit edited the Latin translation of Moschus in his *Vitae Patrum* of 1617 and again in 1628. He was Professor of Sacred Literature at the College of Antwerp and at Douay.¹⁹ Though no mention of any manuscript of Moschus occurs in Sweertius's 1628 catalogue²⁰ of the Jesuit house at Antwerp, a manuscript of Moschus, number 43, was later owned by the College, and passed to the Royal Library of Brus-

¹³ See *JTS*, art. cit., pp. 46–48.

¹⁴ *IOANNIS MOSCHI, Pratum Spirituale, Ambrosio Camaldulensi interprete ex mss. Summi Pontificis Vaticanis & Regis Christianissimi.*

¹⁵ Sommervogel, op. cit. tom. VII, col. 1237.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, col. 1256 (inf.).

¹⁷ See Chadwick, H., "John Moschus and His Friend Sophronius the Sophist", *JTS*, N. S. XXV, (1974), pp. 41 on the editions.

¹⁸ See, for example, Della Corte, F., "I Codici Cretesi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* VII (1953), p. 41. No further information seems to be offered by other works on the library.

¹⁹ Sommervogel, op. cit., VII, col. 190.

²⁰ Sweertius, F., *Athenae Belgicae* (Antwerp, 1628).

sels²¹ after the dissolution of the Order in 1773. This manuscript, now Bruxellensis 11328, bears the note at the end:

*sequentia desiderantur in codice,
à Daniele Hoeschelio, Davidis ex fratre
nepote, descripto perinde ut habuit. Año 1613.*

It is an accurate copy of the Turin manuscript, noting all lacunæ and with only a few scribal errors or alterations, except for the consistent removal of *nu ephelkoustikon* before consonants.

The colophon can bear two interpretations: either it is a copy of the Turin manuscript, made by Hoeschel, or it is a copy of such a manuscript. The hand of Daniel Hoeschel is hard to trace and only one irrefutable specimen of his handwriting has come to light, at Augsburg,²² where he was Conrektor of the Sankt-Anna Gymnasium. The script of the colophon and of this specimen are similar in the strong slope of the letters and the letter *e* which in both cases lacks its lower stroke, but it is not possible to say for certain if they are one and the same. Unfortunately the colophon is sixteen years older than the autograph and a man's handwriting can change considerably in that time, especially in less formal uses. Daniel is given by the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*²³ as being the youngest son of David Hoeschel, the famous Hellenist, from his first marriage, but the much older work on the Augsburg library by Veith²⁴ gives him as nephew; neither cites our colophon. The circumstantial evidence for identifying the scribe with the Conrektor at Augsburg is strong. The more probable meaning of the writer is that the manuscript containing the colophon is itself the copy of the original Turin codex.

The reason for Hoeschel's copy is not hard to find. The manuscript was at the Jesuit College of Antwerp, where Heribert Rosweyde was professor. The latter annotated it and his notes can be positively identified.²⁵ Some of them, at least, were made between 1624, the date of Duc's edition, and 1628, when Rosweyde published his second edition of the Latin version. He died in 1629. The dating of the notes is proven by their content: one²⁶ says "ex impresso" and is followed by a reading from Duc's Greek. In another place²⁷ a note of Rosweyde's 1628 edition derives from marginalia in the manuscript in his own hand. Also in the margins are the notes of Fronton du Duc. He originally went through the manuscript with the Latin edition at his side identifying

²¹ See Omont, H., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de Bruxelles*, (Gent, 1885), pp. 5–6 and 15. The manuscript did not belong to Schott.

²² Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Autograph 67.

²³ *NDB* (Berlin, 1972), vol. IX, p. 368.

²⁴ Veith, F. A. *Bibliotheca Augustana . . . Alphabetum XI* (Augsburg, 1795) p. 204.

²⁵ using the specimen of his hand in the Musée Plantin-Moretus (Arch. 92, f. 785).

²⁶ Bruxellensis 11328, p. 8.

²⁷ *Pratum* 72 col. 2926B1 and note 16.

the chapters of the Greek. Mistakes were often made, since the tales frequently begin in similar ways, and they were crossed out, but the final number written against the chapters in each case usually bears the word *Prati* in Duc's hand.²⁸ The title of the second part of the manuscript which contains Moschus has the very distinctive capitals used by Duc.

Collation shows that from this manuscript Duc took chapters 10b, 11b, 12, 118, 159a, 176, and 189. It is not clear why he used the Antwerp manuscript in preference to the Clermont manuscript for chapters 11b, 159a, 176 and 189, especially when the latter gives a text nearer to the Latin, though on other occasions he prefers the Antwerp reading over a Clermont one, showing that he consulted both, even if not systematically. He does seem to have attached greater value to the older Clermont manuscript, but it may be that he had examined the Antwerp manuscript before making his text from the Clermont manuscript. Little did he realise it, but for three chapters (10b, 11b, and 12) he was using the direct copy of one of the earliest known fragments of the text of Moschus, that of the last two folia of the tenth century, bound into the back of the Turin manuscript.

Thus the simplest explanation for the history of the Antwerp manuscript is as follows: Duc arranged for Hoeschel to copy the Turin manuscript for him. There are no records at Turin to indicate that Hoeschel ever visited the library, but we do know that he worked for Duc on other occasions. A letter from Duc to Rosweyde now with the Bollandists²⁹ says Hoeschel was copying some Gregory Nazianzen and poems for Duc in 1609. Duc died in 1624 and Rosweyde then acquired the manuscript and perused it carefully when preparing his second edition of the *Vitae Patrum*, published in 1628. When Rosweyde died in 1629, the manuscript remained in the library of the Jesuit College of Antwerp before entering the Royal Library of Brussels in 1773, when the Order was suppressed and, apart from a brief sojourn at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris from 1794 to 1815, has remained there in obscurity ever since.

²⁸ identified against mss. Oxon. Bodl. Smith 25 f. 33, Bolland. 64 (12) and Monac. Lat. 1035⁹ f. 125.

²⁹ Ms. Bolland. 64, item 12. See Pitra, J. B., *Études sur la Collection des Actes des Saints par les RR.PP. Jésuites Bollandistes* (Paris, 1850), pp. 194–195.

Postscript (1983): On ms. Parisinus Gr. 1115 see now Fr. J. A. Munitiz in *Scriptorium* XXXVI (1982), pp. 51–67, with a photograph of f. 8 v.

En marge de l'édition des fragments de Philon

(Questions sur la Genèse et l'Exode)

Les florilèges damascéniens

Françoise PETIT, Louvain

Tout chercheur de fragments dans le domaine de la patristique est amené à s'engager avec intrépidité dans deux forêts vierges : les chaînes exégétiques et les florilèges. Une petite boussole serait bien nécessaire. Je ne reviendrai pas sur les chaînes, dont j'ai parlé ici-même il y a quatre ans¹, et je limiterai mon exposé aux florilèges damascéniens.

I. Distinction entre chaînes et florilèges

Il n'est pas rare que l'on confonde chaînes et florilèges. Ils ont un point commun : ce sont des compilations de citations juxtaposées. Mais leur plan et leur contenu sont très différents.

Plan – Les chaînes ne sont rien d'autre qu'un commentaire biblique, qui suit pas à pas le texte sacré. C'est donc l'ordonnance même de la Bible qui commande l'ordre des citations. Celles-ci sont habituellement dotées d'une attribution mais portent rarement une référence à l'ouvrage utilisé. Les florilèges, eux, ordonnent les citations selon un plan systématique, les regroupant par sujets. Chaque sujet traité forme un chapitre annoncé par un titre (*titlos*), qui contient un mot-souche, un mot-clé. Tous les titres dans lesquels le mot-clé commence par une même lettre se suivent, numérotés, sous l'annonce de cette lettre (*stoicheion Alpha*, *stoicheion Bêta*, etc)². Ces grandes sections sont elles-mêmes disposées selon l'ordre de l'alphabet. C'est un plan d'encyclopédie. Souvent, une table des matières (*pinax*) récapitule, en tête du document, toutes ces subdivisions. Les citations sont normalement assorties

¹ F. Petit, Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur la Genèse et l'Exode, dans *Studia Patristica* XII (TU, 115), Berlin 1975, p. 45–50. Voir aussi : Une chaîne exégétique grecque peu connue : Sinaï gr. 2, dans *Studia codicologica* [Festschrift Marcel Richard] (TU, 124), Berlin 1977, p. 341–350; *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. I: Catena Sinaitica* (CCSG, 2), Turnhout 1977; L'édition des chaînes exégétiques grecques sur la Genèse et l'Exode, dans *Le Muséon*, 96, 1978, p. 189–194.

² Exemples pris dans la recension K (voir p. 24) : *Στοιχείον Δ, τίτλος ζ' (=7): Περι διαγνώσεως καλού και κακού και ότι . . . Στοιχείον Φ, τίτλος β' (=2): Περι φθόνου και των υπό τοιούτου πάθους κεκρατημένων.*

non seulement de l'attribution à l'auteur mais aussi de la référence à l'ouvrage³.

Contenu – Le but des caténistes est d'expliquer le texte biblique. Dans le cas précis de Philon, ils en retiennent avant tout l'explication littérale. Ceci explique que leur choix se soit limité aux seules *Questions*, à l'exclusion des autres traités philoniens qui développent bien davantage l'exégèse allégorique et moralisante. Le propos des auteurs de florilèges spirituels est tout autre : ils veulent donner un enseignement sur les lois de la vie chrétienne et leur choix se porte sur des conseils de progrès spirituel et moral. Dans le cas de Philon, ils puisent à l'oeuvre entière⁴ et, pour les *Questions*, ils retiennent spécialement l'exégèse symbolique. Il est donc rare qu'une même citation des *Questions* se retrouve à la fois dans les chaînes et dans les florilèges : les deux sources sont merveilleusement complémentaires⁵.

II. Classement des florilèges damascéniens

M. Richard a donné récemment, sur l'ensemble des florilèges spirituels grecs, un article magistral⁶. Comme ses prédécesseurs⁷, il s'est particulièrement attaché aux rapports de dépendance des différentes collections qui nous sont parvenues, de manière à retrouver la structure du grand florilège initial dont la plupart dérivent, plus ou moins directement. Je reprends ici son classement, mais très schématiquement par souci de clarté, et en me limitant aux florilèges damascéniens purs⁸.

A l'origine a dû exister un très vaste ouvrage en trois livres, intitulé *Hiera*, et se réclamant, à tort ou à raison, du patronage de Jean Damascène. Le premier livre était consacré à la Divinité, le deuxième à l'homme, le troisième aux vertus et aux vices. Dans les deux premiers, les titres étaient groupés par *stoicheia* se succédant dans l'ordre alphabétique ; dans le troisième, les titres étaient disposés par paires ou « parallèles », chaque paire traitant d'une vertu et du vice opposé.

³ Attributions et références sont évidemment sujettes à caution. Elles sont parfois erronées et beaucoup ont disparu dans les copies qui nous sont parvenues.

⁴ A l'exception, semble-t-il, du *Quod omnis probus liber sit*. Je verse cet argument « *silentio* » au dossier de l'authenticité philonienne de ce traité.

⁵ Philon d'Alexandrie. *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum*. *Fragmenta Graeca* (Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 33), Paris 1978.

⁶ M. Richard, *Florilèges (spirituels) grecs*, dans *Dictionnaire de spiritualité V*, Paris 1964, c. 475–512. Réimprimé dans M. Richard, *Opera minora*, I, n° 1, Turnhout 1977.

⁷ F. Loofs, *Studien über die dem Johannes von Damaskus zugeschriebenen Parallelen*, Halle 1892. K. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (TU, 16,1 ; N. F. 1,1), Leipzig 1897.

⁸ M. Richard, art. cit., sous les nos 1° à 9° (c. 476–484). Il existe un grand nombre de collections mixtes, certaines mêlant à des chapitres damascéniens des citations profanes ; les plus connues sont celles du Ps.-Maxime et du Ps.-Antoine. D'autres florilèges enfin sont entièrement étrangers à la tradition damascénienne.

Dans son état primitif, cet ouvrage est perdu. Nous possédons actuellement trois grands types de collections dérivées : celles qui utilisent un seul livre ; celles qui fusionnent en une seule série alphabétique, et plus ou moins complètement, le contenu des trois livres primitifs ; celles enfin qui juxtaposent, sans les mélanger, diverses recensions.

1. Recensions d'un seul livre

Pour les livres I et II, on possède des abrégés de la recension primitive. Rien de tel pour le livre III (Parallèles)⁹.

Livre I :

C *Paris, B. N. Coislin 276*, X^e s., 278 f. [Richard, 1°]. Edition très partielle : J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata* II, Mont Cassin 1884, 304–310.

Livre II, première recension :

K *Vatican gr. 1553* (originaire de Grottaferrata), X^e s., 224 f. [Richard, 2°, 1]. Edition partielle : A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* VII, Rome 1833, 74–109 (= PG 86. 2, 2017–2100).

Livre II, seconde recension¹⁰ :

S *Salonique, Vlatées 9*, X^e s., 252 f. [Richard, 2°, 2) et 8°]. Lacuneux (pertes de feuillets) et amputé de la fin : s'arrête au stoicheion Iota, titlos δ' (= 4). Inédit.

2. Recensions alphabétiques fusionnant les trois livres

V *Vatican gr. 1236*, XV^e s., 428 f. (en trois tomes) [Richard, 4°]¹¹. Edition complète mais défectueuse : M. Lequien, *Johannis Damasceni opera* II, Paris 1712, 274–730, sous le titre *Sacra Parallela* (= PG 95, 1033–1588 et 96, 1–442).

R *Berlin, B. N. gr. 46* (Rupefucaldinus), XII^e s., 284 f. [Richard, 5°]. Edition partielle et défectueuse : M. Lequien, op. cit., 731–790, sous le titre *Parallela Rupefucaldina* (= PG 96, 441–544).

P *Paris, B. N. gr. 923*, IX^e s. (en grande onciale et orné d'enluminures), 394 f. [Richard, 7°]¹². Inédit.

⁹ M. Richard est cependant parvenu à le reconstituer. Il m'a aimablement communiqué le résultat, encore inédit, de cette magnifique recherche. Il en parle aussi dans l'article cité, sub 3°.

¹⁰ Avec toutefois quelques emprunts au livre III (Parallèles).

¹¹ La recension V est représentée par plusieurs mss et Vat. 1236 n'est pas le meilleur ; mais c'est la base de l'édition de Lequien. M. Richard recommande Escorial *Ω. III. 9*, XI^e s.

¹² Cette recension est encore conservée dans deux autres mss : Venise, Marc. gr. 138, X^e–XI^e s. et Florence, Plut. VIII. 22, 2^e partie (f. 46–73v), XIV^e s. On la désigne recension PML^b en additionnant les initiales de ses trois témoins : Parisinus, Marcianus, Laurentianus. Pour la première partie du Laurentianus, (f. 1–45 v), voir M. Richard, art. cit., sub 6°. Je n'ai examiné que P, parce qu'il est le plus ancien et qu'il est une des sources principales explorées par J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, Cambridge 1886. C'est ce même érudit qui a retrouvé R, qu'on croyait perdu, et en a publié également tout le fonds philonien.

3. Recensions juxtaposées

On retrouve dans ce type la répartition en stoicheia, mais chacun d'eux est divisé en quatre livres désignés expressément comme tels (*biblion prôton*, *biblion deuteron*, etc). Et de fait, c'est la juxtaposition sans mélange de quatre recensions. Dans chaque stoicheion, ce qui est appelé livre I correspond, à quelques détails près, à la recension V, le livre II représente la recension C, le livre III la recension S. Le livre IV enfin correspond à un florilège mixte [Richard, 10°], qui ne manque pas d'intérêt mais que, personnellement, j'ai pu négliger en ce qui concerne les *Questions* de Philon. Nous possédons deux manuscrits de ce type, le second n'étant qu'une copie, que je crois directe, du précédent¹³:

H Jérusalem, *S. Sépulture* 15, X^e s., 345 f. [Richard, 9°]. Stoicheia A–E. Inédit.

A Athènes, *Metochion du S. Sépulture* 274, XIV^e s., 513 f. [Richard, 9°]. Stoicheia A–E. Inédit.

Malheureusement, l'un et l'autre ne contiennent que les stoicheia Alpha à Epsilon¹⁴. Ils n'ont normalement rien en propre, mais leur livre III est précieux pour combler une partie des pertes du manuscrit de Salonique.

S, H et A sont restés jusqu'ici très peu explorés, non seulement parce qu'ils sont inédits, mais encore parce qu'ils étaient pratiquement inaccessibles. Ce n'est plus le cas aujourd'hui: l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes de Paris en possède depuis peu d'excellents microfilms¹⁵.

Tel est donc, en gros, le classement de M. Richard, confirmé en tous points par mes propres recherches sur Philon. On peut le résumer par le tableau suivant:

Livres distincts	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C(H_{II}, A_{II}) : \text{livre I} \\ K : \text{livre II, 1ère rec.} \\ S(H_{III}, A_{III}) : \text{livre II, 2de rec.} \end{array} \right.$
Recensions fusionnées des trois livres	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V(H_I, A_I) \text{ et autres} \\ R \\ P(M, L^b) \end{array} \right.$

On voit qu'une référence sommaire à Jean Damascène ou aux *Sacra Parallela* est insuffisante. On ne peut se contenter de parcourir les deux collections fusionnées reprises dans la Patrologie grecque de Migne, d'autant moins que l'édition de Lequien est franchement mauvaise. Ce sont les recensions des livres distincts qu'il faut avant tout consulter: C(H_{II}, A_{II}), K et S

¹³ Cette copie reste cependant utile: H et A ont l'un et l'autre perdu quelques feuillets et se complètent dans une certaine mesure.

¹⁴ Il y a aussi, dans R, un indice que ce ms a été copié sur un modèle en deux tomes (St. A–E; St. Z–Ω): la fin du stoicheion E est suivie d'une doxologie et le début du stoicheion Z est orné. Voir F. Petit, Les fragments grecs du livre VI des Questions sur la Genèse et l'Exode de Philon d'Alexandrie, dans *Le Muséon*, 89, 1971, p. 115.

¹⁵ M. Richard lui-même n'avait pas eu S en mains pour rédiger son article et n'avait pas encore pu retrouver A. C'est lui qui m'a, dans la suite, signalé leur découverte et leur exceptionnel intérêt.

(H_{III}, A_{III}); puis la recension alphabétique la plus longue, R, dont le fonds propre est important. Malgré leur ampleur, V et P ne complètent guère la documentation. Ainsi, pour les *Questions* de Philon, sur les 154 citations que j'ai retrouvées dans les florilèges damascéniens purs, V et P n'ont fourni chacun qu'une seule citation non attestée ailleurs. Et j'ai pu constater que généralement, là où la comparaison est possible, le texte des recensions fusionnées est moins bon que celui des recensions distinctes. Il est clair que, pour les florilèges comme pour les chaînes, l'exploration doit être rationnelle et systématique, c'est-à-dire qu'elle doit tenir compte du classement des documents. On est sans excuse depuis l'admirable travail de M. Richard.

III. Suggestions

Editions

Ce qui fait évidemment défaut, ce sont les éditions. Les plus urgentes sont celles de C (H_{II}, A_{II}), K, S (H_{III}, A_{III}), et avant tout celle de S puisque ce document est pratiquement inconnu.

L'entreprise n'est pas démesurée, car aucun de ces manuscrits n'a les dimensions colossales des grandes collections fusionnées. Tous trois sont très lisibles, et S est même un chef d'oeuvre de calligraphie en minuscule pure. L'éditeur qui s'y engagerait devrait, à mon sens, se contenter de reproduire le document, sans se noyer dans les problèmes de l'authenticité et de l'identification des citations. Les florilèges en effet puisent à plus de quarante auteurs; on ne peut être spécialiste de tous. Rien n'empêche d'indiquer en notes ce qu'on sait, mais se lancer dans des recherches nouvelles à propos de chaque texte risque d'entraîner dans une aventure sans fin. Il est plus sage de limiter son ambition et de fournir simplement à d'autres un instrument de travail commode et sûr. Toutefois, et ceci me semble essentiel, un appareil des témoins devrait signaler la présence ou l'absence, la localisation (sticheion et titlos) et, le cas échéant, les variantes d'attribution ou de référence, pour chaque texte, dans les recensions alphabétiques V R P.

L'intérêt de la publication des florilèges est double. D'abord, comme tels, ils sont des témoins remarquables de la spiritualité de l'Orient médiéval. Leur choix et les rapprochements de textes qu'ils ont opérés sont très significatifs. Ensuite, et peut-être surtout, ils nous font connaître quantité de textes, dont beaucoup sont totalement perdus, ou dont la tradition directe est pauvre, ou encore, comme c'est le cas pour les *Questions* de Philon, qui sont conservés seulement en versions latine ou orientales. Pouvoir confronter les anciennes versions avec des bribes retrouvées de l'original grec facilite beaucoup leur intelligence, permet de contrôler leur degré de fidélité et d'étudier la méthode du traducteur. La *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* élaborée

par M. Geerard¹⁶ met en lumière l'urgence des éditions de chaînes et de florilèges.

Un autre travail, déjà très utile, serait de limiter l'édition aux titlos des trois recensions distinctes, en signalant leur localisation ou leur absence dans les trois recensions fusionnées.

Exploration

En l'absence de ces éditions si souhaitées, comment procéder quand on doit, sans attendre, engager une recherche de fragments? Pour les florilèges, il faut tenir compte d'un fait spécifique. Les citations changent de place ou font défaut, d'une recension à l'autre, mais pas isolément. C'est le chapitre dans son ensemble qui est déplacé, divisé, tronqué ou manquant. Quand un texte est retrouvé dans un document, c'est donc le titlos auquel il se rattache qu'il faut rechercher dans les autres, en consultant le pinax s'il existe, ou en s'aidant du mot-clé caractéristique du titlos. Le plus commode est de travailler sur photographies. On commence par noter tous les accidents matériels de chaque document: cahiers ou feuillets déplacés ou perdus¹⁷; on peut alors reclasser les photos dans leur ordre normal. On aura demandé au photographe de réserver des marges assez vastes, pour pouvoir y noter les points de repère d'un manuscrit à l'autre. Ces deux opérations préalables sont impossibles quand on travaille en bibliothèque sur le manuscrit lui-même, ou quand on utilise des microfilms. Enfin, on repère quelle est, dans chaque chapitre, la place habituelle de l'auteur auquel on s'intéresse. Pour Philon, c'était remarquablement aisé, parce qu'il est régulièrement cité en fin de série. On est alors à pied d'oeuvre pour entreprendre la recherche, et on est étonné de sa facilité.

¹⁶ M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* I, Turnhout 1983; II, Turnhout 1974; III, Turnhout 1979; IV, Turnhout 1980.

¹⁷ K. Holl, *op. cit.*, a donné une description détaillée de ces accidents pour les mss qu'il connaissait. Nombreuses indications aussi dans M. Richard, *art. cit.*

Une nouvelle édition de la *Didachè**

(Problèmes exégétiques, historiques et théologiques)

W. RORDORF, Peseux

Au Ve Congrès international d'Etudes patristiques en 1967, le P. Stanislas Giet présentait un exposé qui avait pour titre « L'énigme de la *Didachè* ». Il reprenait à cet égard l'intitulé du livre du Prof. F. E. Vokes « The Riddle of the *Didachè* », qui avait paru en 1938. Le P. Giet annonçait de cette manière son intention de publier une importante étude sur la *Didachè*. Malheureusement, celle-ci n'a pu être réalisée de son vivant.¹ Mais, dès 1967, le regretté professeur de Strasbourg déclarait d'emblée dans son exposé: « Quant à identifier l'auteur ou les auteurs de la *Didachè*, ses destinataires et les circonstances précises de sa composition, je crois préférable de déclarer forfait ».²

Nous n'avons pas la prétention, M. Tuilier et moi-même, d'avoir résolu tous les problèmes posés par la *Didachè*, mais nous croyons pouvoir dire que celle-ci n'est plus une énigme grâce aux travaux des innombrables chercheurs qui se sont penchés depuis près de cent ans sur cet ouvrage célèbre.³ A moins que l'on ne découvre des textes inédits, nous ne pourrions plus désormais présenter des thèses entièrement nouvelles sur le sujet. Mais il convient d'opérer un choix entre des opinions divergentes sur les origines du texte en adoptant résolument les vues d'ensemble et les interprétations de détail qui apparaissent les plus vraisemblables. Il faut écarter à cet égard les hypothèses trop simplistes ou trop complexes qui n'ont pas manqué de surgir à différentes époques. Tout compte fait, nous devons présenter un texte et un commentaire susceptibles de rendre service aux spécialistes et aux nonspécialistes.⁴

* Cette communication annonçait la publication de l'ouvrage suivant: *La doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)*, éd par W. Rordorf et A. Tuilier, *Sources chrétiennes*, 248 Paris 1978.

¹ S. Giet, *L'énigme de la Didachè* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 149), Paris 1970.

² S. Giet, « L'énigme de la *Didachè* », in: *Studia Patristica X (Texte und Untersuchungen*, 107), Berlin 1970, p. 84.

³ Pour l'histoire de l'interprétation de la *Didachè*, voir J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè. Instructions des apôtres (Etudes bibliques)*, Paris 1958, p. lss.; F. E. Vokes, "The *Didache* — Still Debated", *Church Quarterly* 3 (1970), p. 57—62.

⁴ Je rends hommage ici à l'édition récente de la *Didachè* dans la série *The Apostolic Fathers*, éditée par Robert M. Grant, par le Prof. R. A. Kraft, *The Didache and Barnabas (The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. III), Toronto — New York — London 1965, qui va dans ce sens; étant donné l'orientation de la collection, on n'y présente évidemment que la traduction du texte, et le commentaire est bref.

Notre intention apparaît notamment dans la manière dont nous avons conçu l'introduction et le commentaire du texte. A ce propos nous avons tenu compte, dans toute la mesure du possible, des études savantes qui ont paru sur la *Didachè* depuis le siècle dernier, et nous avons abondamment fait état des travaux de nos prédécesseurs, même lorsque nous avons écarté leurs conclusions critiques sur un point ou sur un autre. De cette manière, le lecteur pourra se faire sa propre opinion dans chaque cas. Mais il est évident que notre commentaire ne se contente pas de reproduire les différentes interprétations qui se sont fait jour à un moment ou à un autre; il s'intègre dans une vue d'ensemble qui tient compte à la fois des hypothèses antérieures et de nos recherches personnelles. C'est cette vue d'ensemble que j'aimerais présenter dans les quelques pages qui me sont réservées:

1. Les derniers interprètes de la *Didachè*, J.-P. Audet, R. A. Kraft et S. Giet, ont souligné à juste titre que la *Didachè* n'était pas un écrit homogène qu'on pouvait attribuer d'emblée à un seul auteur. Ils ont précisé qu'il s'agissait d'une compilation de sources diverses empruntées à la tradition vivante de certaines communautés ecclésiales bien définies. La pluralité des versions et des recensions divergentes du texte, qu'il est impossible de classer dans un stemma déterminé, nous permet de fonder cette interprétation dans l'histoire. Dans de nombreux cas, le texte qui nous est transmis fait apparaître les phases successives de cette compilation; il est plus évolué que la source primitive qu'il représente et, dans ces conditions, il apparaît difficile de reconstituer les étapes de la composition de l'ouvrage. En fait, il s'agit de trouver une voie moyenne entre l'hypothèse simpliste de J.-P. Audet et la dissection exagérée du P. Giet.⁵

En résumé, on peut raisonnablement défendre le point de vue suivant: Un auteur inconnu, d'origine judéo-chrétienne, qui s'adressait à des communautés comprenant en majorité des chrétiens issus du paganisme, a rassemblé dans ce manuel des textes divers qui lui semblaient utiles pour l'édification des convertis. C'est de cette manière qu'il a placé au début du texte l'enseignement des *Deux voies* — la voie de la vie et la voie de la mort (ch. 1, 1 — 6, 1) — et qu'il a pu le relier à un ensemble de traditions liturgiques sur le baptême, le jeûne, la prière et le repas eucharistique (ch. 7–10).⁶ Dans la partie disciplinaire qui apparaît ensuite (ch. 11–13), il s'est également servi de sources variées. Enfin, le dernier rédacteur du texte a ajouté à cet ensemble les ch. 14–16 qui servent de conclusion à l'ouvrage. Ces chapitres se détachent en effet du reste pour des raisons de style et de fond qui sont évidentes.

⁵ Pour J.-P. Audet, la *Didachè* se composerait de deux parties (chap. 1,1–11,2; 11,3–16,8) rédigées par le même apôtre itinérant; le texte aurait été interpolé plus tard en *Did.* 1,4–6; 6,2–3; 7,2–4; 13,3.5–7 (= « passages-tu »). Pour S. Giet, le didachiste aurait réuni, dans les chapitres 1–14, plusieurs sources; les chapitres 15–16 seraient ajoutés. Le P. Giet va très loin dans l'analyse des sources empruntées, pour y déceler les différentes couches de rédaction et la part des interpolations du didachiste.

⁶ Voir, au sujet de ces chapitres, la monographie très riche d'A. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache*, Stockholm 1968.

2. Ce qui fait la richesse de la *Didachè* ce sont naturellement les différentes parties qu'elle présente :

a) Jean-Paul Audet a le grand mérite d'avoir montré le premier les affinités littéraires des *Deux voies* avec le *Manuel de discipline* de Qumran⁷ ; mais ces affinités apparaissent surtout dans la *Doctrina apostolorum*—qui n'est pas une traduction de notre *Didachè* grecque—et dans les ch. 18–20 de l'*Épître de Barnabé*. Il faut en effet souligner que, dans la *Didachè*, l'enseignement des *Deux voies* n'a pas conservé le cadre dualiste de Qumran. Il se rapproche par là-même en certains endroits de la tradition sapientiale d'Israël. La recension des *Deux voies* qui figure dans la *Didachè* n'est d'ailleurs christianisée que par l'adjonction de la section évangélique (1, 3b–2, 1), qui manque dans une bonne partie des textes parallèles. C'est une illustration du fait que l'éthique chrétienne pouvait dans une grande mesure se fonder sur la tradition juive.

b) Quant aux prières eucharistiques des ch. 9–10, elles sont très archaïques au point de vue christologique comme au point de vue eschatologique. Elles s'inspirent notamment des bénédictions juives qui étaient prononcées à table, et cette parenté constitue l'argument essentiel des critiques qui pensent à juste titre que ces prières accompagnaient un repas (cf. Did. 10, 1). Mais celui-ci peut être appelé eucharistique. Cette appellation repose non seulement sur le fait que ces prières font allusion à l'eucharistie chrétienne ; elle est également fondée sur l'idée qu'en toute vraisemblance, le verset 6 du ch. 10⁸ introduisait la communion.⁹

c) Les ch. 11–13 sur les apôtres, les prophètes et les docteurs sont d'une importance décisive pour fixer le milieu d'origine de la *Didachè*. Ils précisent notamment les règles concernant l'hospitalité qui doit être réservée aux ministres itinérants. L'organisation de la mission chrétienne, telle qu'elle apparaît dans ces chapitres, évoque pour sa part la situation de l'Eglise en Syrie occidentale¹⁰ et cette constatation nous permet de situer dans cette région la rédaction de la *Didachè*. L'hypothèse est extrêmement probable en dépit des indices qui pourraient laisser croire que le texte est d'origine égyptienne.

3. Pour terminer, je voudrais aborder en quelques mots les problèmes

⁷ J.-P. Audet, « Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de discipline' », *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952), p. 219–238.

⁸ « Si quelqu'un est saint, qu'il vienne ! Si quelqu'un ne l'est pas, qu'il fasse pénitence ! Maranatha. Amen ».

⁹ Cette interprétation est la plus vraisemblable. En prétendant que la *Didachè* utiliserait des prières eucharistiques préexistantes pour les adapter à l'agape, la thèse inverse apparaît arbitraire à plusieurs égards.

¹⁰ G. Kretschmar, « Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese », *Zeitschr. für Theol. und Kirche* 61 (1964), p. 27–67 ; G. Schille, « Das Recht der Propheten und Apostel — Gemeinderechtliche Beobachtungen zu Didache Kapitel 11–13 », in : *Theologische Versuche*, Berlin 1966, p. 84–103 ; idem, *Die urchristliche Kollegialmission* (Abh. z. Theol. d. AT u. NT, 49), Zürich 1967.

posés par la datation de la *Didachè*.¹¹ Puisque celle-ci est effectivement une compilation de sources diverses, il s'agit essentiellement de fixer la date de ces dernières et d'établir un *terminus ante quem* pour la rédaction finale du texte. D'après ce que nous avons dit précédemment, nous devons nous fonder sur les derniers chapitres (14–16) de celui-ci pour déterminer ce *terminus ante quem*. Conformément aux indications de Harnack,¹² le ch. 15, 1–2 de l'ouvrage¹³ apparaît décisif à cet égard. En attestant une mutation importante dans l'organisation ministérielle des communautés locales, ce passage confirme en effet l'ancienneté de l'ouvrage. En tout état de cause, l'évolution qu'elle marque était atteinte avant la fin du 1^{er} siècle dans toutes les églises formées de chrétiens issus du paganisme. Comme notre texte s'adresse à des païens convertis, il est clair dès lors que la *Didachè* est antérieure à la fin du 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.

Au demeurant, l'ensemble des données fournies par les ch. 14–16 confirme très précisément pour leur part la date de ce *terminus ante quem*. Mais, dans ces conditions, les premières parties de l'écrit (ch. 1–13) peuvent être encore plus anciennes dans leur rédaction première. Au reste, cette ancienneté est évidente pour les *Deux voies* et la partie liturgique du texte.¹⁴ Cependant, la section évangélique (1, 3b–2, 1) et la conclusion des *Deux voies* (6, 2–3), qui sont l'oeuvre du premier rédacteur de la *Didachè*, peuvent être également très anciennes. Pour sa part, la section évangélique ne cite pas encore les évangiles synoptiques et les variantes qu'elle présente par rapport à la tradition canonique nous révèlent un contexte judéo-chrétien. C'est ce contexte qui marque aussi la conclusion des *Deux voies*; c'est pourquoi nous pouvons dire que les deux passages en question (1, 3b–2, 1 et 6, 2–3) appartiennent à une époque très ancienne.

Quant aux problèmes posés par les abus de l'hospitalité chrétienne (1,5 d – 6; 11, 5–6. 9. 12; 12, 2–5), ils remontent également au 1^{er} siècle de notre ère, et cette datation est confirmée par le fait que les charismatiques doivent être jugés d'après leur comportement et non d'après leur doctrine (11, 7–8). Pour sa part, le ch. 13 révèle un contexte judéo-chrétien, dans la mesure où il évoque les prémices que la communauté doit offrir aux prophètes. Au demeurant, sans vouloir tirer parti d'un argument *e silentio*, il est clair que l'absence de toute référence au gnosticisme ou aux premières hérésies chrétiennes confirme l'attribution du texte au 1^{er} siècle de notre ère. De fait, si le redac-

¹¹ Ce problème est essentiel. Toutes les fois que j'évoque avec quelqu'un l'édition de la *Didachè* que je prépare avec M. Tuilier, mon interlocuteur me pose en effet cette question: A quelle date placez-vous ce texte?

¹² A. Harnack, *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel (Texte und Untersuchungen, 2)*, Leipzig 1884, p. 88–158.

¹³ « Elisez-vous donc des évêques et des diacres dignes du Seigneur, des hommes doux, désintéressés, sincères et éprouvés; car ils remplissent eux aussi près de vous l'office des prophètes et des docteurs. Ne les méprisez donc pas; car ils sont parmi les hommes honorés au même titre que les prophètes et les docteurs ».

¹⁴ La formule baptismale trinitaire, en *Did.* 7, 1.3, n'est pas vraiment un obstacle à cette vue.

teur final de la *Didachè* avait connu les périls gnostique ou docète, il les aurait vraisemblablement mentionnés aux ch. 11–13 de son livre. C'est pourquoi nous croyons avec A. Adam et J.-P. Audet que celui-ci remonte dans son ensemble au 1^{er} siècle.¹⁵ Nous excluons de cette manière les hypothèses qui renvoient au 2^e siècle – voire à une époque plus tardive – la composition de la *Didachè*. Ces hypothèses sont arbitraires dans la mesure où elles prétendent que celle-ci peut utiliser des écrits néo-testamentaires ou même l'*Épître de Barnabé* et le *Pasteur d'Herma*s. Il n'est pas nécessaire non plus de soutenir que la rédaction de la *Didachè*, commencée au 1^{er} siècle, a pu se poursuivre au cours du 2^e siècle.

Le témoignage de la *Didachè* est unique en son genre. D'une très haute antiquité, cet écrit nous renseigne sur un type de christianisme que nous ne connaîtrions pas aussi bien sans lui. Nos informations sur les Eglises issues des missions pauliniennes sont assez complètes. En revanche, nous connaissons mal les chrétientés primitives de Syrie occidentale et la *Didachè* nous fournit à cet égard des renseignements essentiels. Quant aux rapports de l'ouvrage avec l'*Évangile de Matthieu* d'une part et avec les *Homélies pseudo-clémentines* d'autre part, ils sont évidents à tous points de vue. Mais la *Didachè* se distingue de ces écrits d'une manière caractéristique. A la différence de l'*Évangile de Matthieu*, elle révèle un christianisme installé dans le monde, qui a rompu avec le radicalisme de la *Nachfolge*.¹⁶ Et contrairement au judéo-christianisme des *Pseudo-Clémentines*, elle paraît très libérale à l'égard des questions rituelles (cf. Did. 6, 2–3). La *Didachè* est donc un témoin précieux, qui comble les lacunes de notre information dans de nombreux domaines.

Tout compte fait, la *Didachè*, découverte au siècle dernier par Mgr. Bryennios, n'a pas fini de stimuler nos recherches. Nous en faisons présentement l'expérience, M. Tuilier et moi-même, et nous aurons atteint notre but, si notre édition permet de communiquer cette expérience à d'autres chercheurs.

¹⁵ A. Adam, «Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Didache», *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 68 (1957), p. 45 s. (= *Sprache und Dogma*, Gütersloh 1969, p. 68 s.) parlait d'une date entre 90–100; J.-P. Audet, *op. cit.* (note 3), p. 187–206 supposait une date entre 50–70. Cf. aussi H. Hemmer, *Les Pères apostoliques I–II. Doctrine des Apôtres*, Paris 2^e éd. 1926, p. XXXIIss. K. Bihlmeyer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, Tübingen, 3^e éd. 1956, p. XIV. Il est presque impossible de préciser davantage la date.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Theissen, «Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Ueberlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum», *Zeitschr. f. Theol. und Kirche* 70 (1973), p. 245–271.

Une nouvelle édition de la Didachè

(Problèmes de méthode et de critique textuelle)

A. TUILIER, Paris

On sait qu'en 1883 le métropolite Philothée Bryennios publiait pour la première fois le texte de la *Didachè* qu'il avait eu l'heureuse fortune de retrouver quelques années plus tôt à l'Hospice du Saint-Sépulcre de Constantinople. Le manuscrit unique de ce texte avait disparu depuis longtemps et la publication de Bryennios¹ devait tout particulièrement retenir l'attention du monde savant. Dès 1884, Harnack éditait à son tour la *Didachè* d'après la même source et il accompagnait son édition d'un commentaire critique qui montrait l'importance de l'ouvrage pour la connaissance du christianisme primitif². Cependant, en posant plus de problèmes qu'elle n'en résolvait, cette édition devait susciter de nombreuses études par la suite. A partir de 1885, la *Didachè* allait faire l'objet de travaux divers et provoquer des commentaires importants à tous égards.

Il n'est pas dans notre propos de rappeler ici les principales études qui intéressent la *Didachè*. La bibliographie du texte est fort étendue et les quelques instants qui me sont réservés pour cette communication ne suffiraient pas à la tâche. Parmi les dernières éditions importantes à ce sujet, il faut notamment citer celle de Jean-Paul Audet qui a paru dans la collection d'«Études bibliques»³ et celle de Stanislas Giet qui a pour titre l'*Enigme de la Didachè*⁴.

Cependant, quels que soient les mérites de ces ouvrages, de nombreux

¹ Ph. Bryennios, *Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, 1883. 2 parties en 1 vol. Pour le transfert du manuscrit à Jérusalem, voir plus loin.

² A. Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*. Anhang: *Ein übersehenes Fragment der Διδαχή in alter Lateinischer Übersetzung* mitgeteilt von Oscar von Gebhardt (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Alchristlichen Literatur hrsg. von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack²), Leipzig, 1884. A la même date, le travail de Ph. Bryennios était traduit en allemand par A. Wünsche, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, nach der Ausgabe des Metropoliten Philotheos Bryennios, mit Beifügung des Urtextes nebst Einleitung und Noten ins Deutsche übertragen. Leipzig, 1884.

³ J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè. Instructions des apôtres*. (Études bibliques). Paris, 1958.

⁴ S. Giet, *L'enigme de la Didachè* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 149). Paris, 1970. Cet auteur reprend précisément le titre d'un ouvrage antérieur. Voir article précédant W. Rordorf, *Une nouvelle édition de la Didachè (problèmes exégétiques, historiques et théologiques)*.

problèmes restent en suspens et la *Didachè* requiert l'établissement d'une édition critique susceptible de faire le point sur le sujet. Tel est du moins le but que nous nous sommes assignés, M. Willy Rordorf et moi-même, pour la collection «Sources chrétiennes», qui a bien voulu accepter notre projet d'éditer ensemble la *Didachè*. L'importance de cette dernière au point de vue critique appelait une collaboration fructueuse à tous égards. Certes, le texte est fort court; mais les problèmes qu'il pose sont trop complexes pour être résolus par un spécialiste unique. Ils exigeaient un travail en commun que nous nous sommes répartis de la manière suivante: tandis que M. Rordorf préparait le commentaire exégétique, historique et théologique de la *Didachè*, je me chargeais plus particulièrement de l'établissement du texte et de la traduction de celui-ci en français.

Il va sans dire que cette spécialisation n'est pas rigoureuse: M. Rordorf a toujours apporté sa contribution à la part qui m'était réservée, tandis que de mon côté, je collaborais d'une manière ou d'une autre au travail de celui-ci, qui mérite d'ailleurs tous les éloges par sa perspicacité critique. Cependant, il appartient à M. Rordorf de présenter les conclusions auxquelles nous sommes arrivés au point de vue exégétique comme au point de vue théologique. En attendant, je dirai comment nous avons voulu résoudre les questions posées par l'établissement du texte et les prolongements de celui-ci dans la tradition directe et indirecte.

Comme on l'a rappelé précédemment, la *Didachè* n'est représentée dans la tradition manuscrite que par un témoin unique. Depuis sa découverte par Philothée Bryennios, le manuscrit a été transféré à la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat orthodoxe de Jérusalem⁵ et les éditeurs l'appellent, d'après le rang qu'il occupe dans le catalogue de A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus, le *Hierosolymitanus* 54, H⁶. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit du XI^e siècle, qui a été achevé le 11 juin 1056 par le notaire Léon, comme l'indique la signature de l'explicit du livre. Je n'insisterai pas sur cette information, qui est bien connue des philologues et des patrologues et qui n'appelle au reste aucune remarque particulière. Mais le contenu du manuscrit est plus intéressant à noter: il permet en effet de confirmer indirectement l'ancienneté du texte de la *Didachè* dans l'histoire du christianisme primitif.

De fait, le *Hierosolymitanus* 54 fournit avec la *Didachè*, la *Synopse de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* de saint Jean Chrysostome, l'*Épître de Barnabé*, les deux lettres attribuées à Clément de Rome, les titres hébreux ou araméens des livres de l'Ancien Testament translittérés en grec, la lettre de Marie de Cassobolis à saint Ignace d'Antioche, la correspondance de ce dernier dans la recension longue⁷ et un texte anonyme sur la famille de

⁵ Ce transfert a eu lieu aux alentours de 1880.

⁶ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, Ἐν Περουπόλει*, 1891, pp. 134-137.

⁷ On sait en effet que la correspondance de saint Ignace d'Antioche nous est essentiellement parvenue sous deux recensions différentes: une recension courte de sept épîtres

Joseph, époux de Marie. En tout état de cause, ces écrits forment un ensemble qui reproduit apparemment un recueil très antérieur au XI^e siècle. La majorité d'entre eux appartient à l'âge apostolique et certains même, comme l'*Épître de Barnabé* ou la seconde lettre attribuée à Clément de Rome, apparaissent surtout à haute époque dans la tradition directe.

Quant à la présence au début du livre de la *Synopse de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* attribuée à saint Jean Chrysostome⁸, elle peut éventuellement attester que le prototype du *Hierosolymitanus* 54 à époque ancienne était d'origine syrienne⁹. Il s'agit là naturellement d'une hypothèse qu'il est impossible de vérifier. Mais il faut dire qu'elle correspond parfaitement à ce que nous savons par ailleurs de la *Didachè*. L'écrit, qui est vraisemblablement d'origine syrienne, était encore très répandu en Asie antérieure à l'époque de saint Jean Chrysostome, puisqu'à cette époque, le rédacteur des *Constitutions apostoliques*, qui était sans doute un Syrien, paraphrase notre texte au livre VII de ce précieux recueil liturgique et disciplinaire¹⁰.

Certes, la *Didachè* est également citée à la même époque par saint Athanase¹¹, qui rappelle que cet ouvrage non canonique était destiné à l'instruction des catéchumènes. Cependant, cette précision atteste pour sa part que l'œuvre n'avait probablement pas en Egypte la même audience qu'en Syrie. En revanche, comme le révèle la paraphrase des *Constitutions apostoliques*, la *Didachè* était considérée comme une source disciplinaire d'une valeur exceptionnelle dans l'Eglise syrienne. Ses origines apostoliques n'étaient pas contestées par celle-ci, comme elles l'étaient précisément par saint Athanase¹² et le fait atteste avec vraisemblance qu'en attribuant le texte aux douze apô-

généralement considérées comme authentiques et une recension longue de douze épîtres précédées de la lettre de Marie de Cassobolis à l'évêque d'Antioche. Ces douze épîtres comprennent naturellement les sept lettres de la recension courte. Mais les cinq autres lettres qu'elle présente en plus de cette dernière sont unanimement considérées comme apocryphes par la critique contemporaine. En tout état de cause, la recension longue de la correspondance de saint Ignace d'Antioche ne serait pas antérieure au IV^e ou au V^e siècle. Mais les problèmes posés par cette recension ont donné lieu à des controverses jusqu'au XIX^e siècle. Toutefois ces controverses étaient closes au moment où le P. Funk publiait ses premières éditions du texte critique des Pères apostoliques (cf. F. X. Funk, *Patres apostolici* I, Tübingae, 1901).

⁸ L'attribution de cette *Synopse de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (P.G. 56, 313–386) à saint Jean Chrysostome a parfois été contestée. Mais elle paraît vraisemblable (cf. P.G. 56, 305–312) puisque l'ouvrage se rapproche à plusieurs égards des commentaires exégétiques et scripturaires de saint Jean Chrysostome.

⁹ Il faut d'ailleurs préciser que le *Hierosolymitanus* 54 est le seul manuscrit qui donne le texte intégral de la *Synopse de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* de saint Jean Chrysostome. Cf. Ph. Bryennios, *op. cit.* n.

¹⁰ Voir F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum* I, Paderbornae, 1905, pp. 386–423.

¹¹ Athanase, *Lettres festales* 39 (P.G. 26, 1436 B–1440 A).

¹² L'expression *Διδαχή καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων* que saint Athanase applique à la *Didachè* dans sa lettre festale 39 (P.G. 26, 1437 C) est très significative à cet égard. Elle montre que l'évêque d'Alexandrie doutait des origines apostoliques de l'ouvrage, qui était attribué aux apôtres par la tradition ancienne.

tres, le prototype du manuscrit de Jérusalem à époque ancienne¹³ provenait d'un milieu syrien et qu'il avait été probablement rédigé en Asie antérieure au IV^e ou au V^e siècle.

Dans ces conditions, il est vain de croire que le texte de la *Didachè* qui nous est parvenu dans le manuscrit de Jérusalem a pu être remanié à basse époque. Au demeurant, les comparaisons qu'on peut établir entre ce texte et la paraphrase des *Constitutions apostoliques* permettent de préciser que la recension de la *Didachè* qui figure dans ce manuscrit remonte aux premiers temps du christianisme. De fait, cette recension est infiniment plus archaïque que la paraphrase en question et cette caractéristique confirme l'ancienneté de l'ouvrage publié pour la première fois par Philothée Bryennios en 1883. C'est pourquoi les variantes de cette paraphrase figurent dans l'apparat critique de notre édition.

Les leçons fournies par les différentes recensions des Deux voies dans la tradition chrétienne ancienne figurent aussi dans l'apparat critique du texte. On sait en effet que l'enseignement des Deux voies – la voie de la vie et la voie de la mort –, qui est vraisemblablement d'origine juive, constitue la première partie de la *Didachè* (ch. 1–6), dont la seconde partie (ch. 7–16) traite essentiellement des problèmes liturgiques et disciplinaires qui intéressent la communauté chrétienne naissante. Mais cet enseignement apparaît à la même époque dans plusieurs autres textes. Il figure d'abord dans la *Doctrina apostolorum*, qui est la version latine de la plus ancienne recension des Deux voies¹⁴. En dehors de cette recension caractéristique, il sert également de conclusion à l'*Épître de Barnabé*, à laquelle il a été joint de bonne heure dans la tradition textuelle¹⁵. Enfin, la voie de la vie apparaît sans la voie de la mort dans les *Canons ecclésiastiques des saints apôtres*, où les différents préceptes de cet enseignement parénétique sont répartis entre les onze apôtres – les Douze à l'exception de Judas – dans une sorte de dialogue significatif¹⁶.

¹³ On sait en effet que la *Didachè* présente dans le manuscrit de Jérusalem deux titres successifs qui attribuent précisément le texte aux douze apôtres : un titre court qui est vraisemblablement l'intitulé courant du texte dans la tradition directe (*Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*) et un titre long qui explicite le sens du précédent et qui est libellé de la manière suivante : *Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Ces deux titres remontent évidemment au prototype du *Hierosolymitanus* 54.

¹⁴ Ce texte a été édité pour la première fois par O. von Gebhardt, voir plus haut p. 31 n. 2. Voir aussi J. Schlecht, *Doctrina XII apostolorum. Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der katholischen Kirche*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901.

¹⁵ En réalité, l'enseignement des Deux voies apparaît en appendice à l'*Épître de Barnabé*. De fait, après une première conclusion, cet enseignement est introduit par ces paroles : *Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐτέραν γνώσιν καὶ διδαχῇ*, qui attestent le caractère adventice de la recension des Deux voies dans l'histoire du texte de cette épître. L'adjonction est vraisemblablement très ancienne. Mais elle n'apparaît pas dans la traduction latine du texte qui appartient également à une époque très archaïque et le fait confirme qu'elle ne remonte pas à la première rédaction de l'*Épître de Barnabé*.

¹⁶ Voir notamment pour ce texte, A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–237.

Les noms des onze apôtres, qui participent à ce dialogue, sont intéressants à noter dans la mesure où ils ne correspondent pas à ceux qui sont fournis par les Évangiles canoniques et où ils attestent de cette manière une étape très ancienne de cette forme particulière de la recension des Deux voies. Au reste, le dialogue en question apparaît isolément dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite en dehors des *Canons ecclésiastiques des saints apôtres*. Cette dernière recension a pour titre *Epitomè des Canons apostoliques* et elle révèle pour sa part une étape plus ancienne du texte des Deux voies que les *Canons ecclésiastiques* eux-mêmes¹⁷.

De toute façon, les leçons intéressantes qui sont respectivement fournies pour les Deux voies par la *Doctrina apostolorum*, l'*Épître de Barnabé*, les *Canons ecclésiastiques des saints apôtres* et l'*Epitomè des Canons apostoliques* figurent dans l'apparat critique de notre édition avec les variantes propres au *Hierosolymitanus* 54 et à la paraphrase des *Constitutions apostoliques*, qui intéressent pour leur part l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, comme on l'a dit précédemment. Ajoutons qu'on publie également en appendice le texte de la *Doctrina apostolorum*. Ce texte est accompagné d'une introduction et d'un appareil critique, qui donne les variantes intéressantes fournies par les manuscrits dans la tradition directe.

En revanche, notre édition ne présentera pas en appendice les recensions des Deux voies qui apparaissent successivement dans l'*Épître de Barnabé* et dans les *Canons ecclésiastiques des saints apôtres*. Pour sa part, l'*Épître de Barnabé* a récemment fait l'objet d'une excellente édition critique dans la collection «Sources chrétiennes»¹⁸ et il est inutile de doubler ce travail pour l'enseignement des Deux voies qui sert de conclusion à la lettre. Quant aux *Canons ecclésiastiques des saints apôtres* et à l'*Epitomè des Canon apostoliques*, auxquels ils sont apparentés dans la tradition textuelle, nous omettons volontairement de les reproduire dans notre édition qui doit conserver ses limites. Au reste, les *Canons ecclésiastiques* mériteraient à eux seuls une édition critique qu'il faudra bien entreprendre un jour ou l'autre. Les travaux antérieurs à cet égard sont anciens et dépassés et ils appellent un renouvellement indispensable.

Tels sont, dans leurs grandes lignes, les principes de l'édition critique de la *Didaché* que nous avons le plaisir de présenter, le Professeur Rordorf et moi-même, dans la collection «Sources chrétiennes». Il va sans dire que nous faisons également figurer dans notre appareil les variantes erratiques qui sont attestées tour à tour dans les feuillets de parchemin du *P. Oxy* 1782 et dans les versions copte et éthiopienne du texte. Mais ces témoignages présentent un caractère fragmentaire et ils apparaissent naturellement d'une

¹⁷ Voir au sujet de cette recension, Th. Schermann, *Eine Elfapostelmoral oder die X-Recension der „beiden Wege“ nach neuem handschriftlichen Material hrsg. und untersucht* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München II, 2). München, 1903.

¹⁸ *Épître de Barnabé*. Intr. trad. et notes par P. Prigent. Texte grec établi et présenté par R.-A. Kraft (Sources chrétiennes, 172). Paris, 1971. In-8°.

manière épisodique dans cet appareil. Pour sa part, le *P. Oxy.* 1782 remonte au IV^e ou au V^e siècle¹⁹ et, en fournissant une recension presque identique à celle du *Hierosolymitanus* 54²⁰, il confirme les conclusions que nous avons développées précédemment. Tel qu'il apparaît dans le manuscrit de Jérusalem, le texte de la *Didachè* reste conforme à ce qu'il était dans la primitive Eglise. Sauf variantes erratiques, il n'a pas été remanié ultérieurement, comme on l'a dit à différentes reprises et, pour être fragmentaires, les versions copte et éthiopienne de ce texte assurent également de leur côté ces conclusions critiques. Tout en remontant aussi au IV^e ou au V^e siècle, elles fournissent une recension plus évoluée que celle du *Hierosolymitanus* 54 et elles révèlent ainsi l'ancienneté de celui-ci dans la tradition directe.

En fait, les versions copte et éthiopienne de la *Didachè* évoquent à certains égards la paraphrase des *Constitutions apostoliques*²¹ et leur témoignage présente la même valeur pour la critique textuelle. De cette manière, l'ancienneté de la recension fournie par le manuscrit de Jérusalem est attestée de plusieurs façons dans la tradition littéraire et nous pouvons affirmer avec certitude que ce manuscrit présente la *Didachè* sous la forme qui était connue dans l'Eglise ancienne.

Une dernière remarque avant de conclure. Nous ne faisons pas état dans notre édition des leçons fournies par la version géorgienne de la *Didachè*, à laquelle Jean-Paul Audet et Stanislas Giet ont imprudemment réservé une place dans leurs travaux critiques²². D'après les témoignages que nous en possédons, cette version, qui a disparu aujourd'hui, n'est pas antérieure au XIX^e siècle et elle a été vraisemblablement exécutée à cette époque tardive sur le manuscrit de Jérusalem par un géorgien qui étudiait la théologie à Constantinople²³. Il est donc inutile de lui attribuer une valeur quelconque dans la tradition textuelle.

Tout compte fait, les études actuelles confirment l'ancienneté de la *Didachè* dans l'histoire littéraire du christianisme primitif. En dépit des travaux antérieurs et de leurs mérites, le texte de cette œuvre exigeait une mise au point critique que nous sommes heureux, le Professeur Rordorf et moi-même, de présenter dans la collection «Sources chrétiennes».²⁴

¹⁹ Sur les feuillets de parchemin du *P. Oxy.* 1782 qui proviennent d'un *codex* aujourd'hui disparu, voir B. P. Grenfell et A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus papyri XV*, London, 1922, pp. 13-15 et J.-P. Audet, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.

²⁰ Ce document présente notamment des extraits du ch. 1 de la *Didachè* qui sont propres à la recension particulière des Deux voies dans cet ouvrage (1, 3-2, 1) et il atteste de cette manière qu'il est proche de celui-ci dans l'histoire du texte.

²¹ C'est précisément ce que révèlent les commentaires de J.-P. Audet, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-45.

²² J.-P. Audet, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50 et S. Giet, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²³ C'est ce qui ressort très clairement du colophon que l'auteur de la traduction joint à cette dernière dans la tradition manuscrite.

²⁴ Notre édition a paru en 1978.

III. CRITICA

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The Authenticity of Athenagoras' *De Resurrectione*

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1. The Problem of date and authorship

The date of Athenagoras' main work, the *Supplicatio*, can be determined within narrow limits. It is addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus. Commodus, the young prince, became associated with his father Marcus Aurelius as Emperor on 27 November 176, when he was granted *imperium*, and Marcus died at Vienna on 17 March 180. As Athenagoras calls both men Emperors the work must have been composed somewhere between these two dates. Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of the title of the work which appears in the tenth century *Arethas Codex*¹. However its trustworthiness is corroborated by internal references in the body of the work to the two Emperors. Thus in *Suppl.* 18, 2 Athenagoras says: "For as all things have been subjected to you, a father and a son, who have received your kingdom from above"; while in *Suppl.* 37, 2 he ends his work with these words: "who pray for your reign that the succession to the kingdom may proceed from father to son, as is most just, and that your reign may grow and increase as all men become subject to you". This was a graceful compliment to the young Commodus with perhaps a hint that his succession would not be long delayed. Marcus' ill health and weakness during the last five years of his life was common knowledge and his *Meditations* are full of references to the nearness of death.

The mention of "Armenian victors" in the title to the *Supplicatio* was challenged by T. Mommsen² and E. Schwartz³ on the grounds that this was inappropriate when applied to Commodus as he had never been awarded that title although it had been borne by Lucius Verus, son-in-law and brother of Marcus Aurelius, as well as by Marcus himself. In order to surmount the difficulty Mommsen and Schwartz proposed to change *Ἀρμενιοῦς* to *Γερμανικοῦς* as the title "German Victors" could be allowed to both Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. However G. Porta⁴ has shown that in unofficial papyri and

¹ C. C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, London, 1953 p. 291.

² *Dictionary of Christian Biography* 1, London, 1877 p. 205.

³ *Texte und Untersuchungen* IV, 2, Leipzig 1891.

⁴ 'La dedica e la data della *Προσβηλα* di Atenagora', *Didaskalion*, 5, 1-2, 1916 pp. 53-70.

inscriptions "Armenian Victor" was a title used of Marcus after the death of Lucius Verus and that it was also given to Commodus. The *Supplicatio* then undoubtedly comes from the period 176–80 A. D. and consists of categorical answers to three charges frequently made against Christians in the second century, viz. atheism, cannibalism and incest. In refuting these charges Athenagoras draws on much non-Christian philosophical thought; A. Malherbe has shown that the structure of the *Supplicatio* fits into the framework of the Middle Platonist Albinus' treatise *Didaskalikos*⁵. Athenagoras is acutely aware of the challenge to Christians from Graeco-Roman philosophy to understand their tradition in a philosophical way without recourse to scriptural arguments. So he appeals to a common ground shared with his readers and propounds a *modus vivendi*.

The treatise *De Resurrectione* presents problems as to authorship and date. In the *Arethas Codex* Parisinus Graecus 451 it follows the *Supplicatio* and has the title *ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ*. It is likely that the archetype bore only the title *ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ* and that either Arethas, or Baanes, prefixed *ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ* to the title and added, at the end of the work, *ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ*. The lack of independent evidence for the authority and date of the work has led some scholars to argue that *De Resurrectione* is a later work not by Athenagoras. The most exhaustive attempt to prove this is that of R. M. Grant⁶ who holds that the work is a third or early-fourth century production directed against Origen's doctrine of the resurrection. Recently his arguments have been supported and extended by W. R. Schoedel⁷. Grant believes that the view of the resurrection in *De Resurrectione* does not correspond to that given in the *Supplicatio* in that "Spirit" is never mentioned in the former although it is in *Suppl.* 31, 4. Moreover the treatise relies mainly on Aristotelian arguments for the resurrection while in *Suppl.* 36, 3 Athenagoras looks forward to Platonic and Pythagorean parallels. He holds that the work opposes *Christian* views of the resurrection rather than those of pagans. While this theory is worked out with great ingenuity it falls far short of proof. In the first place in *Suppl.* 31, 4 Athenagoras is referring to S. Paul's conception of the after-life in 1 *Cor.* 15, 51. After death, he says, we shall live another better life – a heavenly, not an earthly, one. We shall abide with God as "heavenly spirit" rather than as "flesh". In other words flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. In *De Resurrectione*, although the author argues from rational premises for belief in a resurrection, it is noticeable that he completes the argument of 1 *Cor.* 15 by alluding to S. Paul's view that the corruptible must put on incorruption. So *De Res.* 18, 5: "What follows is clear to everyone: that this corruptible and dispersible

⁵ "The structure of Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*" *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1969, 23, pp. 1–20.

⁶ "Athenagoras or Pseudo Athenagoras", *Harvard Theological Review* 47, 1954 pp. 121–9.

⁷ Athenagoras: *Legatio and De Resurrectione*, Oxford 1972 pp. xxv–xxxii.

body must, according to the apostle, put on incorruptibility so that, when the dead are revived through the resurrection and what has been separated or entirely dissolved is reunited, each may receive his just recompense for what he did in the body, whether good or evil". It is also to be noted that Athenagoras sometimes completes quotations later within the *Supplicatio* itself; so *Matth.* 5, 44, quoted in *Suppl.* 11, 2, is completed by *Matth.* 5, 46 in *Suppl.* 12, 3. Any differences in the idea of the resurrection between the two works are, in fact, already found in 1 *Cor.* and are not indications of difference in authorship.

Grant's further argument that Athenagoras anticipates Platonic and Pythagorean parallels to the resurrection at the end of the *Supplicatio* but Aristotelian arguments appear in *De Resurrectione* is based on a misunderstanding of *Suppl.* 36, 3. All that Athenagoras says is that there is nothing in the teaching of Pythagoras or Plato which opposes the view that when bodies dissolve they can be reconstituted from the same elements of which they were originally made. According to the doxographers Pythagoras and Plato taught that the elements could be changed into one another and it is possible that Athenagoras has this in mind. In any event he does not say in *Suppl.* 36, 3 that he will develop Plato's and Pythagoras' ideas in another work. Athenagoras' philosophical background lies in Middle Platonism which was an eclectic amalgam of different philosophical "schools" with the Platonist element uppermost. That Aristotelian arguments appear in one work and Platonic arguments in another is no proof *per se* of difference in authorship. The same Platonic terms appear in both works and even the argument for the Christian doctrine of the bodily resurrection in *De Resurrectione* is one which a Platonist would find most novel and provocative.

Grant's and Schoedel's view that *De Resurrectione* is directed principally against Origen's doctrine of the resurrection is again difficult to maintain. The treatise never mentions Origen by name, which is significant, and, apart from the allusion to 1 *Cor.* 15, 53 in *De Res.* 18, 5 never directly quotes any biblical texts concerning the resurrection. This is strange if the author is confuting so great a biblical expositor as Origen. It is relevant here to appeal to Methodius, bishop of Olympus in the early-fourth century, who argues strongly against Origen's view of the resurrection body – which he holds is ultimately Platonic – and in the process several times mentions Origen by name. Moreover Methodius constantly quotes biblical texts, particularly from the Gospels and the Pauline epistles, in confuting Origen's allegorism. This is in marked contrast to the approach of the author of *De Resurrectione* and it seems more likely that the latter has in mind not followers of Origen but philosophical enquirers and disputants who were unfamiliar with the Christian belief in the resurrection or who were in an early stage of instruction. We will return to the *Sitz-im-Leben* of the treatise shortly.

Schoedel places great emphasis on the problem of chain consumption which appears in *De Res.* 4, 3–4 in which the author refers to those who

dispute the resurrection on the grounds that men have been known to devour their own children so that the same parts cannot rise again in both sets of individuals. He argues that as this argument does not occur in Celsus' attack on the Christian view of the resurrection and that as Tertullian only alludes to the problem of bodies being eaten by fish, animals and birds⁸, then it must come from a period later than the second century. He points out that Porphyry (233–301 A. D.) raised the problem of chain consumption against the Christian doctrine of the resurrection and rejected the appeal to the power of God⁹. Later Gregory Nyssen faced the argument of 'chain consumption' and rejected it. It seems to me that little can be deduced from the references given by Schoedel¹⁰. At some point a group of disputants queried the resurrection on the grounds of 'chain consumption'. On Schoedel's showing this happened in the time of Porphyry. Equally well it could have happened some sixty or seventy years earlier in the time of Athenagoras. As Celsus wrote at the same time as Athenagoras we would hardly expect him to know of *new* arguments which had just arisen. It is not to be supposed that Christians first began discussing their faith only after the time of Origen. Earlier literature shows that, in fact, much disputation on many topics went on throughout the second century.

If, then, Grant's and Schoedel's arguments are unconvincing we must ask what evidence there is for assigning the *Supplicatio* and *De Resurrectione* to the same period, i.e. the last quarter of the second century, and to the same hand. In *Suppl.* 37, 1 Athenagoras says, 'Ἀλλ' ἀνακείσθω μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος. The plain meaning of ἀνακείσθω μὲν is that he intends to deal with the subject on another occasion. If *De Resurrectione* is not by Athenagoras then there must have once existed another treatise on this subject by this author. But no such treatise is known. Then *De Resurrectione* fits the climate of the late-second century just as easily as it can be made to fit a milieu associated with discussions on the resurrection by Methodius and Gregory Nyssen. So in *De Res.* 5–6 the author has close parallels with Galen's *Nat. Fac.* 1, 10; 3, 13 in his view of the digestive processes and the cleansing and dissolution in the feeding process; in *De Res.* 18, 4 with the second-century Middle Platonist Albinus *Epit.* 23, 3; and in *De Res.* 20, 2 with Lucian in his use of the rare verb ἐπισκνυλκείν¹¹. Moreover the style of *De Resurrectione* closely agrees with that of the *Supplicatio* with the sole difference that a more formal tone sometimes appears in the former as befitted a public lecture. J. H. Crehan observes that the adjective ἀνθρωπικός which is used for 'human' exclusively in the *Supplicatio* is replaced by ἀνθρώπινος or ἀνθρώπειος in *De Resurrectione*¹². Both works have many words

⁸ *De Res. Carn.* 32.

⁹ *Fr.* 94, Harnack.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. xxvi–xxix.

¹¹ J. H. Crehan, *Athenagoras' Embassy for the Christians and Resurrection of the Dead*. *Ancient Christian Writers* 23, 1956, p. 179.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 8.

in common as a cursory inspection of the index to E. Schwartz's edition shows¹³. Even Schoedel admits that there is no fundamental difference between the vocabulary and style of the two treatises¹⁴.

A further significant point is that the same quotations appear in both works. Thus in *Suppl.* 12, 3 Athenagoras quotes the saying ἔπνος καὶ θάνατος διδνύματα from Homer, *Iliad* 16, 672 and this is repeated in *De Res.* 16, 5, τινὲς ἀδελφὸν τοῦ θανάτου τὸν ἔπνον ὀνομάζουσιν. Even more interesting is the treatment of the few Old Testament quotations in both works¹⁵. In *Suppl.* 9, 2 Athenagoras quotes *Ex.* 20, 2, 3 (the introduction and first of the ten commandments) and also *Is.* 44, 6; 43, 10, 11 and 66, 1 as a buttress for his argument for monotheism. All of these quotations are very close to the LXX with the exception of *Ex.* 20, 3 where Athenagoras has οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτὸν for the LXX οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ. In the quotation of *Is.* 43, 11 Athenagoras omits σώζων presumably because he did not wish to refer to God as "saviour" in view of the many "saviour" cults of the Graeco-Roman world. In *Suppl.* 10, 4 he quotes *Prov.* 8, 22 exactly and in *Suppl.* 12, 3 he quotes *Is.* 22, 13 (cf. 1 *Cor.* 15, 32) φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αἰῶνον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

These six quotations are the sum total of Athenagoras' use of the LXX in his *Supplicatio*. In the treatise *De Resurrectione* there are only two LXX quotations. The first, in *De Res.* 19, 3, is an exact quotation of *Is.* 22, 13 already found in *Suppl.* 12, 3. And in *De Res.* 23, 3, 4 the author quotes exactly the fifth and the seventh commandments from *Ex.* 20, 12; 13 (cf. *Lc.* 18, 20). It is noticeable that the first of these, in both works, is made against a background of coming judgement. If *De Resurrectione* is by another later writer it is scarcely conceivable that, in his only two LXX quotations, he would have chosen for the first the same quotation as is found in the *Supplicatio* and that he would use the same chapter of Exodus as already used in the other work. With such a sparse use of the Old Testament in both works it would seem that the statistical chances of this happening are very remote indeed.

While certainty is impossible it would seem that the above points, when taken together, are of considerable weight and make it probable that the *Supplicatio* and *De Resurrectione* come from the same hand. It is however impossible to say what time elapsed after Athenagoras had completed the *Supplicatio*, before he put into coherent form his thoughts on the nature of the resurrection. All we can say is that *De Resurrectione*, in its final form, must belong to the last two decades of the second century A. D.

To whom did Athenagoras address his treatise? In its present form it would seem that it was intended as a public lecture. So in *De Res.* 23, 6 the

¹³ *Ibid.* *Index Verborum* p. 80–143.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxv.

¹⁵ L. W. Barnard, "The Old Testament and the Authorship of Athenagoras' *De Resurrectione*", *Journal of Theological Studies* 18, 1967 p. 432–3.

author says: "We have not made it our goal to leave nothing on the subject unsaid but to show in summary form to those assembled (*ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐποδείξαι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν*) what one ought to think about the resurrection and to adapt to the capacity of those present the arguments leading to this truth". In 1, 3 the author speaks of a plea on behalf of the truth directed to those who disbelieve or dispute it, and a plea concerning the truth to those who are well disposed and receive the truth gladly. The treatise, in fact, divides into two halves corresponding to this purpose, viz. 1, 3–11, 2 presents arguments 'on behalf of' the resurrection and 11, 3–25, 5 presents arguments 'concerning' the truth. This somewhat stylised division suggests that Athenagoras has put together, in lecture form, earlier discussions and debates on this subject¹⁶. If he is to be connected with the Alexandrian catechetical school, as Philip of Side states in a fragment preserved by Nicephorus Callistus¹⁷, then these debates fall into a natural milieu. It would seem that behind our present treatise lie discussions with those who deny the resurrection outright, i.e. pagans, with those Christians who dispute the doctrine, and with other Christians who are shaken by these disputes – Athenagoras makes this distinction in *De Res.* 1, 5. In 3, 3, referring to his belief that God can re-make the fragments of bodies torn apart by animals, he states: "This view seems to have greatly upset some people even among those admired for their wisdom, because for some reason which I cannot grasp they regarded the doubts voiced by the crowd as strong arguments". Behind this revealing text there lies considerable debate and discussion about the nature of the resurrection involving Christians and pagans. The way in which Athenagoras refers to the Law (23, 2), the Gospel (9, 2) and 'the apostle' (18, 5) suggests also a continuing debate within the Christian community itself and it is not to be supposed that this only began with Origen's speculations. Celsus c. 177 summarizes pagan objections in his attack on Christianity. He calls it the hope of worms; for what sort of human soul would have any further desire for a body that had rotted? "The idea of resurrection is both revolting and impossible". The Christian answer that anything is possible to God is an outrageous refuge. Celsus accepts an eternal life for the soul, but as to the body, with Heraclitus, corpses are worse than dung¹⁸. Celsus formulates clearly the main objections to the

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1, 1, 1355^a 4, draws a distinction between the requirements of rhetoric and those of constructive philosophical statements. Jerome, *Ep.* 48, 13 refers to the tradition of the schools as Aristotelian and distinguishes between rhetorical exercises intended to confute 'outside' opponents and the less subtle approaches intended to convince 'inside' disciples. Cf. also Albinus, *Isag.* 6; Philo of Larissa, in *Stobaeus*, *Ecl.* 2, 7. Athenagoras' two-fold division into arguments 'on behalf of' and 'concerning' the truth had a long history behind it. See further Schoedel, *Ibid.* xxx.

¹⁷ H. Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*, Oxford 1689 p. 488; PG 6, 182. The reference to a shelter for camels in *De Res.* 12, 2 also suggests an Egyptian milieu as the camel was unknown in Greece and Asia Minor but in Egypt it was used in the postal service.

¹⁸ *Contra Celsum* 5, 14.

Christian belief in the resurrection of the body, and it is these that are dealt with in the treatise *De Resurrectione*. It is also possible that Athenagoras was not insensitive to other criticisms of Christianity of the kind which appear in Celsus' *Ἀληθὴς Λόγος* as I have shown elsewhere¹⁹.

Even more revealing is the recently discovered *Epistle to Rheginos* on the Resurrection which is to be dated in the second century and probably emanates from a Valentinian group²⁰. This presupposes widespread questioning (ζήτημα) of the doctrine of the resurrection from within the Church. The writer knew certain people 'who raise questions about their problem, whether the redeemed, if he leave behind his body will forthwith be saved' (47). The author does not reject the resurrection of the flesh although his outlook is Gnostic in tendency. The flesh, for *ad Rheginos*, is taken up in the resurrection which is not a purely spiritual phenomenon, but comprises spirit, soul and flesh. The Nag Hammadi discoveries show that the belief that the Gnostics flatly denied the resurrection of the flesh is no longer tenable. In fact they were taking part in a debate on a highly controversial theme which attracted many other Christian writers in the second century²¹.

It would seem that Athenagoras' *De Resurrectione* was one contribution to this long standing debate which went on throughout the second century. The Church's enemies were, in this, not primarily Gnostics (to whom Athenagoras never refers) but pagan critics and those within its own fold. The mixed character of this debate may account for what is, on the surface, a startling fact about *De Resurrectione*. Athenagoras attempts to demonstrate the reality of a bodily resurrection without any appeal to the resurrection of Christ Himself. In this he is at one with Tatian, Theophilus, the compiler of the *Sentences of Sextus* and Minucius Felix who likewise omit any reference to Jesus' life, death and resurrection. This may have been a strength, strange though it appears to our biographical interests. We know from Galen that there was considerably pagan criticism of the founders of schools with which Christians were adversely compared. Origen tells us that sometimes when conversing with pagan friends, he found them so deeply hostile to Christianity and the name of Christ that he thought it wise to conceal that his teaching was Christian until a point was reached when the person approved of his teaching — then he would disclose that the doctrine was that of the Christians²². Behind *De Resurrectione* lay considerable discussion with pagans and Christians who denied or were troubled by the doctrine of the resurrection. The lack of any reference to Christ's resurrection was an understandable and

¹⁹ L. W. Barnard, *Athenagoras: A Study in Second Century Christian Apologetic*. Théologie Historique 18, Paris, 1972 p. 65–8.

²⁰ Ed. M. Malinine, H. C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1963.

²¹ Further Gnostic references in *Gospel of Philip* 21, 23, 63, 67, 90. Other references in Justin, *Dial.* 80; Minuc. Felix, *Oct.* 34, 11; *Acta Pauli et Thecla* 5, 12; *Martyr. Polyc.* 14; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 1, 13; *Epist. Apost.* 22–5; Tertullian, *De Res. Carn.* 1.

²² *Hom. in Jer.* 20, 5.

natural omission in the milieu of the late-second century. In the late-third or early-fourth century it would have been an anachronism. S. Jerome was to comment unfavourably on this omission when castigating Rufinus for ascribing the *Sentences of Sextus* to Xystus, the Christian martyr-bishop²³.

2. The influence of Galen

De Resurrectione contains a surprising amount of medical knowledge which finds an exact parallel in the writings of the great physician Galen. Galen was born at Pergamum, in Asia Minor, in 129 and died in Rome c. 199. He came to Rome in 162 and remained there for the rest of his life, apart from a short period in his native city from 166 to 169. Galen was one of the most celebrated physicians, philosophers and grammarians of his day, a man of extraordinary vigour and fertility whose output of learned works was enormous – the edition of C. E. Kühn includes one hundred and twenty works and many more are known to have once existed. It is an interesting fact that the Arabs knew more works of Galen than did the scholars of Renaissance Europe and it is the Arabic tradition which has preserved the fullest knowledge of his references to Jews and Christians. As a philosopher Galen, like Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, was strongly indebted to second-century Middle Platonism. Albinus had been his teacher c. 150 – although, throughout his life, he refused to commit himself to any particular school in either philosophy or medicine. He preferred to remain independent and declared his ignorance as to the immortality of the soul and eternity of the world rather than believe in them without cogent demonstration. A thorough training in scientific logic was, he held, indispensable to every serious student of philosophy and medicine.

Galen came into contact with both Jews and Christians in Rome. There were Jews resident in the Imperial capital and, in the reign of Domitian in the decade before Galen's birth, we hear of many senators who looked favourably on Judaism and had Jewish friends²⁴. Galen strongly criticised the Jewish conception of God and the divine omnipotence holding that the days of Moses and the prophets were now over and that men must proceed by strict logic as philosophers had taught the Greek world for some five hundred years. Blind faith must, from now on, be replaced by reasoned truth. It would seem likely that this argument against Judaism was known to certain circles of Christian philosophy. It is significant that, whereas earlier apologists such as Justin had treated the Old Testament as a *praeparatio evangelica* and quoted it in detail, Athenagoras largely ignores it and concentrates on Platonism as the preparation *par excellence*. And as Galen was opposed to the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament so Athenagoras makes no use of it.

²³ Ep. 133, 3 quoted in H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*, Cambridge 1959 p. 120.

²⁴ H. I. Bell, *Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria*, Leipzig 1926, p. 31 ff.

Galen's opinion of the Christians, preserved in several texts, was unbiased, sympathetic and non-polemical. He was particularly impressed by their high standard of morality, pagan evidence which confirms the statements of the Christian apologists as to the moral elevation which Christianity had brought into the world:

"Just as now we see people called Christians drawing their faith from parables [and miracles], and yet sometimes acting in the same way [as those who philosophise]. For their contempt of death [and of its sequel] is patent to us every day, and likewise their restraint in cohabitation . . . and they also number individuals, who, in self-discipline and self-control in matters of food and drink, and in their keen pursuit of justice, have attained a pitch not inferior to that of genuine philosophers".²⁵

Galen was also impressed by the attempt Christians were making to educate the multitude – his philosophical attitude allowed him to fit this phenomenon into the categories provided by the Academic tradition. In the opinion of R. Walzer Galen is the first pagan author who implicitly places Greek philosophy and the Christian religion on the same footing²⁶. Yet throughout his life he held that an uncritical faith in a particular school, whether Christian or pagan, was hostile to genuine knowledge and truth; indeed he compares the followers of Moses and Christ to the degenerate philosophical and medical schools of the second century which put loyalty to the school and its founder before loyalty to the truth²⁷. It is significant that Athenagoras nowhere in his works mentions Jesus as the founder of Christianity but only refers to him as the Son of God and Word of the Father. It is just possible that Athenagoras was aware of pagan criticisms of the founder of schools and so presented Christianity as "the truth" rather than as a body of precepts laid down by Jesus. In this he differs in emphasis from Justin Martyr who quotes many details from Jesus' life and teaching. Galen challenged the Christians to understand their tradition in a philosophical way without recourse to a detailed treatment of scriptural texts or to "unphilosophical myths and miraculous tales".

R. Walzer, in his erudite work²⁸, has put forward an ingenious theory that Galen strongly influenced a philosophically minded group of Christians in Rome c. 180, led by Theophilus of Byzantium²⁹, who used post-Aristotelian logic in working out their theological doctrines. Theophilus held an adoptionist Christology which caused him to come into acute conflict with Victor, bishop of Rome. Walzer points out that in a section of a contemporary pamphlet, preserved by Eusebius³⁰, directed against this group come these words: "Thus some of them make a laborious study of Euclid, they admire Aristotle and Theophrastus, and some of them almost worship Galen (*Γαληνός γὰρ ἰσως ὑπὸ τινων καὶ προσκυνεῖται*)". Walzer believes that this group largely

²⁵ Preserved only in Arabic quotations; Plato *Arabus* 1, p. 99.

²⁶ R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, Oxford 1949, p. 43.

²⁷ Walzer, *Ibid.* p. 42.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 75–86.

²⁹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 7, 35; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 53, 1, 3.

³⁰ *HE.* 5, 28, 13–14.

depended on the logic of Galen and that he was therefore instrumental in building up a Christian philosophy in Rome which was independent of, and anterior to, the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen. This however is to strain too far the highly rhetorical form of Eusebius' hostile fragment. It need not be doubted that Christians in Rome were acquainted with Galen and he with them. It is however uncertain how far Theodosius of Byzantium's school, if such existed, was influenced by Galen to the chagrin of the loyal Christians in Rome. Logic-chopping was a commonplace in the philosophical environment of the second century³¹ and the fact that adoptionists engaged in it is hardly proof that they were intent on building up a philosophical system anterior to that of Plotinus and Porphyry on the pagan side and to that of Origen on the Christian.

Is there other evidence to support the view that Athenagoras was influenced by Galen in the way he presented the Christian case in his works? It is significant that Galen's references to Christians appear equally in his philosophical and medical works and that he wrote philosophical excurses to his medical works in which he interpreted his medical knowledge in the light of contemporary philosophy. The philosophical treatise *De Resurrectione* records a surprising amount of medical knowledge which finds an exact parallel in Galen. In *De Res.* 4, 1-5, 3 the author counters the objection that if a man is eaten by beasts which then become the food of other men a separation of bodies and consequent resurrection become impossible. In *De Res.* 5, 3 Athenagoras describes in detail the digestive properties in man in terms strongly reminiscent of Galen, *Nat. fac.* 1, 10ff where emulsion (*χυλός*) is brought from the digestive system and, on reaching the liver, is transformed into pneuma or natural spirit, which is the sustenance of the vital principle. Athenagoras is very close to this in his description of the digestive process that takes place in the liver where the food undergoes transformation. In *De Res.* 6, 1, 2 Athenagoras describes the three cleansings and dissolutions in the feeding of a living being, i.e. presentation, adhesion and assimilation or cooking, ingesting and emulsification (*πέψις, ἀνάδοσις, χύλωσις*) just as Galen describes them in *Nat. fac.* 2, 8, 111ff and 3, 13, 200. Athenagoras then describes the natural process of straining (i.e. drawing off the moisture from food) in the manner of Galen, *Nat. fac.* 1, 15, 58 who compares the action of the kidneys to that of wicker strainers (*τάλαρος*) into which curdled milk is thrown during cheese-making. In *De Res.* 6, 3 the stronger and weaker elements in digestion are described in terms reminiscent of the interplay of rival forms in Plato, *Phaedo* 102d-106e, and Galen, *Nat. fac.* 1, 10, 22 who has the same metaphor explaining why meat is more nourishing to men than radishes. Then comes a description of the conversion of food in the belly into humours or juices (*χυμοί*) which is similar to that of Galen who held it to be the work of many organs.

³¹ Chrysippus, *Stoic. vet. fr.* 2, p. 5-7, 45-7, 59, 125; Seneca, *Ep.* 45, 6-10;

In *De Res.* 7, 1 Athenagoras states his belief in the resurrection of the body in these words:

"In fact, even if one admits that food from such sources — let us use the normal term food — though contrary to nature, is broken up and transformed into one of the substances which are wet or dry or hot or cold, even so our opponents can gain no advantage from such concessions. Bodies which arise are reconstituted from their own parts. None of the things to which we have referred is such a part nor does it possess anything like the nature or function of a part. Moreover it will not remain permanently in the parts of the body now being nourished nor will it arise with the parts that arise; since in that state blood, phlegm, bile, or breath will make no further contribution to life. For then bodies will not need the nourishment they once needed, since the usefulness of what nourished them will disappear when these organisms have no further need of nourishment and have undergone dissolution".³²

In Galen's system the opposites of wet and dry, hot and cold play an important role (*De Aliment.* 1). Galen too refers to the four humours of blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile (*Nat. Hom.* 1, 18) and this may have originally stood in Athenagoras' text on which the apparatus criticus may be consulted.

The above texts show that Athenagoras had a good knowledge of medical science to which he attempted to relate theology. Our suggestion is that he was familiar with Galen's attempt to use his wide medical knowledge within a system of philosophy. Indeed it is possible that he knew some of Galen's works or had knowledge of his medical and philosophical treatise. There were constant contacts between Rome and Alexandria which were facilitated by the well known trade route through Puteoli. Codices, like persons, were easily conveyed from the one city to the other. It is a remarkable fact that in the century after Athenagoras' time there was little or no interest in Galen among Christians. Gregory Nyssen, in his sermon *In Sanctum Pascha*³³, however draws on Galen's medical theory. More significant is Nemesius of Emesa (late-fourth century) who had read deeply in the great physician and was profoundly influenced by his treatises. After Nemesius' time John Philoponus³⁴, a figure in the Alexandrian Christian philosophy of the sixth century, found support from Galen in refuting by philosophical arguments the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic doctrine of the eternity of the world. This type of Christian philosophy was to influence profoundly Islamic religious thought. Athenagoras however anticipated this attempt by several centuries in his work *De Resurrectione*. Like Galen he opposed an uncritical faith that had no place for genuine knowledge. True Christianity for him was not only opposed to pagan polytheism but also to those Christians who opposed logic and scientific medicine. In this Athenagoras was a pioneer Christian thinker.

³² Cf. also Augustine, *Serm.* 243, 7 and S. Thomas, IV *Sent.* 44, 1, 2, 3 ad 2.

³³ Ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera: Sermones, Pars I*, Leiden 1962, p. 251–70.

³⁴ *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, published in AD 529.

Minucius Felix *Octavius* XIV. 1: A Proposed Emendation

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"Et quid ad haec" ait "audet Octavius, homo Plautinae prosapiae, ut pistorum praecipuus, ita postremus philosophorum?" (*Oct.* 14. 1)

The most famous of the textual *cruces* in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix¹ is located at 14. 1, in the final line of the young pagan Caecilius' discourse. Caecilius ends triumphantly by flinging a taunt at the Christian protagonist Octavius: "Et quid² ad haec . . . audet Octavius, homo Plautinae prosapiae, ut pistorum praecipuus, ita postremus philosophorum?" The problem lies in the first two epithets, "homo Plautinae prosapiae" and "pistorum praecipuus". The main questions are, how do they fit Octavius, and what do they have to do with one another. Some scholars have believed that a proper explanation of the terms obviates the need of an emendation; others have believed that the trouble lies in *pistorum*, which they emend. My suggestion is that a simple one syllable correction of the first epithet must be made, so as to read "homo Placentinae prosapiae". In my view, the manuscript reading "homo Plautinae prosapiae" fits the context of 14. 1 awkwardly, because *Plautinae* was substituted erroneously for *Placentinae*, which makes better sense and can be justified on several counts.

Many scholars have maintained that the connection between "homo Plautinae prosapiae" and "pistorum praecipuus" is an allusion to the anecdote recorded by Aulus Gellius,³ that Plautus was forced at one period in his life to work in a mill because of bankruptcy. But the point of the tale is that Plautus, while living in difficult circumstances, composed three of his plays, as Naevius had done when in jail. There is no suggestion that Plautus

¹ Surveys of the literature on *Oct.* 14.1 may be found in E. Magaldi, "Della controversia su homo Plautinae prosapiae ecc.", *Didaskaleion* 7 (1929), 41–52; in the annotated edition of M. Pellegrino, *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius* (Scrittori latini commentati per le scuole 173) (Turin, 1947), *ad* 14.1, pp. 114–116; in G. Révay, "Pistorum Praecipuus. Un passo difficile nell' *Octavius* di Minucio Felice", *Didaskaleion* 1 (1923), 3–22.

² *et qui* is the reading of the *Codex Parisinus* 1661 (*saec.* IX) ("P"), the sole independent manuscript of the *Octavius*, in which the *Octavius* appears as an eighth book of Arnobius' *Adversus Nationes. et quid* is the reading of the other extant manuscript, the *Codex Bruxelensis* 10847 (*saec.* XI) ("B"), a corrected copy of "P". *equid* is the commonly accepted emendation found in the edition of Ursinus (Rome, 1583).

³ Gellius, *N.A.* 3.3.14, 15.

was ridiculed as the paragon of the miller, or that he epitomized poverty, illiteracy or rusticity. There is, furthermore, no ancient source that links *Plautina prosapia* with *pistores*.

St. Jerome uses a similar term *Plautina familia*⁴ twice in his epistles to pillory his detractors.⁵ Here the term denotes a vindictive, half-educated fault-finder, who makes a pretence of learning. It is obvious enough that such traits are not redolent of the urbane Octavius and, furthermore, have nothing to do with millers, with the life of Plautus,⁶ or with the illiterate poor. Though *prosapia* is a broader term than *familia*, it is hard to see how *Plautina prosapia* could have a meaning basically different from that of Jerome's *Plautina familia*.

If *Plautinae*, however, is converted to read *Placentinae*, *Octavius* 14. 1 then contains a clear-cut allusion to Plautus' *Captivi* 160–162. It must be stressed that the emergence in 14. 1 of a literary reminiscence argues in favor of the emendation, since the *Octavius* is, in large measure, a pastiche woven from literary evocations.⁷

The passage in the *Captivi* occurs toward the beginning of the play. Hegio compares the parasite Ergasilus' supply of food to the disbanding and recruiting of an army. Ergasilus needs a large number of soldiers, says Hegio:

multis et multigeneribus opus est tibi
militibus: primumdum opus est Pistorensibus;
eorum sunt aloquot genera Pistorensium:
opus Panicis est, opus Placentinis quoque; (*Capt.* 159–162)

Pistorensibus is a pun on *pistor* and on Pistoria, the Etruscan town.⁸ Of the several kinds of bakers, the two mentioned involve similar puns. *Placentinis* puns on *placenta*, a cake, and Placentia, the town in north Italy, the modern Piacenza. The soldiers of Placentia are hence styled "cake bakers".⁹

The most significant feature of the emendation *Placentinae* is that it affords a natural, easily understood conceptual relationship between the first two epithets in 14. 1, so that the first clearly entails the second. This is demanded by the *ut* which links the first two epithets. Since the author gives

⁴ Jerome may be using *familia* in the sense of a "troop of actors" as in Plautus *Men.* prol. 74.

⁵ Hieron. *Ep.* 48.18 *PL* 22.508; *Ep.* 50.1 *PL* 22.512,3.

⁶ The canine metaphors in Jerome's epistles (above n. 5) suggest, however, that he was punning on the name Plautus, also the name of a species of dog. Cf. Plautus *Casina* 34, *Festus*, *De signif. verb.*, p. 259 Lindsay.

⁷ Descriptions of the intricate interweave of literary echoes found in many passages of the *Octavius* may be found in J. Beaujeu, *Minucius Felix Octavius* (Paris, 1964), p. xxiii; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion Arabe* (Paris, 1901), I, 490.

⁸ See the notes on *Captivi* 159–164 in W. M. Lindsay, *The Captivi of Plautus* (repr. Cambridge, 1961), pp. 161, 2.

⁹ On the *placentarii*, the cake bakers, see M. Besnier, art. "pistor, pistrina", *Dar.-Sag.* 4, pp. 498, 9.

⁵ *Studia Patristica* vol. XV

no explanation whatever of the connection existing between these two epithets, he implies thereby that the relationship of entailment expressed by *ut* is so obvious that it needs no elucidation. The first epithet must denote preeminence as a baker so unmistakeably that further explanation is redundant. But it is not at all clear why being a man of Plautine stock makes one a baker, much less an eminent baker. A man of the stock of Placentia, however, would unquestionably be a prince of bakers, since the *Placentini* are a distinguished species of *Pistorenses*, the authority being Plautus, whose works were, doubtless, in great favor in third century Africa.

In the case of the other two instances of *ut . . . ita* correlatives in the *Octavius*,¹⁰ the lead-in statement is a paradox, which is resolved at once by the ensuing phrase. On the proposed reading *homo Placentinae prosapiae*, the paradox in 14. 1 would be resolved for the educated reader as soon as he read *pistorum praecipuus*. He would be aware that a man of the stock of Placentia was a prince of bakers, and that a baker was also the paragon of an unlettered man of low social rank,¹¹ the very charge which Caecilius had more than once leveled against the Christians.¹² The further question as to whether Octavius was also literally of Placentine stock raises an interesting possibility that should not be dismissed out of hand.¹³

The fact that Cicero taunts Piso with being of Placentine stock¹⁴ and in the *Brutus*¹⁵ disparages the speech of a man from Placentia suggests strongly that Placentia betokened a general spirit of provincial rusticity beyond that inherent in its association with *pistores*. It is also instructive to observe that *Octavius* 14. 1 would be set within the traditions of Latin invective in Caecilius' attack on his opponent's place of origin and occupation.¹⁶

A special requisite for any viable emendation of 14. 1 is that it preserve

¹⁰ *Oct.* 36. 3; 40. 1.

¹¹ Several scholars have presented effective cases for connecting *pistorum praecipuus* with Octavius. In general, the arguments and documentation run as follows: 1. Bakers were despised for a trade that epitomized physical drudgery: *Cic. Att.* 2. 1. 9; *Rosc. Am.* 46. 134; *Orig. c. Cels.* 4. 47; *Plaut. Pers.* 420; *Quint. I.O.* 9. 3. 72; *Suet. Aug.* 4. 2; *Tert. de Cor.* 13. 8. 2. Some ancient writers portray the baker's life as being at the opposite pole from that of the philosopher: *Cic. de Orat.* 1. 46; 2. 144; *Gellius NA* 15. 19; *Sen. Ep.* 90. 22. 3. Christians were associated with *pistores*; *Porphyry adv. Christ.* frg. 13 (Harnack); *Apul. Met.* 9. 14.

¹² *Oct.* 5. 4; 12. 7.

¹³ It may be significant that two fifth century Christian bishops of Numidia have names that suggest some connection with Placentia: Placentinus, a Catholic bishop of Madauros, and Placentius, a participant in the Synod of Mileve, mentioned by Augustine (*Ep.* 176 *PL* 33. 763). See W. Ensslin, arts. "Placentinus" and "Placentius (2)" *RE* 20, 2 col. 1910, 6–16 and 23–32, respectively; R. Hanslik, art. "Placentia", *RE* 20, 2 col. 1907, 34–36. For the probable North African provenance of the *Octavius*, see Monceaux (above n. 7) I, 466. For the inscriptions on which appear the same names as those of the interlocutors of the *Octavius*, see Beaujeu (above n. 7), p. xxvi.

¹⁴ *In Pisonem* 23. 53; 27. 69.

¹⁵ *Brut.* 171, 2.

¹⁶ Consult R. G. M. Nisbet, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 192–7.

the line's striking alliteration in "p". The conjecture *Placentinae* is not only compatible with the alliteration of that section but draws impressive support from it as well. In Minucius' imitation of certain classical lines, the suspicion arises that he recreates the coloring of the original not only in content or through direct verbal borrowing, but that he is at pains to transfer to his work elaborate variations on stylistic features found in his source.¹⁷ *Captivi* 159–162 appears to have left its mark upon the alliterative patterns of *Octavius* 14. 1. In both passages we find the same run of "t"s,¹⁸ the same merging into stronger alliteration in "p", the same exaggeration of the alliteration in "p" to the point of being comic.

The reading *Placentinae prosapiae* produces an especially happy synthesis with three motifs that recur throughout the dialogue.¹⁹ In *Captivi* 161 the *Placentini* are burlesque soldiers recruited to supply Ergasilus with food. An allusion in 14. 1 to these soldiers would fit neatly into the tissue of mock military motifs that begins in the prologue when Caecilius proposes to "deliver an assault in philosophy".²⁰ In 8. 3 Caecilius assails the Christians for making an attack on the gods; and in the same passage he refers to the charge of the case that he has undertaken.²¹ Again in 14. 1 we meet very similar military language.²² And as the dialogue concludes, Octavius is said to have disarmed his opponents with their own weapons.²³

A more general spirit of comedy is apparent in the *Octavius* as the scene is laid in the proem for the central debate. The umpire Minucius seats himself between Caecilius and Octavius in order to separate the squabbling opponents.²⁴ Again of a comic complexion is the portrayal in 14. 1 of Caecilius triumphantly beaming, claiming a premature victory over Octavius. This is followed in 14. 2 by Minucius admonishing Caecilius with the words *parce in eum plaudite*, which suggest the familiar appeal *plaudite* that ends many

¹⁷ See, for example, my essay "Tacitus' *Dialogus* as a Source of Minucius Felix' *Octavius*", *CPh* 69,2 (1974), 104, 5 for the apparent imitation in *Oct.* 7. 5, 6 of a conflation of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum* 2. 7 and Tacitus' *Dialogus* 12. 5, in which Minucius seems to be imitating the striking four-member asyndeta of Cicero in a series of three-member asyndeta. There may also be subtle imitation of the sound pattern *portendi, praedici . . . portenta, prodigia* (*Nat. D.* 2. 7) in Minucius' *poetarum, praedicta* (7. 5).

¹⁸ If Minucius is indeed imitating the alliterative patterns of the *Captivi*, support would be lent to the authenticity of the "t" in *et qui* of the manuscript reading of "P" rather than to the emendation of Ursinus *equid*. One would then choose the reading *et quid*, which appears in the manuscript "B". See n. 2 above.

¹⁹ For recurrences of motifs in the *Octavius*, consult C. Becker, *Der Octavius des Minucius Felix* (Munich, 1967), pp. 9, 63, 73, 74.

²⁰ *Oct.* 4. 4: "... conserere sapientiam".

²¹ *Oct.* 8.3: "homines (sustinebitis enim me impetum susceptae actionis liberius exerentem) homines . . . grassari in deos non ingemescendum est?"

²² *Oct.* 14.1: "Sic Caecilius renidens (nam indignationis eius tumorem effusae orationis impetus relaxaverat) . . ."

²³ *Oct.* 39: "... malevolos isdem illis quibus armantur, philosophorum telis retudisset . . ."

²⁴ *Oct.* 4. 6.

Plautine dramas.²⁵ Against such a background a direct allusion to a line of Plautus would be germane indeed.

Twice in the course of his speech²⁶ Caecilius berates the Christians for being a rustic, uneducated people and at the same time underscores the fact that they have no business meddling in philosophical questions. The epithets which Caecilius applies to Octavius in 14. 1 *pistorum praecipuus* and *postremus philosophorum* create the same antithesis in more pointed language. The use of *homo Placentinae prosapiae*, with its overtones of rustic provincialism, would find a congenial place in such a context.

How then, it may be asked, could *Placentinae* have become mistaken in the manuscripts for *Plautinae*? Two conjectures seem to be reasonable.²⁷ In the manuscript "P" abbreviated words are common in which there are omissions of one or more syllables occurring in the middle of words.²⁸ It seems likely that *Placentinae* may have been written *Platinae*,²⁹ and easily confused by a scribe with *Plautinae*.

It is quite normal for manuscripts of all periods to have marginal notes referring to classical authors mentioned in the text. At some point in the chain of lost manuscripts³⁰ written from the third to the ninth centuries a marginal note may well have referred the reader to Plautus' *Captivi* and have furthered the very natural confusion between *Plautinus* and *Placentinus*.

²⁵ *Amph.* 1146, *Asin.* 906, *Curc.* 729, *Men.* 1162, *Mil.* 1437, *Persa* 857, *Poen.* 1422, *Stich.* 775, *Trin.* 1189, *Truc.* 967. This point was made by J. Stiglmayr, "Zur Priorität des Octavius des Minucius Felix gegenüber dem *Apologeticum* Tertullians", *ZKTh* 37 (1913), 231 n. 1.

²⁶ See n. 12 above.

²⁷ Latin's evolution into the Romance languages may have also introduced confusion into the manuscript tradition. By vocalization and elision intervocalic "c", as in *Placentinus*, may become a "g" and then further develop to *ø*. See V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 2nd ed., (Paris 1967), pp. 58, 60.

²⁸ See A. Reifferscheid, *Arnobii Adversus Nationes Libri VII (CSEL IV)* (Vienna, 1875), pp. viii, ix; M. Pellegrino, *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius* (Turin, 1963), pp. xii, xiii.

²⁹ Either *cen* was omitted, or *en* was omitted and the remaining *ct* was confused with *t*, as is attested in the manuscript. See Reifferscheid (above n. 28), p. viii.

³⁰ See the discussion of manuscripts that likely preceded "P" in C. Marchesi, "Per una nuova edizione di Arnobio", *RFIC* 60 (1932), pp. 485-488, and in Reifferscheid (above n. 28), pp. viii-xii.

The Biographical Method of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*

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In his work on Graeco-Roman biography, in a long note near the end of the book, Frederic Leo expressed the following opinion about Jerome's *De viris illustribus*¹: "Considering that the Suetonian title appears here again and as I had not mentioned it before, I now seize the opportunity of saying a word about Jerome's *De viris illustribus*. In spite of the reference to Suetonius and his predecessors and though, at first sight, some chapters produce the impression of scientific research, the book is more like Hesychius² than Suetonius, both for its epitome character, revealed in the whole part up to Eusebius (c. 81) by comparison with his *Ecclesiastical History*, and for the composition of the list of works, which is always interrupted by *et multa alia* and similar expressions. These lists represent the main part, which is preceded by personal information, while the last part consists of chronological details of death and age; this happens chiefly for the longest passages, none of which reach the greatest of Suetonius' biographies *De poetis* in subject or style; the short chapters, especially the last ones, are similar to the method Suetonius uses with the less-known grammarians and rhetoricians."

I can only agree with the view of Leo, who rightly defined the limits of Jerome's pretension, expressed in the *Prologus*³, to write along with his work another work comparable not only with Suetonius's analogous work, but with Cicero's *Brutus* as well. And Leo's opinion has been substantially confirmed by the close examination of the Hieronymian sources by Sychowski⁴,

¹ Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form, Leipzig, 1901 (reprint Hildesheim, 1965), n. 2 pp. 311–312; about the problem of the title of the Hieronymian work and the homonymous Suetonian one see G. Brugnoli, *Studi suetoniani*, Lecce, 1968, especially Il titolo *De viris illustribus*, pp. 39–60.

² About Hesychius and his work see Leo's same work, pp. 30–31.

³ See E. C. Richardson, *Hieronymus liber de viris illustribus*, "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur", 14, 1, Leipzig, 1896, *Prologus*, pp. 1–2; for the history of the text and its ample tradition see A. Feder, *Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Hieronymus*, Freiburg, 1927 and B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme*, "Instrumenta Patristica", 4, Steenbrugge, II, 1969, p. 429 ff.

⁴ *Hieronymus als Litterarhistoriker. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schrift des hl. Hieronymus "De viris illustribus"*, "Kirchengeschichtliche Studien", II, 2, Münster, 1894.

by Bernouilli⁵ and, more recently, by Courcelle⁶: the *De viris illustribus* is a composite work, in which dependance on Eusebius predominates in the chapter 1-78, while in the following 79-135 the personal information provided by Jerome is extremely short and summary, even though important.

Therefore, if we want to identify the biographical method of Jerome, we cannot deny that Suetonius represents the model which the *De viris illustribus* constantly aims at, and not only the Suetonius of the similar biographical work⁷, but also the writer famous for his historical and learned researches, that Jerome must have known very well.

The recent reconstruction of Suetonius's personality by Francis Della Corte⁸ confirms the existence of many affinities between the two writers.

In the first place the religious conception of history, typical of Suetonius, who thinks the Romans are instruments of Fate and must not be *religionum contemptores* if they want to keep away from divine punishments, presents many points of contact with the similar conception of several Christian writers (suffice it to think of the main theme of Lactantius's *De mortibus persecutorum*!).⁹

The anecdotal interest and the realistic taste that characterize the Suetonian narrative are also present in many chapters of the *De viris illustribus* of Jerome, who, like Suetonius, shows a typical tendency to malicious and polemical detail.¹⁰

With specific regard to the individual biographies, we can say that Jerome completely imitated the Suetonian method that, according to Ausonius, follows the strict quadripartition in *nomina, res gestae, vita, obitus*, with a treatment *per species*, that is by stated categories, and not *per tempora*, by the ancient chronological method of the Annalists.¹¹

Analyzing the 135 chapters of *De viris illustribus*, the *species*, that form its structure, can be grouped into the following twelve, that I enumerate, indicating their frequency from *nomina* (135 times) to *synchronismus* (11 times) and with the following detailed list of each writer mentioned by Jerome:

⁵ Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Hieronymus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Freiburg-Leipzig, 1895.

⁶ Les lettres grecques en Occident. De Macrobe à Cassiodore, 2nd ed., Paris, 1948, pp. 67-115.

⁷ See A. Rostagni, Suetonio "De poetis" e biografie minori, Turin, 1944, and F. Della Corte, Suetonio "Grammatici e retori", 3rd ed., Turin, 1968; see a selection of Suetonian and Hieronymian corresponding passages in Bernouilli, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

⁸ Suetonio eques Romanus, 2nd ed., Florence, 1967.

⁹ See Della Corte, op. cit., especially the third chapter La "religio" dei Cesari, and the remarks on Suetonius's attitude towards the Jewish and Christian religions on pp. 73-76.

¹⁰ See Della Corte, op. cit., pp. 132, 145 and 159 (for the realism); p. 94 (for the tendency to malicious polemic); as regards Jerome, suffice it to hint at the short and ambiguous judgement on Ambrose of chapter 125 (see A. Paredi, S. Gerolamo e S. Ambrogio, "Mélanges E. Tisserant", 5, Vatican City, 1964, pp. 183-198).

¹¹ See Della Corte, op. cit., p. 193 and n. 4.

1. <i>nomina</i>	135 times
2. <i>scripta</i>	135 times
3. <i>officia</i>	107 times
4. <i>aetas</i>	105 times
5. <i>obitus</i>	38 times
6. <i>patria</i>	32 times
7. <i>scribendi genus</i>	19 times
8. <i>parentes</i>	15 times
9. <i>martyrium</i>	16 times
10. <i>studia</i>	14 times
11. <i>sepultura</i>	12 times
12. <i>synchronismus</i>	11 times

As you can see, the Suetonian distribution could not have been followed more faithfully, even with the necessary adaptations (for instance martyrdom separated from death); and there are also various affinities, that we find in the two writers: like Suetonius, Jerome places the *Index* of the writers mentioned before the chapters; as Suetonius does not name living writers, for instance Tacitus, so Jerome does not mention his contemporaries, for instance Augustin, or he speaks about them in quite a modest way; Jerome is similar to Suetonius in the determination of the name or the names of the individual writers, in the discovery of particular chronological combinations between different personages or episodes, in the frequent quotation of illustrious authors (for instance Cicero in Suetonius, biblical and patristic passages in Jerome).¹²

But the *De viris illustribus* presents a greater affinity, not to say nearly an identity, with another of Jerome's works, written about ten years earlier: his translation and Latin adaptation of Eusebius's *Chronica*.¹³

By comparison of the *De viris illustribus* with the information we have on the Christian writers of the *Chronica*, I reached the following statement:

¹² See Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, ed. Richardson, p. 2 ff. and Suetonius's *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, ed. Della Corte, Introduction, p. XXVII ff., on the *Index*; as regards the other affinities, they are very numerous and appear by a simple comparison of the two writers' works.

¹³ More correctly of the second part of it, that Jerome continued until 378 A.D., while the composition of the *De viris illustribus*, as appears from Prologus, goes back to 392 A.D.; I cite the *Chronica* in the second edition of R. Helm, *Eusebius Werke*, 7, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Berlin, 1956.

TABULA VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM QUI A HIERONYMO NUNCUPANTUR

1

SCRIPTORES	NOMINA	PARENTES	PATRIA	STUDIA	OFFICIA	AETAS	SCRIPTA	SCRIBENDI GENUS	OBITUS	MARTYRIUM	SEPULTURA	SYNCRONISMUS
1. Petrus	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2. Iacobus	+	+			+	+	+		+	+	+	
3. Matthaeus	+				+		+					
4. Iudas frater Iacobi	+	+					+					
5. Paulus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Barnabas	+		+		+	+	+					
7. Lucas	+		+		+	+	+				+	
8. Marcus	+				+		+		+		+	
9. Iohannes	+	+			+	+	+		+		+	
10. Hermas	+						+					
11. Philon	+		+		+	+	+					
12. Seneca	+	+	+	+		+	+		+			+
13. Iosephus	+	+			+	+	+					
14. Iustus	+		+			+	+					+
15. Clemens episcopus	+				+	+	+		+		+	
16. Ignatius	+				+	+	+		+	+	+	
17. Polycarpus	+				+	+	+		+	+		
18. Papias	+				+		+					
19. Quadratus	+				+	+	+					
20. Aristides	+		+		+	+	+					+
21. Agrippa	+						+					
22. Hegesippus	+					+	+	+				
23. Iustinus	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+		
24. Melito	+		+		+	+	+					
25. Theophilus episcopus	+				+	+	+	+				
26. Apollinaris episcopus	+				+	+	+					
27. Dionysius episcopus	+				+	+	+					
28. Pinytus	+		+		+	+	+	+				
29. Tatianus	+				+	+	+					
30. Philippus episcopus	+				+	+	+					
31. Musanus	+					+	+					
32. Modestus	+					+	+					
33. Bardesanes	+				+		+	+				
34. Victor	+				+	+	+					
35. Irenaeus	+				+	+	+					
36. Pantaenus	+			+	+	+	+					
37. Rhodon	+		+	+		+	+	+				
38. Clemens presbyter	+			+	+	+	+	+				
39. Miltiades	+					+	+					

SCRIPTORES	NOMINA •	PARENTES	PATRIA	STUDIA	OFFICIA	AETAS	SCRIPTA	SCRIBENDI GENUS	OBITUS	MARTYRIUM	SEPULTURA	SYNCRONISMUS
40. Apollonius	+				+	+	+					
41. Serapion episcopus	+				+	+	+					
42. Apollonius alius senator	+				+	+	+		+	+		
43. Theophilus alius episcopus	+				+	+	+					
44. Bacchylus	+				+	+	+					
45. Polycrates	+				+	+	+					
46. Heraclitus	+					+	+					
47. Maximus	+					+	+					
48. Candidus	+					+	+					
49. Appion	+					+	+					
50. Sextus	+					+	+					
51. Arabianus	+					+	+					
52. Iudas	+					+	+					
53. Tertullianus	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
54. Origenes	+	+			+	+	+		+	+	+	
55. Ammonius	+				+	+	+					
56. Ambrosius diaconus	+				+	+	+		+			
57. Tryphon	+			+			+					
58. Minucius Felix	+				+		+					
59. Gaius	+					+	+					
60. Beryllus	+				+	+	+					
61. Hippolytus	+				+	+	+					
62. Alexander episcopus	+				+	+	+		+	+		+
63. Iulius Africanus	+				+	+	+					
64. Geminus	+				+	+	+					+
65. Theodorus qui et Gregorius	+			+	+	+	+					
66. Cornelius	+				+	+	+		+	+		
67. Cyprianus	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+
68. Pontius	+				+		+					
69. Dionysius episcopus	+			+	+	+	+					
70. Novatianus	+				+		+					
71. Malchion	+				+	+	+					
72. Archelaus	+				+	+	+					
73. Anatolius	+		+		+	+	+					
74. Victorinus	+				+		+	+	+	+		
75. Pamphilus	+				+	+	+		+	+		
76. Pierius	+				+	+	+					+
77. Lucianus	+				+	+	+		+	+	+	
78. Phileas	+		+		+	+	+		+	+		+
79. Arnobius	+				+	+	+					
80. Lactantius	+			+	+	+	+					
81. Eusebius episcopus	+				+	+	+					+
82. Reticus	+				+	+	+					

SCRIPTORES	NOMINA	PARENTES	PATRIA	STUDIA	OFFICIA	AETAS	SCRIPTA	SCRIBENDI GENUS	OBITUS	MARTYRIUM	SEPULTURA	SYNCRONISMUS
83. Methodius	+				+	+	+		+	+		
84. Iuvenus	+		+		+	+	+					
85. Eustathius	+		+		+	+	+		+		+	
86. Marcellus	+				+	+	+					
87. Athanasius	+				+	+	+		+			
88. Antonius	+				+	+	+					
89. Basilius episcopus	+			+	+	+	+					
90. Theodorus	+				+	+	+	+				
91. Eusebius alius episcopus	+				+	+	+		+		+	
92. Triphylus	+				+	+	+					
93. Donatus haeresiarches	+				+	+	+					
94. Asterius	+					+	+					
95. Lucifer	+				+	+	+		+			
96. Eusebius alius episcopus	+		+		+	+	+		+			
97. Fortunatianus	+		+		+	+	+					
98. Acacius	+				+	+	+					
99. Serapion episcopus	+				+	+	+					
100. Hilarius	+				+	+	+		+			
101. Victorinus rhetor	+		+		+	+	+					
102. Titus	+				+	+	+		+			
103. Damasus	+				+	+	+		+			
104. Apollinaris episcopus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			
105. Gregorius episcopus	+		+		+		+	+				
106. Pacianus	+				+	+	+	+	+			
107. Photinus	+		+		+	+	+					
108. Phoeadius	+				+		+					
109. Didymus	+		+				+					
110. Optatus	+		+		+	+	+					
111. Acilius	+	+	+			+	+		+			
112. Cyrillus episcopus	+				+	+	+					
113. Euzoius	+			+	+	+	+					
114. Epiphanius	+				+		+	+				
115. Ephrem	+				+	+	+	+	+			
116. Basilius alius episcopus	+				+	+	+		+			
117. Gregorius alius episcopus	+				+	+	+	+	+			
118. Lucius	+				+	+	+					
119. Diodorus episcopus	+				+		+	+				
120. Eunomius	+				+		+					
121. Priscillianus	+				+	+	+		+			
122. Latronianus	+		+			+	+	+	+			+
123. Tiberianus	+		+				+	+				
124. Ambrosius episcopus	+				+		+					
125. Euagrius episcopus	+				+		+					

SCRIPTORES	NOMINA	PARENTES	PATRIA	STUDIA	OFFICIA	AETAS	SCRIPTA	SCRIBENDI GENUS	OBITUS	MARTYRIUM	SEPULTURA	SYNCHRONISMUS
126. Ambrosius	+		+				+					
127. Maximus episcopus	+		+		+	+	+					
128. Gregorius alius episcopus	+	+			+	+	+					
129. Iohannes presbyter	+			+	+		+					
130. Gelasius	+				+		+	+				
131. Theotimus	+				+		+					
132. Dexter	+	+			+		+					
133. Amphilochius	+				+		+					
134. Sophronius	+						+					
135. Hieronymus	+	+	+			+	+					

Cited writers	in the <i>Chronica</i>	in <i>De v.i.</i>	absent in the <i>Chronica</i>
Greek	54	102	48
Latin	18	33	15
Addition	72	135	63

According to these statistics, over half the writers cited in the *De viris illustribus* were already present in the *Chronica*, and it is interesting to compare each passage to grasp the characteristics of Jerome's biographical method.¹⁴

In the first place in both works care for the chronology is constant and fundamental and while it is satisfied in the former by the insertion of each writer in the progressive list of the Olympiads, in the latter it appears in the exact indication of the emperor's name and of the most significant coincidences between personages and episodes of particular importance.

Here are some interesting examples that I have chosen.

Chronica (Helm, p. 179)
ad Ol. 205, 2 = 42 A.D.

Petrus apostolus cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset, Romam mittitur, ubi evangelium praedicans XXV annis eiusdem urbis episcopus perseverat.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 6):
c. 1, 1. 22 ff.

Simon Petrus . . . princeps apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiae . . . Romam pergit ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id est quartum decimum.

¹⁴ Citing from the Helm's and Richardson's editions, I mention for the *Chronica* the page, the reference to the Olympiad and the corresponding date; for the *De viris illustribus*, the page, the chapter and the initial line. As for Suetonius, so for the *Chronica*, Bernouilli, op. cit. pp. 164-165, compared some passages of the *De viris illustribus*, but without extending and going deeply into the whole of the two Hieronymian works, also because his research is only limited to chapters 1-78, that depend substantially on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

As you can see, the simple indication of the *Chronica* receive a further confirmation by the coincidence of the twenty-fifth year of Peter's episcopate with the fourteenth year of Nero's empire, corresponding to 68 A.D. (see the *Chronica*, Helm p. 185, *ad Ol.* 211, 4: "Petrus et Paulus gloriose Romae occubuerunt"). In addition, the sentences of the *De viris illustribus* that comprise the same information of the *Chronica* about Peter, suffered some variations by Jerome: *Petrus apostolus* has become *Simon Petrus princeps apostolorum* (with the exact indication of the two names and the high office); the information of the institution of the Church of Antioch (*cum primum Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset*) disappears in the next work, becoming a simple chronological detail (*post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiae*); instead of *Petrus Romam mittitur*, Jerome writes *Petrus Romam pergit*.

Chronica (Helm, p. 191)
ad Ol. 217, 4 = 92 A.D.

Tertius Romanae ecclesiae episcopus
praefuit Clemens annis IX.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 16)
c. 15, l. 30 ff.

Clemens . . . quartus post Petrum Romae
episcopus, si quidem secundus Linus fuit,
tertius Anencletus, tametsi plerique Lati-
norum secundum post Apostolum putent
fuisse Clementem . . .

The information of the *De viris illustribus* discusses critically the exact place of Clement among Peter's successors and determines the date of his death, quoting the third year of Trajan, that corresponds to 99 A.D. (see the *Chronica*, Helm p. 193 = *ad Ol.* 219, 3).

Chronica (Helm, pp. 218–219)
ad Ol. 257, 4 = 252 A. D.

Romanae ecclesiae episcopatum post
Fabiani gloriosam mortem XX suscipit
Cornelius annis II, qui et ipse martyrio
coronatus est. Extant ad eum Cypriani
VIII epistulae.

De v.i. (Richardson, pp. 37–38)
c. 66, l. 27 ff.

Cornelius, Romanae urbis episcopus, ad
quem octo Cypriani extant epistulae,
scripsit *Epistulam ad Fabium*, Antiochenae
ecclesiae episcopum, et aliam *De Novatiano*
et de his qui lapsi sunt, tertiam *De gestis*
synodi, quartam *Ad eundem Fabium* valde
prolixam et Novatianae haereseos causas et
anathema continentem. Rexit ecclesiam
sub Gallo et Volusiano annis duobus; cui
ob Christi martyrio coronato successit Lu-
cius.

The sixty-sixth chapter of the *De viris illustribus*, that I have quoted in full, clearly shows the same structure as the brief information given by the *Chronica*, in which Jerome inserted the list of Cornelius's several letters and, at the end, the indication of the two emperors.

Beside the cases of chronological determination, the *De viris illustribus* presents many amplifications and additions compared with the simple details of the *Chronica*.

A significant example is offered at the beginning of both works.

In the *Praefatio* of his translation of Eusebius's *Chronica* Jerome says

"A Troia usque ad vicesimum Constantini annum nunc addita, nunc admixta sunt plurima, quae de Tranquillo et ceteris illustribus historicis curiosissime excerpti" (Helm, p. 6). Analogously, in the *Prologus* of the *De viris illustribus* Suetonius is twice mentioned: that is, at the beginning (Richardson, p. 1, l. 1: "Hortaris, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens . . .") and again at the end of a detailed list of Greek and Latin biographers, his predecessors (Richardson, ib., l. 6ff.: "Fecerunt quidem hoc idem apud Graecos Hermippus peripateticus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus doctus vir et longe omnium doctissimus Aristoxenus musicus; apud Latinos autem Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus et, ad cuius nos exemplum vis provocare, Tranquillus"). Even though, as Courcelle says¹⁵, Jerome did not know these biographers directly, but only by name and through Suetonius, from whom he borrowed them, explicit quotation of them appears in the *De viris illustribus*, while in the *Chronica* the indication of the several sources is quite general.

Chapters 53 and 67, dedicated to Tertullian and Cyprian, are the most significant examples as regards the amplification of short information of the *Chronica*.

Chronica (Helm, p. 212)
ad Ol. 246, 4 = 208 A.D.

Tertullianus Afer, centurionis proconsularis filius, omnium ecclesiarum sermone celebratur.

De v.i. (Richardson, pp. 31–32)
c. 53, l. 15 ff.

Tertullianus presbyter nunc demum primus post Victorem et Apollonium Latinorum ponitur, provinciae Africae, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre centurione proconsulari. Hic acris et vehementis ingenii, sub Severo principe et Antonino Caracalla maxime floruit multaque scripsit volumina quae, quia nota sunt plurimis, praetermittimus. Vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiae (oppidum Italiae) senem, qui se beati Cypriani iam grandis aetatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adulescens, Romae vidisse diceret referretque sibi, solitum numquam Cypriani absque Tertulliani lectione unam praeterisse diem ac sibi crebro dicere: "Da magistrum", Tertullianum videlicet significans. Hic usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter ecclesiae, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanae ecclesiae ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris novae prophetiae meminit. Specialiter autem adversum ecclesiam texuit volumina *De pudicitia*, *De persecutione*, *De ieiuniis*, *De monogamia*, *De exstasi* libros sex, et septimum quem *Adversus Apollonium* composuit, ferturque vixisse usque ad decrepitam aetatem et multa quae non extant opuscula edidisse.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 67; about these authors and the different problems on the Greek-Latin biography see Rostagni, op. cit., Introduction, pp. XII–XVIII.

This is one of the most interesting chapters of the *De viris illustribus*, both because, as Sychowski showed¹⁶, it is wholly independent from Eusebius's *History*, and especially because it illustrates some characteristic aspects of Jerome's style and personality.

In fact, the information of Cyprian's old secretary and the record of him derives from the taste of the unusual and important anecdote, frequent also in Suetonius; the direct charge against the Roman clergy for Tertullian's apostasy from the "Church" (that is the Catholic Church, without any determination if Carthaginian or Roman, in opposition to Montanus's sect) alludes clearly for the personal circumstances that forced Jerome, after the death of Pope Damasus, to quit Rome and Italy for ever.

The amplification of the short details of the *Chronica* about Cyprian for the sixty-seventh chapter of the *De viris illustribus* is more modest but not less interesting.

Chronica (Helm, p. 220)
ad Ol. 259, 1 = 257 A.D.

Cyprianus primum rhetor, deinde presbyter, ad extremum Carthaginiensis episcopus martyrio coronatur.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 38)
c. 67, 1. 7 ff.

Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit, exinde suadente presbytero Caecilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, Christianus factus, omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit ac post non multum temporis adlectus in presbyterium etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est. Huius ingenii superfluum est indicem texere, cum sole clariora sint eius opera. Passus est sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus persecutione octava, eo die quo Romae Cornelius, sed non eodem anno.

If the chronological determination of Cyprian's martyrdom is exact, the surname Caecilius is not, because Jerome mistakenly confused it with Caecilianus, mentioned in the *Vita et passio Cypriani*, written by Pontius and very well known to Jerome¹⁷; this confusion derived from the tendency, characteristic also of Suetonius's biographical method, to indicate and explain the origin of all the possible names of the writers cited; Jerome had made the same mistake before in the fifth chapter about Paulus: "Cumque primum ad praedicationem eius Sergius Paulus, proconsul Cypri, credidisset, ab eo, quod eum Christi fidei subegerat, sortitus est nomen . . ." (Richardson, p. 9, 1. 26 ff.).

The short information of the *Chronica* on Anatolius offers Jerome the opportunity for the detailed list of the *philosophorum disciplinae*, mentioned however in a wrong order (*quadrivius* not after *trivius*) and without one of them, "music":

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 140 ff.

¹⁷ See Sychowski, op. cit., p. 161.

Chronica (Helm, p. 223)

ad Ol. 264, 3 = 279 A.D.

Anatolius Laodiceus episcopus philosophorum disciplinis eruditus plurimo sermone celebratur.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 40)

c. 73, 1. 18 ff.

Anatolius Alexandrinus, Laodiceae Syriae episcopus, sub Probo et Caro imperatoribus floruit, mirae doctrinae vir in arithmetica, geometrica, astronomia, grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica. Cuius ingenii magnitudinem de volumine quod *Super pascha* composuit et *De decem libris arithmeticae institutionis* intelligere possumus.

The details of the *Chronica* about Iuvenius do not appear more detailed in the *De viris illustribus*, but they are very important because of their old age and they are the only source for the poet's biography:

Chronica (Helm, p. 232)

ad Ol. 277, 1 = 329 A.D.

Iuvenius presbyter natione Hispanus evangelia heroicis versibus explicat.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 44)

c. 84, 1. 5 ff.

Iuvenius, nobilissimi genere Hispanus, presbyter, quattuor Evangelia hexametris versibus paene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros composuit et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit sub Constantino principe.

It is interesting to note that a great deal of the amplifications of the *De viris illustribus* derive from short expressions which have become fixed formulas in the *Chronica* to indicate the ἀκμή of a writer in general. They are nearly always the following:

- "clarus habetur": *Chr.* (Helm, p. 171: *ad Ol. 198, 1 = 13 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 15: *c. 12, 1. 17 f.*) for the philosopher Sotion;
Chr. (Helm, p. 206: *ad Ol. 237, 3 = 171 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 23: *c. 27, 1. 4 ff.*) for Dionysius of Corinth;
Chr. (Helm, p. 231: *ad Ol. 276, 3 = 327 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 42: *c. 79, 1. 13 ff.*) for Arnobius;
Chr. (Helm, p. 248: *ad Ol. 288, 4 = 376 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 51: *c. 116, 1. 22 ff.*) for Basilus of Caesarea;
- "insignis habetur": *Chr.* (Helm, p. 206: *ad Ol. 237, 2 = 170 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 22: *c. 26, 1. 27 ff.*) for Apollinaris of Hierapolis;
Chr. (Helm, p. 208: *ad Ol. 240, 2 = 182 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 25: *c. 35, 1. 6 ff.*) for Irenaeus;
Chr. (Helm, p. 211: *ad Ol. 243, 3 = 195 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 29: *cc. 43, 44 and 45, 1. 6 ff.*) for Theophilus, Bacchylus and Polycrates;
- "agnoscitur": *Chr.* (Helm, p. 193: *ad Ol. 219, 1 = 97 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 16: *c. 14, 1. 25 ff.*) for Iustus of Tiberias;
Chr. (Helm, p. 206: *ad Ol. 237, 4 = 172 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 23: *c. 29, 1. 23 ff.*) for Tatianus;
Chr. (Helm, p. 212: *ad Ol. 245, 4 = 204 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 24: *c. 31, 1. 10 ff.*) for Musanus;
Chr. (Helm, p. 232: *ad Ol. 276, 4 = 328 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 46: *c. 93, 1. 12 ff.*) for the heretic Donatus;
Chr. (Helm, p. 246: *ad Ol. 288, 1 = 373 A.D.*) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 52: *c. 120, 1. 26 ff.*) for Eunomius;

"notus efficitur": *Chr.* (Helm, p. 206: *ad Ol.* 237, 4 = 172 A.D.) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 24: c. 33, 1. 20 ff.) for Bardesanes;

"disertissimus habetur": *Chr.* (Helm, p. 211: *ad Ol.* 243, 2 = 194 A.D.) and *De v.i.* (Richardson, p. 26: cc. 36 and 38, 1. 4ff.) for Pantaenus and Clements of Alexandria.

These and other similar expressions are generally replaced in the text of the corresponding chapter of the *De viris illustribus* by formulas such as "claruit" (for instance c. 27, 1. 13 for Dionysius of Corinth); "docuit" (for instance c. 79, 1. 14 for Arnobius) and especially "floruit" (for instance c. 53, 1. 19 for Tertullian; c. 54, 1. 16 for Origen; c. 81, 1. 17, for Eusebius of Caesarea; c. 91, p. 45, 1. 3 for Eusebius of Emesa).

Many examples of similar formulas, present in both Jerome's works, explain themselves as linguistic counterdrawings from their Greek source, for instance: Eusebius, *Chronica*, II, p. 154¹⁸:

Παῦλος δέσμιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπέμπεται

Jerome, *Chronica*, Helm p. 182 = *ad Ol.* 208, 4 = 56 A.D.:

Paulus . . . vincitur Romam mittitur;

Jerome, *De v.i.*, Richardson, p. 10: c. 5, 1. 4:

Paulus . . . Romam vincitur mittitur.

Compared with the amplifications of contents, the cases of synthesis of more information of the *Chronica* in only one text of the *De viris illustribus* are very much less numerous.

A significant example is offered by the eighty-seventh chapter on Athanasius, that abridges and synthetizes five different pieces of information of the *Chronica*.

Chronica (Helm, p. 232)

ad Ol. 277, 2 = 330 A.D.

Alexandriae XIX ordinatur episcopus
Athanasius.

Chronica (Helm, p. 234)

ad Ol. 279, 3 = 339 A.D.

. . . impietas Ariana Constantii regis . . .
primum Athanasium, deinde omnes non suae
partis episcopos persecuta est.

Chronica (Helm, p. 236)

ad Ol. 280, 3 = 343 A.D.

A quo (scil. Maximino Treverorum episcopo) Athanasius Alexandriae episcopus,
cum a Constantio quaereretur ad poenam,
honorifice sumptus est.

Chronica (Helm, p. 236)

ad Ol. 281, 2 = 346 A.D.

Athanasius ad Constantis litteras Alexandriam regreditur.

De v.i. (Richardson, pp. 44—45)

c. 87, 1. 27 ff.

Athanasius, Alexandriae urbis episcopus,
multa Arianorum perpressus insidiis, ad Constantem, Galliarum principem, fugit, unde reversus cum litteris et rursus post mortem illius fugatus usque ad Ioviani imperium latuit, a quo recepta ecclesia sub Valente moritur. Feruntur eius *Adversum gentes* duo libri et *Contra Valentem et Ursacium* unus, *De virginitate*, *De persecutionibus Arianorum* plurimi et *De psalmorum titulis* et *Historia Antonii monachi* vitam continens et *Eogetaxal* epistolae et multa alia quae enumerare longum est.

¹⁸ See A. Schoene, Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo, 2nd ed., I (1875) and II (1866), anastatic reprint, Dublin-Zurich, 1967.

Chronica (Helm, p. 242)

ad Ol. 285, 2 = 362 A.D.

Georgio per seditionem populi incenso, qui in locum Athanasii ab Arianis fuerat ordinatus, Athanasius Alexandriam revertitur.

The seventy-ninth chapter on Arnobius is also interesting, much abridged in comparison with the ample citation of the *Chronica*:

Chronica (Helm, p. 231)

ad Ol. 276, 3 = 327 A.D.

Arnobius rhetor in Africa clarus habetur. Qui cum Siccae ad declamandum iuvenes erudiret et adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem somniis compelleretur neque ab episcopo impetraret fidem, quam semper impugnaverat, elucubravit adversum pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros et tandem velut quibusdam obsidibus pietatis foedus impetravit.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 42)

c. 79, 1. 13 ff.

Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccae apud Africam florentissime docuit scripsitque *Adversum gentes* volumina, quae vulgo extant.

The information of the *De viris illustribus* rightly corrects, as Sychowski says¹⁹, the chronology of Arnobius's conversion, which took place in the reign of Diocletian, about 303 A.D., and not 327 A.D., in the reign of Constantine; and as it is difficult to find the cause of this mistake of Jerome so it is hard to discover the source from which the *Chronica* borrowed the details about Arnobius's conversion, among these the allusion to dreams clearly recalls the several references of Suetonius to the importance of oneirical revelations, mysterious means of divinities that concern men.²⁰

The cases where the contents of the *De viris illustribus* change completely or contradict the information of the *Chronica*, are very few. I think that two of them are the most considerable examples.

The first refers to Damasus and is due to the different intention of Jerome; while in the *Chronica* he offers only historical details, in the *De viris illustribus* on the contrary he aims at the chronological and literary aspect:

Chronica (Helm, p. 244)

ad Ol. 286, 2 = 366 A.D.

Romanæ ecclesiæ XXXV ordinatur episcopus Damasus et post non multum temporis intervallum Ursinus a quibusdam episcopus constitutus Sicininum cum suis invadit, quo Damasianæ partis populo conflente crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexus pertratae.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 48)

c. 103, 1. 28 ff.

Damasus, Romanæ urbis episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit multaque et brevia opuscula heroico metro edidit et, prope octogenarius, sub Theodosio principe mortuus est.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 171.

²⁰ For this detail see Della Corte, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

The second example offers two opposed judgements on Ambrose, that may be explained by the difference of the relations between Jerome and Ambrose in over twenty years, as Paredi suggests²¹:

Chronica (Helm, p. 247)
ad Ol. 288, 2 = 374 A.D.

Post Auxentii seram mortem Mediolanii
Ambrosio episcopo constituto, omnis ad fi-
dem rectam Italia convertitur.

De v.i. (Richardson, p. 53)
c. 124, I. 20 ff.

Ambrosius, Mediolanensis episcopus, us-
que in praesentem diem scribit, de quo, quia
superest, meum iudicium subtraham, ne in
alterutram partem aut adulatio in me repre-
hendatur aut veritas.

At the end of this research I think that the comparison between the *Chronica* and the *De viris illustribus*, if on one side it has confirmed the epitome character of both works, on the other side it has indicated that the *De viris illustribus*, in spite of its limits, belongs rightly to the Graeco-Latin biographical tradition.

I agree with Bernouilli, when he says at the end of the chapter dedicated to "Das suetonische Vorbild": "So erscheint denn das hieronymische Buch allerdings in suetonischer Maske."²² But this Suetonian "model" does not reduce its great importance: the *De viris illustribus* is in every way the first attempt at a history of the old Christian literature, destined to have the greatest success in the following centuries, up to the most recent literary histories, that will continue to borrow precious information from it, which is often only surviving information of all the old tradition.²³

²¹ See the article cited in the note 10.

²² Op. cit., p. 79.

²³ About the continuators of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* see Sychowski, op. cit., pp. 8-9, supplemented by the additional material in Altaner-Stuiber, *Patrologie*, 8th ed., Freiburg, 1978, pp. 8-9; the work was also translated into Greek by one Sophronius, about whom see O. von Gebhardt, *Hieronymus De viris illustribus in griechischer Übersetzung*, "Texte und Untersuchungen", 14, 1b, Leipzig, 1896. Among the most recent studies on the *De viris illustribus*, I mention the Polish translation, with an introduction and short notes, by J. St. Boiarski, J. M. Szmusiak and W. Szoldrski, *Sw. Hieronim. O znakomitych mezach*, "Pisma starochrzescijanskich pisarzy", 6, Warsaw, 1970, and the Italian translation, also with introduction and notes, by E. Camisani, *Uomini illustri*, "Opere scelte di S. Girolamo", Turin, I, 1971.

Agrapha in St Methodius of Olympus (more probably – of Philippi)*

M. CHOUB, Tambov

The Church of the 3rd century A.D. already possessed a body of Tradition which by far exceeded the part which the contemporary manuscripts have preserved for us. Some portion of the Tradition St Methodius used in his writings was either lost or deformed, and therefore made suspect, by schismatics and heretics throughout later centuries. Primarily, we refer here to works of the Early Christian literature subsequently classed for this reason as the *apocrypha*, and to the *agrapha*.

The fact that St Methodius had recourse to texts lost later only quite recently drew the attention of modern research¹.

Apocryphal literature, however, was only sparingly used by the author.

The question of the bulk of literature described as the *agrapha* as used by St. Methodius was first posed by the present writer in 1954².

There are sufficient grounds to believe that in *De Lepra*, X, in the words of Ebboulios, a pseudonym for the holy bishop himself, occurs an *agraphon* well worth entering into extant *agrapha* collections.

"What was the law thou, O Lord, gavest thy servants? Tell this to us as well; if you do the will of my Father you will be like lamps filled with life eternal. Therefore stay awake so that you might enter the depths of incorruptibility together with me. And so keep your lamps burning so that you enter the abode of eternity" (*De Lepra*, X, 5). The importance of the passage is further underscored by Ebboulios' interlocutor, Euthymios, who replies.

"Truthfully . . . I, too, when hearing of things lofty, and such I consider to be the words of Christ, feel a great elation as if vivified by them, venerate them as if by fixing my gaze at things of heaven, as if forgetting myself, thinking I have already abandoned this world" (*De Lepra*, XI, 1).

Besides the Gospel text parallels that could be pointed out for *De Lepra*, X, 5 (Mt 7 : 21 ; 5 : 16 ; 24 : 42 ; Lk 12 : 35) a certain similarity might be noted with the *agraphon* in *De aleatoribus* 3, ascribed to St Cyprian: "do not extinguish the light that shines in you".

* Holy bishop and martyr, died 311. In Slavonic texts his diocese is Philippi.

¹ H. Musurillo, *Methodie d'Olympe – Le Banquet*, Paris 1963, p. 29.

² The *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1954, No. 6. The texts of St. Methodius used in this paper are extant only in Slavonic. The German translation by N. G. Bonwetsch, *Methodius*, Leipzig 1917.

The recently published Gospel of St Thomas, found in Nag-Hammadi in 1945, has the words "There is light in the man of light, and this illuminates the world. If he does not shine, he is the darkness" which the apocryphal author ascribes to the Lord³.

In *De Lepra*, the wise woman of Lycia has this to say on the Church: "The Church is a robe of the Lord made up of many peoples, for he has so woven us together that the weaker could be supported by the stronger" (*De Lepra*, XV, 3).

An almost *verbatim* rendering of a part of the above is seen in the apocryphal *Iudicium Petri*, 26, "that which was weak was saved by the stronger", considered to be one of the sayings of Jesus.

The woman of Lycia goes on to say, "Let us stay awake, and take heed lest our hearts be weighed down with dissipation or drunkenness (Lk 21 : 34). But we are now inebriated by worldly cares and preoccupations, and indulge in sweet things" (*De Lepra*, XVII, 1). *Logiae Iesu* I, 3 has "I found everyone inebriated, and no one thirsting", the same occurring in the Gospel of St Thomas⁴.

A passage in *De cibis* reads, "He who has not been tempted is worthless for the Lord" (II, 2). The same phrase, referred to as a saying of the Lord, is to be found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (II, 8) and the *Didascalia* II and, with slight modifications, in Tertullian's *De baptismo*, XX.

The problem remains as to the sources on which St Methodius drew when making use of the *agrapha* we have been looking into. It is of utmost significance, however, that he clearly treated them as completely trustworthy in freely citing them to support his own line of reasoning or to elaborate on the theses he advanced.

³ No. 24 in German translation of W. Van Unnik; No. 25 in English transl. of R. Grant.

⁴ No. 28 in German transl. and No. 29 in English translation.

Lactance: L'apport d'une concordance automatique appliquée aux études patristiques

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Stimulé par une curiosité scientifique tout naissante, je tentai naguère de scruter, au mieux de mes aptitudes, les arcanes de "la politique religieuse de Maxence", le rival infortuné de Constantin le Grand. Par la suite, la quintessence de cette étude obtint l'agrément flatteur de la revue *Byzantion* qui daigna la publier sous la rubrique "mémoires et documents"¹.

Nos maîtres éminents de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, les Professeurs François Masai et Jean Preaux m'incitèrent alors à entreprendre un travail de plus longue haleine sur l'une des principales sources historiques de la période constantinienne. C'est ainsi qu'ils me proposèrent d'étudier le "*De mortibus persecutorum*" dont une critique renouvelée s'imposait pour apprécier exactement les circonstances de ce tournant de l'histoire où, de persécuteur qu'il était, l'Empire romain était devenu l'allié de l'Eglise chrétienne. Cette œuvre attribuée à Lactance pose, on le sait, d'épineux problèmes de langue, d'authenticité et de crédibilité qui, depuis trois siècles, attendent toujours une solution définitive².

Ce problème, apparemment insoluble pour nos prédécesseurs pouvait ne plus l'être aujourd'hui si l'on avait recours notamment aux techniques nouvelles de l'informatique³. Il fallait donc d'abord établir la concordance des œuvres attribuées à Lactance, puis, sur cette base complète et objective, entreprendre des comparaisons débarassées de subjectivisme⁴. Cette première étape a été franchie avec l'aide de l'ordinateur de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles et du Groupe d'informatique et de traitement automatique de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de cette *Alma mater*.

Le programme d'informatique ainsi créé, a été dénommé "Concorde"⁵.

¹ *Byzantion*, t. XXXVIII, 1968, pp. 472 à 562.

² Pour s'en convaincre, on se reportera à l'évocation de la polémique, qui entoure l'authenticité de ce pamphlet, telle que l'a retracée J. Moreau, *Lactance. De la mort des persécuteurs* (Sources chrétiennes, n° 39), Paris 1954, pp. 22 à 33.

³ P. De Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris, 1947, vol. I, p. 314, note I s'exprime ainsi: "ce problème (= L'authenticité du *DMP*)... est peut-être insoluble."

⁴ J. G. P. Borleffs, *An scripserit Lactantius libellum qui est de mort. persec.*, dans *Mnemosyne*, N.S., LVIII, 1930, p. 273. De l'aveu même de cet auteur, son enquête lexicologique s'est avérée nécessairement limitative.

⁵ Je me plais à relever ici tout particulièrement les noms de Ghislaine Viré, collaboratrice scientifique et de René Patesson, analyste qui attachés au Groupe d'informati-

Il consiste en une concordance alphabétique exhaustive de l'œuvre complète de Lactance⁶; les mots clés figurant dans cette concordance ne sont pas lemmatisés, mais ils sont entourés du contexte. Celui-ci fait apparaître le mot clé au centre d'une page de listing comprenant cent trente-six caractères, référence comprise, étant entendu que le contexte commence et se termine toujours par un mot complet. Les données ont été préparées sur cartes, à raison d'une ligne par carte et accompagnées d'une référence pouvant compter jusqu'à vingt-sept caractères. Ce programme, confié à un ordinateur de marque CDC 6500, a été composé en langage informatique *Fortran extended*; il utilise des routines écrites en assembleur, *Compass* et des routines de tri spécifiques du système CDC. En traitement principal, il a occupé quinze mots clés en mémoire centrale et cinquante mots clés pendant le tri. Le temps de calcul s'éleva à quarante-cinq secondes pour mille mots. Le tri occupa, quant à lui, environ 5% du temps de calcul global.

En une étape préliminaire, l'on procéda au traitement automatique de treize concordances partielles qui portèrent sur chacune des œuvres ou parties d'ouvrages prêtées à Lactance⁷.

Ensuite, par une opération ultime qui consistait à assembler les données ainsi perçues, une concordance globale de l'œuvre put être établie⁸. Elle ne comporte pas moins de cent vingt neuf mille mots.

De ces données statistiques objectives il m'est apparu, après enquête, que le pamphlet "*De la mort des persécuteurs*" présente des particularités lexicologiques et syntaxiques qui ne se retrouvent point dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre traditionnellement reconnue à Lactance.

D'autre part, l'étude de certains faits d'ordre stylistique, que j'ai pu analyser jusqu'ici, corrobore également semblable constatation.

Mais il importe de conclure, du moins provisoirement, car il sied de réserver le bénéfice de ces investigations pour la dissertation doctorale projetée.

que et de traitement automatique contribuèrent le plus à la réalisation technique de notre projet.

⁶ Le texte suivi est celui de S. Brandt in CSEL 19, 1890 et 27, 1893. Toutefois, pour le *De ave phoenice* il a été fait référence à l'édition de C. M. Fitzpatrick, Philadelphie, 1933; le *De mortibus persecutorum* est cité d'après le texte édité par F. Corsaro, Université de Catane, 1970.

⁷ Dans le cas particulier des *Institutiones Divines*, les concordances partielles se répartissent selon les sept livres de l'œuvre.

⁸ La publication de cette concordance est à l'étude.

Isidore de Péluse: Etat des recherches

Résumé

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Depuis la fin du siècle dernier, à plusieurs reprises, on a exprimé le désir de voir paraître une édition critique des lettres d'Isidore de Péluse. Un recensement exhaustif des manuscrits a été fait, et leur collation, en cours actuellement, permet d'envisager pour un avenir relativement proche une telle édition critique.

Mais, durant les quinze dernières années, les identifications de citations, en particulier de Clément d'Alexandrie, ont amené le Dr. R. Riedinger à mettre en doute l'authenticité des lettres et l'existence même d'Isidore de Péluse. Cependant, l'étude de la tradition manuscrite et de témoignages comme celui de Sévère d'Antioche, prouvent l'authenticité du corpus isidorien rassemblé dès avant le milieu du 5^e siècle. La numérotation des lettres représente un élément capital prouvant l'antiquité du corpus. En effet, cette numérotation attestée comme ancienne dès 518 par Sévère d'Antioche, se vérifie dans de nombreux manuscrits de collections, de recueils et de chaînes.

La comparaison des numéros des lettres dans tous les manuscrits collationnés à cet effet permet de reproduire, avec plus de précision et de sûreté que K. Lake en 1905, la numérotation initiale de la collection. Cette numérotation continue de 1 à 2000 sera retenue pour l'édition critique, mettant un terme au désordre actuel qui remonte au 17^e siècle (utilisation par C. Rittershaus d'une copie du Marcianus gr. 126 avant la collation des manuscrits du Vatican). La numérotation continue est d'une grande utilité pour l'identification de lettres ou de fragments (Patmos 706, Athos Laura I 44, chaînes), et pour l'établissement de la tradition manuscrite.

Dès le 5^e siècle, des manuscrits de collections et de recueils sont lus à Alexandrie et à Antioche, sans doute aussi à Césarée et à Constantinople. Il semble peu probable que les Acémètes soient à l'origine du corpus isidorien, même s'ils représentent, au 6^e siècle, un maillon essentiel de la tradition manuscrite. Le corpus isidorien paraît avoir été constitué dans la région de Péluse – Alexandrie, un peu avant le milieu du 5^e siècle. Quant aux 'ouvrages perdus' (un *Discours aux Grecs*, un *traité sur la non-existence du destin*, et le troisième 'long ouvrage' signalé par Sévère d'Antioche), ils sont reconnaissables parmi les lettres du corpus.

L'étude de la prosopographie témoigne de l'authenticité du corpus. Un grand nombre de destinataires en effet, sont identifiables à l'aide des listes

conciliaires, des codes Théodosien et Justinien, du *Synekdèmos* d'Hiéroklès, des ouvrages de Palladios etc . . . Ces relations avec des évêques ou des fonctionnaires mentionnés dans d'autres sources que les lettres, les interventions d'Isidore dans la vie ecclésiastique, politique et culturelle de son temps sont autant de preuves de l'existence réelle d'Isidore de Péluse; tous ces éléments d'information sont malheureusement encore trop souvent ignorés dans les ouvrages sur l'Empire et l'Eglise d'Orient.

En ce qui concerne la conception de la vie spirituelle et monastique, Isidore apparaît plus proche des Pères Cappadociens (il est influencé semble-t-il par les *Règles morales* de Basile plus que par le *Petit* ou le *Grand Askètikon*) que du monachisme égyptien de Pakhôme ou d'Amoun, même s'il adopte en partie le genre de vie de ces derniers.

Tityrus lugens

R. P. H. GREEN, St. Andrews

In a fundamental article on early Christian Latin Pastoral, entitled *Tityrus Christianus*¹, Wolfgang Schmid expounded the difficulties inherent in the Christian use of the Vergilian eclogue and various attempted solutions. Relevant works from the early period are few, and neither faithful to their models nor fruitful in their treatment. The purpose of this paper is to consider a poem which not only opened a new path for Pastoral but remained very faithful in some respects to Vergil.

This poem is the *Sancti Paulini Epigramma*², as it is called in the only manuscript, Parisinus 7558; it is to be found in *Poetae Christiani Minores*, in *CSEL XVI*³, in Schenkl's edition, which rightly exposes the faults of earlier editions based on the irresponsible reconstruction of the sixteenth-century editor Gagneius. I accept as quite probable Schenkl's date⁴ for the events described – 408 – when there was a lull in the turbulence caused by the barbarian invasions of Gaul which would enable rehabilitation, described in lines 26 ff., to begin; but I see no reason to accept his identification of the author with Paulinus of Béziers⁵, which has found general agreement. It is based on a statement in the Chronicle of Hydatius, s.a. 419⁶, which tells us that that bishop wrote an epistle general describing 'terrible events'. Schenkl does not go on to say whether he thinks that our poem (which Fabricius called an *epistola*) was this letter, wrongly dated, or whether the bishop was in the habit of sending letters of this kind; in any case the interpretation of this poem as an eclogue reduces the likelihood of this attribution. The poem is not unworthy of Claudius Marius Victor (although the

¹ *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. XCVI, (1953), 101–65; also in *RAC*, s.v. 'Bukolik', Vol. 2. 786 ff.

² *Epigramma* denotes a short poem of any kind (Pliny, *Epist.* 4. 14. 9); it might have replaced the word *ecloga* which in Late Antiquity can mean either 'short poem' or 'bucolic poem' (*TLL* V. 2. 48. 59 ff.).

³ pp. 503–8. There is a translation of all but a few lines of the poem by E. Griffe in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, II (1956), 187–94.

⁴ *CSEL XVI*, p. 501.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 502.

⁶ *MGH, Auct. Ant.* XI, p. 20. Schenkl supported this identification with his emendation in line 105 *ad Tecumque resedi* – a sudden reference to a small river – but *tecumque resedi* may stand, the thought of the line being expressed *hysteron proteron*.

original ascription was made under a misapprehension⁷); Paulinus of Pella is ruled out by the quality of the hexameters, which are far better controlled than his; Paulinus of Périgueux by chronology; it is not impossible that the author is Paulinus of Nola, making a distant comment on events in his homeland.

The poem is usually described as a dialogue: so, most recently, by Griffe⁸ (a satirical dialogue), Courcelle⁹ (a familiar dialogue), and Duval¹⁰. In his article in Pauly-Wissowa Helm¹¹ briefly suggested that the model is the Vergilian eclogue. This conflict of views (if it is a conflict) is not surprising, for during its long history the eclogue usurped many of the didactic functions of the formal dialogue. In metre, length, structure and various aspects of dramatic presentation our poem is a remarkable replica of Vergil, and arguably more Vergilian than the Christianised Georgic of Endeletius¹² or the *cento* of Pomponius¹³ which draws very heavily on the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*.

The poem is 110 lines long with some small lacunae, which, like Schenkl, I believe are fewer than some scholars have believed¹⁴; some of the difficulties – such as the abrupt opening, and perhaps *namque* in line 10¹⁵ – may be explained by the Vergilian model. There are two speakers, the visitor Salmon and Thesbon, who is addressed as *pater*. (In line 5 Thesbon is describing himself in the third person). In lines 1–9 Salmon is greeted; in lines 10–51 he makes his first speech; after a three line pause he resumes, in a speech which has been slightly curtailed in transmission (55–95). Final exchanges occupy the last fifteen lines of the poem. The first speech combines news of severe material damage and complaints of the indifference of the victims to yet worse spiritual decay; the second is an early poetic development of the medieval theme *femina dulce malum*, in a tirade which in its vigour and distance from conventional Pastoral foreshadows certain eclogues of the Renaissance.

The setting is both ecclesiastical and bucolic, and is presented with the economical vividness of Vergil. References to a place of worship neatly and emphatically surround the piece at lines 1 and 109. In lines 4ff. the speakers unobtrusively prefer conversation to worship, and betake themselves to a pleasance, where, in a cave formed by – or covered by – a vine, they sit on grassy seats of living turf. The vine, more naturally, covers an elm in Vergil, *Eclogues* 2. 70; seats of living rock await the shipwrecked Trojans in

⁷ (*Victoris*) *liber quartus ad Salamonem*, according to Gagneius.

⁸ see note 3; Griffe is echoing de Labriolle, *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne*³ (1947), p. 727.

⁹ *Histoire Littéraire des Grandes Invasions Germaniques*, (Paris, 1964), p. 87.

¹⁰ *La Gaule*, (Paris, 1971), pp. 686–7.

¹¹ *Pauly-Wissowa*, XVIII. 2, 2359–60.

¹² *Anth. Lat.* 1. 2², 893.

¹³ *CSEL* XVI, 609–17.

¹⁴ e.g. Manitius, *Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Poesie*, (Stuttgart, 1891), pp. 164–6.

¹⁵ cf. Vergil, *Eclogues*, 1. 7; 6. 31.

Aeneid 1. 167. The living turf is reminiscent of Horace's pagan altars, the strictures of Tertullian and other Christians, and Theodosius' edict of 392¹⁶: it is not inconceivable that here it is demoted to its natural and rightful place, rather in the same way as the expression *nympharum domus* in *Aeneid* 1. 168 has been pointedly ignored, or rather reversed.

We are not, at first, told the time of day, though Salmon has presumably been travelling; a hint is given in line 55 by the *topos* 'night will cover us with its shadows before I can exhaust the subject of women's errors', but at the end, as often in Vergil, there is a firm reference to *conclusi hora diei* (108). As in many a dialogue, further discussion is put off until another day¹⁷; it is a convention, and it is not likely that we have lost a reply by Thesbon, a *Tityrus Gaudens*.

The dramatic situation recalls Vergil's eclogues, especially the first, in various important ways. Salmon tells Thesbon of troubles in the countryside, albeit destruction as seen from the landowner's point of view (line 10) and not the dispossession of peasants. Even the *barbarus* had been introduced, tellingly, by Vergil in *Eclogue* 1. 71. Further background is given by allusion to various other figures, who add solidity to the social milieu like Vergil's Amyntas, Thestylis and absent masters. The names are not pastoral (as in Endecheius), but chosen, in some cases, to reinforce the poet's satirical purposes¹⁸. And while these characters are condemned (hatred and disapproval exist in Arcadia too) the speakers are linked, like Tityrus and Meliboeus, by a firm bond of sympathy as soon as they meet. In spite of differences in historical background and social situation, the atmosphere of the *Eclogues*, thus recalled, serves the poet well.

Schmid pointed out¹⁹ the elements of the classical eclogue that can hardly be expected in a Christian eclogue of this period: mythological figures, pagan religious practice, and love (a theme so common in bucolic that erotic and bucolic poetry are often seen as synonymous²⁰). Our poet also avoids all but a bare minimum of pastoral scenery, imagery and figures of speech. Perhaps the *rupes* hollowed into artificial theatres in line 14 are part of the wicked inversion of pastoral order²¹; the description of female finery (lines 61–70) recalls the themes of the depredation of nature and the alteration of the human body. In line 26 the pruning of vines and the clearing of ground show

¹⁶ Horace, *Odes* 1. 19. 13; 3. 8. 4; Tertullian, *Apology*, 25; *Codex Theodosianus*, 16. 10. 12; and see Mayor on Juvenal, 12. 2.

¹⁷ Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 3. 94; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 40. 2.

¹⁸ Pedius (line 35) may be traced back to Persius, 1. 85, Pollio (36) to Juvenal, 11. 43; Lesbia (65), Corinna (77), Phoenissa (77), need no comment; Passiena (66), Albus (36) and Lampadius (37: my emendation of the manuscript's *Lepedum*, which is unmetrical) are typical Roman upper-class names.

¹⁹ see note 1.

²⁰ cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 21.13 (CSEL 54.123); Nemesianus, *Eclogues*, 1. 13.

²¹ cf. T. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, (Berkeley and London, 1969), p. 148, and references there.

the wrong priorities of sinful man; in line 91 the pruning-hook is (uncharacteristically for this writer) an explicit symbol of spiritual purification. Having established his framework he may have felt that further pastoral detail was of minor importance.

Vergil has been handled firmly and carefully. It is but a mild paradox that in the course of the eclogue he is explicitly stigmatised as a danger to the spiritual life: in lines 47ff. the strongest condemnation of Salmon's first speech falls on those who investigate the secrets of the universe, in language recalling Vergil and Lucretius²²: an overwhelming riposte to *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*. At lines 77ff. the faults of women are blamed on their reading of Vergil and Ovid instead of Paul and Solomon; the permissiveness of the men is the fruit of Horace's *Odes* and the mimes of Marullus. Love and cosmology, the themes which medieval commentators were to exploit so ingeniously, are taboo.

The poet is not attempting to replace Vergil, or indeed to emulate him; he accepts Vergil as part of his literary heritage and moulds the tradition to his original purposes just as Vergil had moulded Theocritus. In doing this as a Christian to the classical eclogue he has proved himself something of a pioneer. As far as we know he had few imitators, though the *Carmen de Providentia Divina*²³ echoes him, and a shorter poem with a bucolic introduction was later written during the conflict of Odoacer and Theoderic²⁴. But his true followers may be seen in the flood of eclogue-writers of the Renaissance, who exploited freely, with fewer reservations about the pagan inhabitants of Arcadia, the possibilities of the eclogue as a stage for debate on all kinds of matters from fishing to philosophy.

²² Vergil, *Georgics*, 2.490, *Aeneid*, 6. 849; Lucretius, 1. 128ff., 1. 130ff.

²³ lines 913ff. (Migne, *PL* 51.637).

²⁴ *Anth. Lat.* 1. 2², 686; H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, 2. 161f., Schmid, *art. cit.*, p. 154, n. 133.

A Three-Dimensional Model for Classifying Arrays of Manuscripts by Cluster-Analysis

J. G. GRIFFITH, Oxford

In a communication delivered to the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies in 1969 in Oxford and published in *Studia Evangelica* VI (1973) pp. 221–238¹, I drew attention to the practical limitations and logical shortcomings of the conventional model of the *stemma codicum* or family-tree for representing the relations between MSS of an ancient author, and outlined an alternative approach, which gave promising results for sorting arrays of MSS where a significant degree of contamination was present. This was achieved by locating the MSS along a notional spectrum-line in a sequence such that those MSS which by a count of agreements in variant readings shared by two or more of the MSS proved to have most in common with each other formed clusters at either end of the line, with the remainder grouped in a sequence of near-neighbour relationships along the middle segments. This kind of seriation is not likely to be informative for works preserved, as most classical writing are, in only a handful of MSS, but is useful for large arrays such as the primary MSS of the Gospels and many legal and patristic works. In 1970 a computer program was written to do the labour of variant-counting and ordering of the similarity-matrices, which had previously been done by pencil-and-paper methods. In consequence, traditions involving up to 30 MSS or more can be handled.

At the same time I came to realize that seriation was not the last word. In a postscript added in proof to the article of 1973 I indicated that I had successfully applied Factor Analysis in the form known as Principal Component Analysis to the same data. By using a well-tried computer program the likeness-relations of an array of MSS showing quite heavy contamination can be exhibited more informatively in a three-dimensional diagram, and more precisely. This method inspires greater confidence because it takes account of more of the available information than the model of the spectrum line

¹ That article went over much the same ground as was covered in *J. Theol. Studies* 20 (1969) pp. 389 ff. Another study of seriation as applied to the text of Juvenal had previously appeared in *Museum Helveticum* 25 (1968) pp. 101 ff. It has proved impracticable to reproduce here the diagrams used to illustrate this paper when it was orally presented at Oxford. Similar diagrams for other textual traditions are now accessible in my paper published in *La Pratique des Ordinateurs dans la Critique des Textes* (Paris, 1979) pp. 79–84 (Colloques Internationaux du Centre de la Recherche scientifique, No. 579).

does, although it will be remembered that that device made better use of the evidence than the suspect and now somewhat discredited model of the *stemma codicum*, which inevitably rejects all data that cut across what are, whenever contamination is present to any serious extent, arbitrary boundaries between hypothetical "families" of MSS.

I say no more here of the inappropriateness for MS-study of the concept of the Ancestral Relation, which underlies the stemma, since this would be flogging a moribund horse. Instead I mention a weakness in the model of the spectrum line, which I have only recently come to recognize, although it does not compromise its general usefulness. While the tightly-knit clusters at the end of the line from which the resolution of the similarity-matrices starts are usually well-marked, and the medial clusters stand out clearly as a rule, the last two or three MSS in the final stage of elimination may conceivably order themselves in a correct sequence, yet be shown as occupying positions at the end of the line which may be such as to imply that they are more like each other than they really are, for the simple reason that there is nowhere else for them to be put. The use of a multi-dimensional model not only overcomes this difficulty, but tells the user much more. I therefore describe here briefly the production of a map-plot by Principal Component Analysis of the kind I have been developing, based on variant readings of 18 selected MSS of Cyprian's *de Unitate*. For information about the substantive variants I have used the high-grade data given by Maurice Bévenot in the apparatus to the text of the work contained in his book of 1961². The necessary calculations are beyond the capacity of pencil-and-paper methods, so that computer assistance is essential. It may be noted that the algorithm (or calculating device) used is one well-proved in the laboratory sciences, where arrays of data have often to be classified in which what textual critics would call "linking" features often coexist with "separative" features within what are otherwise discrete clusters of specimens. Where, for example, is the naturalist to find a place in any stemma for birds without wings, lungfish, mammals which lack red blood-corpuscles and countless other freaks of that kind? Yet it is precisely this kind of anomaly which bedevils the classification of MSS in a contaminated textual tradition.

The logic of the procedure can be simply explained. Consider two MSS, A and B, which agree in 45 out of 100 readings. Their degree of resemblance can be expressed in terms of the number of their disagreements and is (100-45) or 55, and visually represented by a line 55 units long. Let there be a third MS C which agrees with A in 68 and with B in 53 readings. Its "distances" will be (100-68) or 32 units from A and (100-53) or 47 units from B. The relations between these three MSS can be presented as a scalene triangle with sides of 55, 47 and 32 units. Consider now a fourth MS, D, which

² *The Tradition of Manuscripts* by M. Bévenot, S. J. (Oxford. 1961).

agrees with A, B and C in 39, 48 and 57 places respectively. The relations between the members of this quartet can be pictured as an irregular tetrahedron, with sides of 32, 43, 47, 52, 55 and 61 units. Since 3 MSS can be visualized in terms of a triangle in 2 Euclidean dimensions, and 4 MSS as a tetrahedron in 3 dimensions, by parity of reasoning n MSS can be shown in $(n-1)$ -dimensional space. In practice only the first three dimensions can be presented pictorially in what is commonly called a "fish-tank" model, but it will be evident that the construction of such a model, even at the price of discarding any information latent in the remaining $(n-3)$ dimensions, achieves a substantial gain in classificatory precision over the spectrum-line and, *a fortiori*, over the stemma.

The sequence of operations is as follows:

Computer cards are punched, one for each variant, stating which MSS carry it and which do not. The data is first reduced from a form requiring a large number of computer-dimensions (which are not the same as Euclidean dimensions) to a number corresponding to that of the MSS comprising the array, which is 18 in the case of the *de Unitate*.³ A co-variance matrix is then prepared and a set of 18 eigen-values calculated: more will be said on these later. From the co-variance matrix a table of Principal Components is deduced, and this is converted into another table giving coordinates for each of the MSS in as many dimensions as there are MSS, as is shown by the table transcribed from the printout at the end of this essay. Since we can in practice visualize no more than three of these dimensions, only the figures in the first three left-hand columns of the print-out can be used. Lest misgivings be felt about discarding the last 15 columns, it should be noted that just as the eigen-values tail away towards zero as the eye moves from left to right, so the values of the coordinates tend to decrease, though irregularly. This implies, I understand, that not much of significance is being rejected. Since any attempt to take account of the whole of the data in an array of contaminated MSS leads on any other approach to unresolvable contradictions, we may be content to rely on the evidence of three principal components and the corresponding coordinates as established mathematically.

The figures for these first three columns are then punched on to a fresh set of data-cards, for use with a subsidiary program which instructs an incremental graph-plotter to set out this information pictorially. The third-dimension z -coordinate (the "height value" above the "floor" of the imaginary fish-tank) is indicated by the relative size of the sigla denoting each MS. The observer may be thought of as looking down from above on the water of the fish-tank, so that the largest letters represent the specimens located nearest

³ It is unfortunate that S (Paris 10592; facsimile of part of fol. 25 in C.L.A. vol. V, 602) dating from the 5/6th century, has a gap of several leaves near the end of ch. 5 of the *de Unitate* (at. p. 214, line 12 in Hartel's edition: Bévenot p. 102) and so cannot be included in this analysis.

to the surface, and the smallest those closest to the floor. The plotter locates the centre of each symbol at the point of intersection of its x and y coordinates, and then traces the symbol at the letter-size which corresponds to the value of the z -coordinate. A vertical scale of arbitrary units along the left-hand margin is intended to assist the user to estimate with sufficient precision the "height" of each MS without constant reference to the third column of the print-out. Where 2 MSS (or clusters of MSS) are at roughly the same "height", their separation is evident to inspection: where this is not so, a little mental arithmetic is called for. Thus from the print out B is at a height of about 1 unit or to be precise $+0.8$, while C is at -2 units (actually -2.1). So the true separation of B from C in the third dimension is 2.9 or say 3 units, and B is closer to Y and its congeners than it is to C, even when no account is taken of the lateral displacement of B from C (about 1.5 units). Elsewhere, if the separation needs to be measured exactly, a right-angled triangle may have to be solved. Thus the separation of R, whose coordinates are $(+0.2; +1.3; -3.5)$, as appears from the data, from B, whose coordinates are $(+1.1; -2.0; +0.8)$ would come out as:

$$2 \sqrt{(1.1 - 0.2)^2 + (1.3 - (-2.0))^2 + (0.8 - (-3.5))^2}$$

or $2 \sqrt{30.3}$

which is approximately 5.5 units.

I state here some practical limitations of this method.

(I) Only MSS which are fully reported over the whole of the chosen length of text can be used. Important documents which are defective have to be fitted in by resource or artifice later.

(II) Although the graph-plotter can trace upper and lower case symbols and disposes of Greek capital and minuscule alphabet as well as a number of mathematical and other conventional symbols, it is necessary to restrict oneself for this work to capitals, or a few judiciously chosen minuscule signs whose height is the same as their capital equivalents, since the size of the symbol as traced defines the relative height of each MS.

In conclusion, I must state with all possible emphasis that this undertaking aims at nothing more than a reliable classification which begs no questions concerning the rightness or wrongness of readings. In the light of it the editor can return to his MSS to see if the affinities or disconnections so disclosed tell a story. Thus, if the classification has been judiciously done, by breaking down a long text into shorter stretches, he may be alerted to a change of affiliation on the part of one or more MSS within the course of the writing which might else have passed unnoticed: this does not happen, so far as I see, in the *de Unitate*. In other ways the editor's judgement is unfettered by any assumptions he may have had to make during the classifying process, such as estimates of relative dates of the documents he is treating. It was the misfortune of the stemma that it began as an innocent visual aid

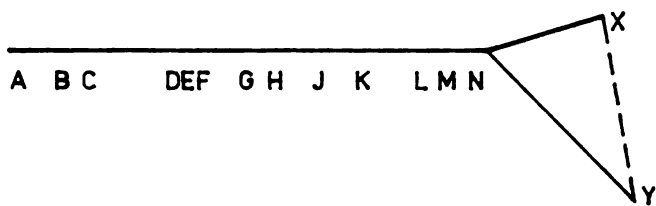


Figure 1

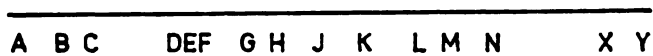


Figure 2

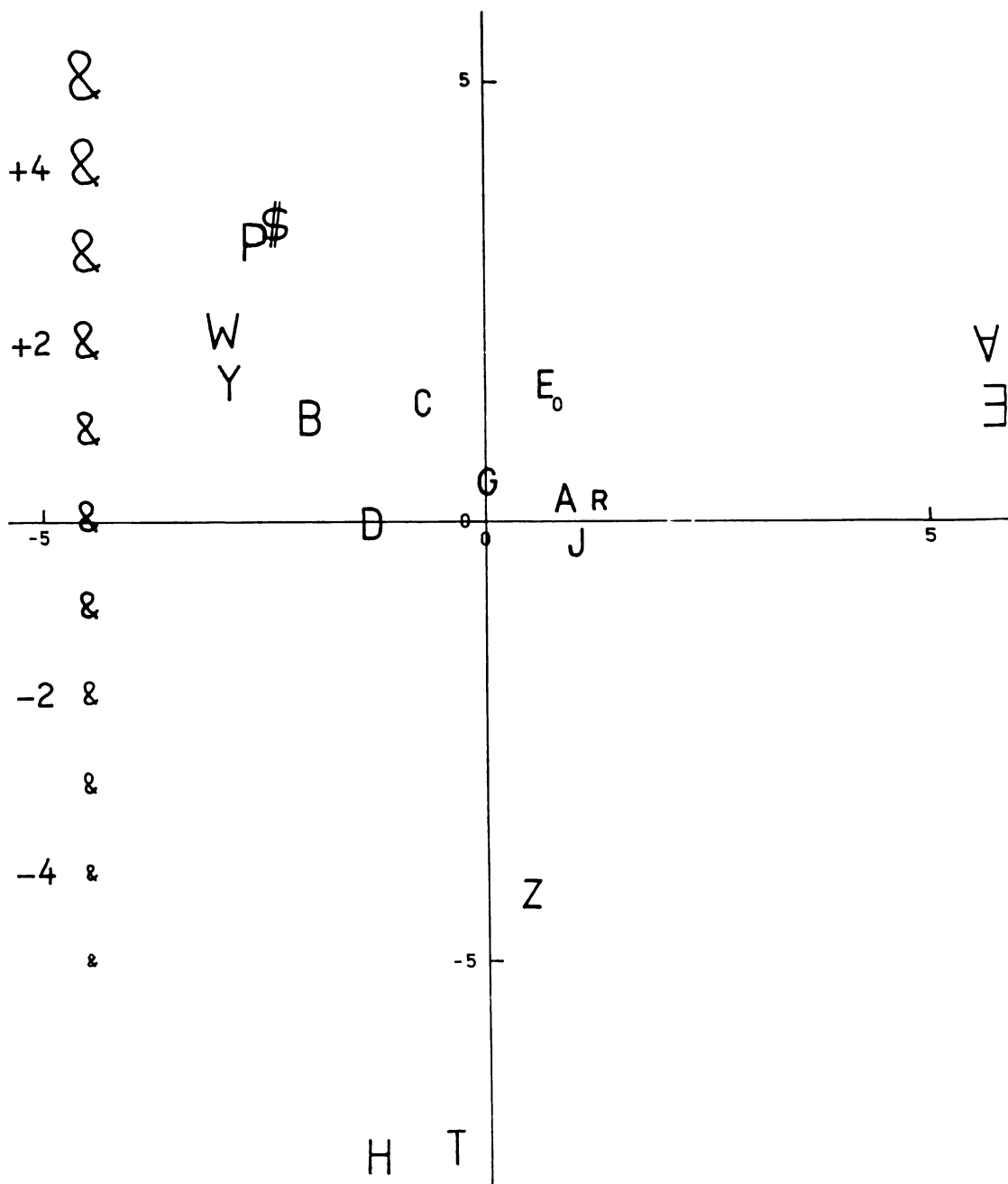


Figure 3
 Map-plot of 18 MSS of Cyprian, *de Unitate Ecclesiae*,
 chs. 1-3; 5-15

in the hands of its first users, C. G. Zumpt and Ritschl,⁴ but was promoted by over-zealous adherents into an editorial tool, with unfortunate results. I should deprecate any such abuse of the procedure described here, but I think it is proof against such a fate. For the computer can, fortunately, never do the scholar's job for him: it can only, *dis faventibus*, help to illuminate his path.

Appendix

Text: Cyprian, *de Unitate Ecclesiae*, chs. 1–3 and 5–15. The relevant information for the graph-plotter as extracted from the first three columns of the print-out obtained from the PCA (Principal Component Analysis) program:

Documents in Terms of PCs

V(=m)	1.2	5.7	3.1	0.3	0.0
Æ(=p)	1.9	5.6	2.4	-0.2	0.0
W	2.1	-3.0	1.6	-0.4	0.0
Y	1.5	-2.9	1.3	0.0	0.0
G	0.4	0.0	-1.7	0.0	0.0
A(=a)	0.2	0.9	-0.3	-0.1	0.0
P	3.1	-2.6	1.6	2.3	0.0
S(=k)	3.3	-2.4	2.0	-2.0	0.0
R	0.2	1.3	-3.5	-0.1	0.0
J	-0.3	1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0
O	1.3	0.8	-5.2	0.1	0.0
D	-0.1	-1.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
B	1.1	-2.0	0.8	0.1	0.0
E(=e)	1.5	0.7	-1.1	0.2	0.0
C(=b)	1.3	-0.7	-2.1	0.0	0.0
H	-7.3	-1.3	1.5	0.4	0.0
T	-7.2	-0.4	0.9	-0.2	0.0
F(=h)	-4.3	0.5	-0.7	-0.3	0.0

The eigen values were:

9.0	5.9	4.3	0.5	0.0
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⁴ On the first use of the diagram of the stemma, see S. Timpanaro, *La Genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (1963) pp. 46f. (p. 44 of the German translation published in 1971).

Jacques-Paul Migne et la renaissance patristique

Leçon d'un centenaire

A. HAMMAN O. F. M., Rome

Personne d'entre-vous ne me posera sans doute la question, tant de fois entendue, au cours de cette année : Qui est l'abbé Migne ? Pour le patristicien, le nom de Migne se confond à tel point avec sa double *Patrologie*, qu'il ne s'interroge plus guère sur le reste de son œuvre, sur la personnalité de l'éditeur.

De l'homme, les mieux informés ont glané de-ci de-là quelque anecdote concernant son activité de compilateur, ses procès retentissants, le concours reçu de la part de prêtres en rupture de ban . . . que sais-je ? C'est peu, quand il s'agit d'un personnage de Balzac, hors-série, inclassable, tour-à-tour journaliste et éditeur, oecuméniste et promoteur social.

Les 383 volumes de la *Patrologie* grecque et latine, qui nous sont familiers, risquent de nous faire oublier qu'ils ne représentent qu'un tiers de son entreprise d'édition : 1019 volumes en *in-4°*, de même format, du même nombre de pages ou de colonnes que la *Patrologie* :

- Cours de théologie et d'Écriture sainte,
- Démonstrations évangéliques,
- Œuvres complètes des grands classiques et spirituels du christianisme,
- 171 encyclopédies et dictionnaires sur tous les domaines du savoir, sans parler des 99 volumes d'Orateurs sacrés : Tel est un bilan approximatif mais non exhaustif de la "Bibliothèque universelle du clergé et des laïques instruits" et l'œuvre majeure de celui qui se dit "Cursuum completorum in singulos scientiae ecclesiasticae ramos editor."¹

I

Etrange épopée que celle de Jacques-Paul Migne, né avec le XIX^e siècle, mort le 24 octobre 1875, il y a cent ans, dont nous célébrons le centenaire. Ce curé de campagne qui n'avait fréquenté ni séminaire ni université laisse derrière lui une des entreprises d'édition les plus étonnantes de l'histoire.

¹ Titre que Migne place sur les volumes de la *Patrologie*. Nous nous sommes efforcé de fournir le répertoire le plus complet possible des publications de l'abbé Migne dans notre étude : Jacques-Paul Migne. Le retour aux Pères de l'Eglise. Paris, 1975. Nous serons obligé d'y renvoyer constamment.

Compilateur de génie, organisateur incomparable, Migne a voulu mettre à la disposition de toutes les bourses les chefs d'œuvre du christianisme.

L'historien s'interroge : Pourquoi ce simple prêtre, sans ressources ni culturelles ni financières, a-t-il entrepris, au lendemain de la Révolution Française, de reconstituer « la Bibliothèque universelle » et finalement de publier le « *cursus completus omnium Patrum, Doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum* », appelée plus simplement *Patrologia* ?

Les esprits superficiels n'ont voulu voir en lui qu'un brasseur d'affaires, une sorte de paranoïaque de l'édition, ami des prospectus tapageurs et de la chicane, qui en notre temps eût alimenté les colonnes du *Canard enchaîné*, comme il y a un siècle il a inspiré la satire des frères Goncourt. C'est mal connaître un homme et une époque.

Autodidacte, comme tant de *self-made-man*, l'infatigable éditeur avait au départ une insatiable curiosité d'esprit, le souci de servir la culture et l'étude, le discernement de l'importance à donner aux textes et aux sources pour une connaissance ou une étude éclairée.

Dans la solitude d'un presbytère de campagne, sous le déferlement des idées nouvelles, devant le désarroi des uns et des autres, ce simple desservant, à la merci de son évêque, a médité sur la situation de ses pairs : sans ressources, sans bibliothèque, sans moyens d'information et de culture, coupés des sources, de la Source.

Comment voir clair, dans la fermentation d'idées contradictoires, comment répondre aux objections nouvelles, comment aller de l'avant, sans interroger l'histoire, et d'abord « les époques de vitalité explosive »² et les maîtres de la Tradition. Migne cite, dans un article des *Annales*³, le mot d'Irénée de Lyon : *Traditionem apostolorum respiciunt omnes, qui recta velint videre*.⁴

L'abbé Migne est d'Eglise. Sa foi comme les chênes de son pays natal, le Cantal, est enracinée. S'il consacre son existence – seize heures de travail par jour – à sauver le patrimoine de la Tradition, c'est d'abord par amour de l'Eglise, pour la servir, et « faire naître dans le clergé les études fortes ».

Doué d'une force herculéenne, servi par une volonté peu commune, l'imagination sans cesse en éveil, il a la ténacité, la solidité mais aussi l'habileté en affaires des hommes de ce Cantal, qui a produit un M. Pouget et un cardinal Saliège. Rien n'arrête son esprit d'entreprise, ni les démêlés avec la hiérarchie, ni les tracasseries venant des éditeurs et des libraires.

Cent ans avant notre époque il a découvert ce que nous imaginons nouveau : la vente directe, la suppression des intermédiaires, le livre bon marché, mais aussi la modernité des anciens, le retour aux sources, l'invocation du texte.

L'audace du pionnier va de pair avec la prudence du grimpeur qu'il a été

² Le mot est de H. de Lubac, *Paradoxes*, Paris, 1946, p. 68.

³ *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 10, 1864, p. 82.

⁴ *Adv. haer.*, III, 3, 1. PG 7, 848.

en ses jeunes années. Il construit en connaissance de cause, il avance comme l'alpiniste, le pied solidement établi, sans jamais lâcher sol. Il essaie, tâte le terrain, avant de lancer une collection, étudie le marché, infléchit le besoin et la demande par une campagne de prospectus. Ces fameux *prospectus*, dont il est si fier, qui ont tellement incommodé le futur cardinal Pitra, et aujourd'hui nous font sourire: « Mode licite avantageux, solide et méritoire de placer ses fonds »⁵. Mes prospectus sont l'expression de mes convitions les plus intimes: « personne au monde ne serait capable de les faire ». Prospectus, où il se compare à Samson et son œuvre, au percement du Mont Cenis, à la construction de dix cathédrales⁶. Migne va au plus pressé et au plus sûr: les *Cursus Theologiae* et *Scripturae sacrae*, ses premiers et plus gros succès d'édition. Il les tire d'emblée à 10.000 exemplaires, et les réédite. Il publie les premiers textes patristiques dans sa collection *Démonstrations évangéliques*. Avant de commencer la *Patrologie*, il lance un ballon d'essai et publie les *opera omnia* de saint Augustin et de saint Jean Chrysostome, qu'il intégrera tels quels, avec une nouvelle page de garde, dans son *cursus completus Patrologiae*.

Ce *businessman* sait faire preuve de désintéressement. Que lui importe de « manger de l'argent », s'il peut sauver les chefs d'œuvre de la foi? Argentier des valeurs spirituelles et culturelles, que lui importe de ne pas rentrer dans ses fonds, il n'est jamais esclave de l'argent ou du profit. « On ne l'a pas assez remarqué, écrit-il lui-même, nos *Ateliers catholiques* ont surtout été fondés pour produire ce que nul éditeur oserait entreprendre. Quelle nécessité de nous mettre à dos quelques supérieurs et la masse des libraires, pour n'opérer que ce que l'on opérait sans nous? Quels secours prêterions-nous à nos confrères? Quels services rendrions-nous à l'Eglise? C'est l'exploitation perpétuelle et presque universelle d'une mine aussi sacrée qui nous a constamment révoltés . . . et nous a fait fonder notre œuvre . . . »⁷

L'on croit rêver devant l'audace de cet homme d'Eglise, ultramontain de cœur, soucieux d'orthodoxie par programme de vie, qui en 1840, cent ans avant le mouvement œcuménique, ose publier un ouvrage de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, l'*Apologie de la religion chrétienne*, dans les *Démonstrations évangéliques*, et ouvrir largement son *Cursus Scripturae sacrae* à des commentaires et à des travaux anglicans et protestants. Nous y trouvons un commentaire sur les Proverbes de l'évêque de Coventry, Rodolph Baines († 1560), un autre sur le livre de Baruch de l'évêque anglican John Pearson († 1686), le spécialiste des Pères apostoliques, un commentaire sur les Psalmes de Henry Hammond (1660) et de Henry Ainsworth († 1629).

Les protestants n'y sont pas moins représentés, qu'il s'agisse des luthériens

⁵ Feuille volante, souvent insérée dans les volumes des diverses collections de Migne.

⁶ Il va même plus loin et affirme que le percement du Mont Cenis, la construction de dix cathédrales sont « jeux d'enfants » comparés à ses entreprises. Préface aux Tables, PL 218, col. 1. Voir notre Jacques-Paul Migne, p. 81.

⁷ *Démonstrations évangéliques*, t. 18, col. 1351. Voir notre op. cit. p. 65-66.

Martin Geier († 1681), Abraham Calov († 1688), ou des protestants français Isaac Jacquelot († 1700), Samuel Brochard († 1667) André Rivet († 1651) ou du calviniste Cl. Badwel († 1561). Grâce à la *Patrologie* grecque, le patrimoine de l'Eglise orthodoxe et du byzantinisme retrouve droit de cité dans l'Occident latinisé. Seule la peur de l'Index⁸ empêche l'abbé Migne d'ouvrir plus largement encore sa Bibliothèque aux écrivains orthodoxes du byzantinisme. Aussi la faculté de théologie d'Athènes a-t-elle rendu solennellement hommage à l'éditeur de Montrouge, à l'occasion de son centenaire.

II

La *Patrologie* est incontestablement l'œuvre dont l'abbé Migne est le plus fier. A-t-il pressenti que mieux que tous les autres *cursus* elle porterait son nom sur tous les continents, en toutes les bibliothèques savantes du monde? L'entreprise était d'autant plus audacieuse qu'un certain Castelli, nanti pourtant des encouragements du pape Grégoire XVI et de plusieurs souverains, venait d'échouer et d'arrêter un projet similaire.

« Reproduction chronologique et intégrale de la tradition catholique, pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'Eglise, d'après les éditions les plus estimées : » telle est l'ambition de Migne consignée dans un prospectus⁹. Les collections des siècles antérieurs allaient généralement jusqu'au XVI^e siècle, avec Paléologue et Bessarion, mais elles ne s'appelaient pas *Patrologie*. Rien n'a pu faire démordre l'intrépide éditeur de donner ce nom à son entreprise. Toutes les protestations de dom Pitra furent vaines.

On oublie souvent que malgré des collections partielles¹⁰, il n'a jamais existé dans l'histoire une seule collection complète et générale des ouvrages patristiques. Aucune collection précédente ne contenait les grands classiques : Cappadociens, Jean Chrysostome, Jérôme, Ambroise et Augustin. Toutes s'étaient contentées de rassembler des auteurs et des textes mineurs. La *magna bibliotheca Patrum* de Cologne n'avait consacré au IV^e siècle qu'un seul volume, le 4^e, alors que Migne ouvre à la même époque 88 de ses volumes.

Pourquoi cette nouvelle collection? L'éditeur s'en explique dans un de ses prospectus¹¹. « Le prix démesuré et toujours croissant des anciennes collections, la tendance historique et traditionnelle des études de notre époque, le besoin de plus en plus sérieux de recourir aux sources, surtout dans les investigations religieuses, le réveil de la science ecclésiastique et la restauration catholique du passé, rendaient indispensable une nouvelle et complète édition des Pères. » Ces remarques n'ont rien perdu de leur actualité.

⁸ Voir notre Jacques Paul Migne, p. 82-83; cf. 66-67.

⁹ Reproduit dans les Annales de phil. chrét., 14, 1846, p. 392.

¹⁰ Sur la question des collections antérieures, sur les collections partielles, utilisées par Migne, voir notre J. P. Migne, p. 95-111.

¹¹ Publié par les Annales . . . , 10, 1864, p. 78.

Avec un manque de réalisme invraisemblable, Gustav Krüger¹² a reproché à Migne la réédition pure et simple d'anciennes éditions, ce qui, de surcroît, empêchait le recours aux publications antérieures. Messieurs, qui parmi vous, le voudrait-il, le pourrait-il? Ce docte M. Krüger oubliait simplement qu'il fallait disposer de ces vieilles éditions pour s'en servir. Elles étaient rares et chères. Un contemporain de Migne estime qu'il faudrait dix ans de recherches et 200.000 (le prix de deux cents *Patrologies* latines) pour acquérir la collection complète des anciennes éditions reproduites. Un âne vivant vaut mieux qu'un lion de papier . . . ou de rêve.

L'ami à toute épreuve, Augustin Bonnetty¹³, fait à la *Patrologie* un autre reproche, celui de séparer en deux séries les Latins et les Grecs. « Il semble d'après cette division, écrit-il, qu'il existe deux Eglises, l'Eglise latine et l'Eglise grecque; c'est l'Eglise grecque qui a en sa faveur les plus anciens documents. » Rien de plus exact mais Migne allait au plus sûr et au plus commercial.

L'idée de publier une *Patrologie* avait été suggérée à Migne par le nouvel abbé de Solesmes, dom Guéranger, comme il ressort d'une lettre de l'éditeur¹⁴. Le contract d'édition est d'ailleurs passé entre Migne d'une part, dom Guéranger et dom Pitra de l'autre.¹⁵ Les moines de Solesmes collaborent à la correction des épreuves et à la traduction latine d'un certain nombre de textes grecs. Mais le maître d'œuvre est et demeure Jean-Baptiste Pitra, pour toute la *Patrologie* latine et pour la *Patrologie* grecque jusqu'à Photius¹⁶. Il sera relayé, à partir du volume 105 de la PG, par Mgr Jean-Baptiste Malou, évêque de Bruges, comme l'atteste le contract retrouvé dans les archives de la famille Migne.

La *Patrologie* latine accuse une hésitation, dans les premiers volumes. Pitra, encore disponible, semble ne pas vouloir se limiter à reproduire des éditions estimées mais à reviser, au besoin à en faire de nouvelles. L'édition de Tertullien se veut « entièrement neuve »,¹⁷ ce qui n'est pas absolument exact; elle suit l'édition de Priorius et y ajoute l'*editio variorum*. Pour Minucius Félix, dom Pitra établit le texte d'après le seul manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁸. « Epoque laborieuse, écrit Pitra¹⁹ lui-même, pleine de tâtonnements et d'angoisses que nous avons vue de trop près pour ne pas être indulgent plus que personne. »

Par la suite, le savant bénédictin, en tournée de quête, harassé par d'autres soucis ou responsabilités, se contente d'indiquer le choix des éditions,

¹² Art. Patristik dans *Realenzyklopädie für prot. Theologie*, p. 6, qui ne consacre encore aucune notice à l'intrépide éditeur.

¹³ *Annales* . . . , 14, 1846, p. 395.

¹⁴ Lettre de Migne à dom Guéranger, 22 février 1855. Notre J. P. Migne, p. 117.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 119.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 117-124.

¹⁷ Prospectus, dans *Annales* . . . , 10, 1864, p. 83.

¹⁸ Codex Parisinus 1661 du IX^e siècle.

¹⁹ *Univers* du 8 mars 1858.

des dissertations, commentaires et notes, de rassembler les textes dispersés en quantité de bibliothèques et d'y joindre, au désespoir de Mgr Malou, quantité de diplômes et de chartes, des textes liturgiques, qui débordent largement le cadre d'une *Patrologie*²⁰.

Débordement qui a souvent été reprochée à l'entreprise. Eduard Schwartz²¹, avec plus de compétence que d'esprit, n'est-il pas allé jusqu'à qualifier la *Patrologie* de « cloaca maxima » ? Il est heureusement le seul à se permettre pareil excès. Il reste vrai que la *Patrologie* latine proprement dite réserve des surprises. Nous y trouvons les *Mœurs de Brahmanes*²², des traités scientifiques et cosmographiques²³, des traités de musique²⁴, une *Plainte sur la désolation de la Bretagne* de Gildas le sage,²⁵ un précurseur ! Un *Libelle* d'Aven-tius de Metz²⁶ sur Valdrede, concubine de Lothaire.

La *Patrologie* grecque publie les Opuscules chronologiques et astronomiques²⁷, des *Poids et des Mesures* de saint Epiphane²⁸, la *Description des Thermes pythiens* de Paul le Silenciaire,²⁹ und *Chronologie* par Jean Malalas³⁰, une autre par Théophane l'Isaurien³¹, une dernière de Léon le grammairien³², les *Cérémonies de la cour byzantine*, par Constantin VII Porphyrogénète³³.

Ce qui agace les patristiciens qui manquent d'humour a fait et fait la joie des historiens, des géographes, des archéologues, des grammairiens, des musiciens, des mythologues. Tous y trouvent des renseignements sur l'histoire et l'évolution de la langue, sur les mœurs des peuples, l'histoire du théâtre, la topographie des grandes villes, comme Rome, Constantinople, Jérusalem, et sur les itinéraires qui y mènent.

La *Patrologie* grecque, la première en dehors de la collection de Galland³⁴, à fournir le texte original, s'est largement ouverte aux chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature et de la théologie byzantines. Nous y trouvons les textes nouvellement découverts et édités par le cardinal Mai, une riche collecte de chaînes bibliques, de J. B. Felicianus à J. A. Cramer et à M. J. Routh³⁵.

²⁰ Voir notre J. P. Migne, p. 121.

²¹ Dans *Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil. hist. Kl.N.F. Band 8, n° 6, Berlin, 1905, p. 67.

²² PL 17, 1131–1146, faussement attribuées à saint Ambroise. Il s'agit de la traduction d'un texte grec, faite par un auteur du VI^e siècle.

²³ Par ex. PL 90, 123–278, les œuvres de Bède le Vénérable.

²⁴ De Boèce, PL 63, 1167–1300; voir aussi PL 90, 909–938.

²⁵ PL 69, 329–392.

²⁶ PL 121, 1142–1144.

²⁷ PG 19, 99–598.

²⁸ PG 43, 273–294.

²⁹ PG 86, 2263–2268. Il s'agit d'un poème.

³⁰ PG 97, 9–790, qui reproduit le texte publié en 1831, par L. Dindorf.

³¹ PG 108, 63–1010.

³² Ibid. 1137–1164.

³³ PG 112, 73–1446.

³⁴ *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum antiquorumque scriptorum eccl.*, Venise, 1765–1781, en 14 volumes. Nouvelle édition en 1788. L'Index a paru à Bologne, en 1863.

³⁵ Nous fournissons l'inventaire, op. cit., p. 110–111.

En dehors de Pitra et de Malou, l'éditeur a su mobiliser les byzantinistes de l'époque: Hergenröther et Denzinger, mais aussi l'anglais George Hay Forbes, Fr. Ehlert et Jean Henri Nolte. Ce dernier a amélioré le texte des œuvres du Ps. Denys et de celles des apologistes³⁶. Il ne fait pas de doute qu'aujourd'hui l'abbé Migne participerait à la Patristic Conference pour y trouver de nouveaux concours.

Au moment où s'achève, la *Patrologie* latine, Migne pavoise. «Je ne crains pas d'avouer que le jour de son achèvement a été le plus heureux de ma vie³⁷». Il avait fourni le dossier le plus complet possible de la Tradition et ranimé dans son pays et par le monde le goût des choses de l'esprit. L'éditeur travaillait pour l'Eglise et non pour l'érudition. Malheureusement l'incendie de 1868 détruit les Ateliers, au moment où le dernier volume de la *Patrologie* grecque est sous presse.

L'accueil du public, faut-il le dire, a été moins enthousiaste que l'éditeur. Que n'a-t-on épilogué sur les fautes d'impression! La simple honnêteté eut forcé de reconnaître le progrès de ses éditions sur les collections qui les avaient précédées. Migne a consacré à la correction un soin méticuleux et dépensé une fortune³⁸. Pour l'époque, la *Patrologie* grecque est de qualité fort honorable.

La France a été le premier et principal client. Rome et l'Italie sont assez lents à s'ébranler. L'Angleterre semble l'ignorer. Newman ne cite jamais les Pères dans l'édition de Migne. L'Allemagne a la dent particulièrement dure, en premier lieu du côté protestant, et veut ignorer la collection.

Hergenröther³⁹ qui consacre, en 1867, deux longues recensions à la *Patrologie* grecque reconnaît que le travail eût été accompli «avec une acribie critique» plus rigoureuse en Allemagne, mais jamais en dix ans et pour un prix aussi modéré⁴⁰. Il conclut⁴¹: «Malgré les défauts et les méprises dans le détail, cette collection se présente dans son ensemble comme une réalisation vraiment remarquable et jamais encore accomplie.»

Migne écrit au cardinal Pitra, en 1864: «Un autre pourra faire une *Patrologie* plus complète que la mienne, comme j'en ai fait une plus complète que tous les précédents éditeurs, et par là je serai souverainement utile.» L'observation demeure vraie, cent ans plus tard. Nous aurions mauvaise grâce de ne pas le reconnaître, en notre aréopage.

³⁶ Sur les concours et les collaborateurs, voir J. P. Migne, p. 117-131.

³⁷ Dans les *Annales* . . . , 16, 1857, p. 246. Voir notre J. P. Migne, p. 135-136.

³⁸ Voir nos précisions, dans J. P. Migne, p. 132-134.

³⁹ *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 10, 1867, p. 337-344; 440-447.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 337.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

III

Pour mesurer le service rendu par Migne aux études patristiques, imaginons un instant nos Bibliothèques d'Europe ou même d'Amérique, sans les deux *Patrologies*? Que de chercheurs, que de curieux, sans possibilité de recourir aux sources! Ceux-là même qui disposent de *Corpus* nouveaux, plus critiques n'y trouvent qu'en partie ce que renferme la double collection de Migne.

Et même, le jour où nous finirons par posséder une édition nouvelle de toutes les œuvres patristiques, *up to date*, les deux *Patrologies* nous seront encore précieuses à cause de leurs études et de leurs dissertations littéraires et théologiques, qui y sont « profitablement réunies »⁴². Il est vrai que ce n'est pas le néophyte mais le patristicien chevronné, le sage, qui se délecte des travaux de Ceillier et de Tillemont, de Fabricius et de Schönemann.

La *Patrologie* de Migne a fait œuvre de pionnier. Dès le milieu du XIX^e siècle, l'effort de l'éditeur commence à porter des fruits. L'historien du catholicisme français constate un renouveau. La théologie historique pousse ses premiers bourgeons.

Bientôt à Paris, à Lyon, à Toulouse, pour ne parler que de la France, se manifestent de jeunes chercheurs, qui s'appellent Duchesne, Batiffol, Morin, Tixeront. Pierre de Labriolle, Aimé Puech, Paul Monceaux, dans l'Université, éveillent leurs disciples à l'antiquité chrétienne. Avec noblesse et gratitude, l'auteur de *l'Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, reconnaît l'action et l'influence de l'abbé Migne dans ce renouveau⁴³. Une émulation anime désormais les deux riverains du Rhin dont nous sommes tous ici les bénéficiaires.

L'éditeur de Montrouge avait conscience que son entreprise ne constituait qu'une étape: d'autres publications suivraient, bénéficiant du progrès de la philologie, avec ses nouveaux canons, qui, en France du moins, au milieu du XIX^e siècle en est à ses débuts. « Il ne faut pas demander à Migne, écrit Paul Lejay⁴⁴, plus qu'il ne pouvait ni ne voulait donner. » L'éditeur écrit⁴⁵ à dom Pitra au soir de sa vie: « J'ai donné le branle aux publications monumentales, beaucoup auront à cœur de me suivre dans cette nouvelle carrière. »

Migne lui-même avait projeté de publier une bibliothèque orientale, syriaque, copte et éthiopienne, sans trop mesurer ce que pareilles entreprises exigeraient de travaux d'approche et de recherches pour rassembler les inédits⁴⁶. Ce projet prendra corps dans l'œuvre de Graffin et de Nau, qui publieront, dès 1894, une *Patrologia syriaca*, dans le même format que son

⁴² Remarque de Pierre de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature lat. chrétienne*, Paris, 1947, p. 47.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Chronique de litt. chrét., dans *Revue d'histoire et de litt. religieuses*, 1, 1896, p. 96-98.

⁴⁵ Lettre du 27 janvier 1865.

⁴⁶ Remarque de J. Hergenröther, loc. cit., 339.

ainée. D'autres domaines appellent des collections nouvelles : les inscriptions, les papyrus, les chaînes, les versions latines des Pères grecs.

Depuis un siècle, la *Patrologie* de Migne a déclenché un mouvement dont bénéficient ceux-là même qui ont été les plus lents à reconnaître son mérite. Elle a permis à l'érudition de franchir une étape et de fournir, en des corpus nouveaux, des textes plus sûrs établis de manière plus critique, selon des méthodes mieux élaborées.

Aujourd'hui les questions d'authenticité et de chronologie sont minutieusement analysées, le *Sitz im Leben*, culturel, social, politique, philosophique soigneusement dégagé, les manuscrits sont mieux inventoriés, le christianisme est méthodiquement confronté avec l'antiquité tardive, afin de déceler le langage et les valeurs parfois contradictoires. Que de progrès ont été réalisées, au cours d'un siècle !

Ne nous imaginons pas pour autant avoir atteint le point oméga. Les dernières éditions ne sont pas nécessairement les meilleures. Certaines éditions anciennes, popularisées par Migne, comme celle de saint Augustin, soutiennent encore la comparaison, parfois affirment une supériorité, par rapport à des publications récentes. « Longtemps encore, écrit Joseph de Ghellinck⁴⁷, de l'édition mauriste de saint Augustin, c'est d'elle qu'il faudra vivre. »

Une mutation s'est opérée, au cours de XIX^e siècle, que nous pouvons toucher du doigt ici, à Oxford, « les laïques instruits » auxquels l'abbé Migne ouvre sa *Bibliothèque* l'ont pris au mot ; souvent ils relaient les clercs. Les institutions académiques et universitaires, en Autriche, en Allemagne, continuent le travail d'équipe des anciennes communautés religieuses. Les nouveaux venus auraient mauvaise grâce d'oublier les précurseurs.

Si la sécularisation des chercheurs est un progrès et un enrichissement pour l'édition et la recherche patristique, la raréfaction – d'aucuns seraient portés à dire la trahison – des clercs est d'autant plus regrettable que l'enseignement des Pères, mieux que la sociologie ou le structuralisme, exprime et féconde la mission de l'Eglise. Il serait tragique que les clercs négligent ou même délaissent un domaine qui doit demeurer prioritaire, privilégié.

La collaboration entre l'Université et l'Eglise, entre philologie et théologie porte des fruits par la réciprocité des services et l'interférence des compétences, à condition de dépasser le solécisme et la synecdoque.

La patristique exige, en plus de la philologie, le contact direct assidu avec la pensée – et disons-le avec l'esprit et la foi des Pères. Seule cette imprégnation patiente, progressive, qui ne sacrifie ni à la vogue ni à l'idéologie, et même se trouve en désaccord avec elles, permet de trouver « cet esprit primitif, dont parle Bossuet,⁴⁸ que les Pères ont reçu de plus près et avec plus d'abondance de la source même. »

⁴⁷ Patristique et moyen âge, III, p. 484.

⁴⁸ Défense de la tradition et des saints Pères, Paris, 1763, p. 329. Cité par J. de Ghellinck, op. cit. p. 105.

L'ambition de Migne, en publiant la *Patrologie*, dans le désarroi de son temps, était de provoquer la fidélité créatrice et un ressourcement de fécondité. Ce faisant, il a permis à la science et à l'érudition de s'affirmer et de progresser. Il est justice de le reconnaître aujourd'hui.

J'aurais mauvaise grâce, en ces assises patristiques, de vous convier à quelque kippur pour expier le mal que nos ancêtres ou nos homologues ont dit et écrit sur l'abbé Migne, comme pour se donner bonne conscience de devoir recourir à lui. Cent ans après sa mort, celui que le pape Paul VI⁴⁹ appelait « un précurseur génial » existe et sans doute continuera à exister.

Qu'il nous suffise, ce soir, de reconnaître honnêtement, publiquement que l'éditeur de la *Patrologie*, avec son génie propre et ses limites, a été à sa manière un prophète : il a cru à la vertu du grain qu'il semait, qui lève aujourd'hui – et que nous avons la joie de récolter.

⁴⁹ Lettre de Paul VI au cardinal Pellegrino, à l'occasion de la Table Ronde de Chantilly, sur la transmission des textes patristiques, 17–19 mai 1975.

Il tema dell'unione mistica con Dio in un frammento del VI secolo

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Presentiamo qui alcune brevi note su un testo la cui conoscenza è forse limitata, con l'intento anche di sollecitare una più interessata attenzione al campo ormai rigoglioso dei frammenti greco-latini cosiddetti adespoti appartenenti all'area patristica, e pubblicati più o meno provvisoriamente nelle varie edizioni¹.

Uno dei temi più diffusi nella letteratura patristica è senza dubbio quello concernente l'unione dell'anima con Cristo, esemplata sulle immagini bibliche tanto frequenti dell'unione mistica di Dio con Israele e di Cristo con la Chiesa. La fortuna e la diffusione di questa tematica furono collegate in particolare con la lettura e il commento del Cantico dei Cantici, la cui esegesi mistica, inaugurata da Filone in campo giudaico e da Origene in campo patristico, alimentò gran parte della spiritualità cristiana, specialmente in ambiente monastico. Si tratta, come è noto, di una fondamentale esperienza cristiana, inserita in una prospettiva teologica di largo sviluppo, che poté costituire anche un'adeguata risposta alle attese e ai multiformi aneliti del misticismo d'Oriente.

Il tema dell'unione mistica con Dio, come altri temi ampiamente elaborati della tradizione patristica, non rimase chiuso nell'ambito strettamente letterario o riservato all'attenzione e all'esperienza di pochi eletti: esso fu rivolto a tutti, destinato a promuovere e a definire gli aspetti decisivi ed essenziali della vita, anche se per determinate circostanze fu proposto più direttamente a settori distinti, come quello monastico. Non meraviglia perciò il fatto di poterne trovare una testimonianza sia pure parziale anche fuori dei grandi contesti patristici, in una tradizione che si direbbe privata e anonima. A questo abbiamo pensato rileggendo un modesto frammento papiraceo databile al VI secolo, proveniente da Oxyrhynchos (Behnesa) e pubblicato da M. Norsa col n. 65 sotto il titolo "Scoli a un testo biblico" nel volume I dei *Papiri greci e latini* (1912) della Raccolta Fiorentina. Riesaminando il testo anche sull'originale, conservato nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, mi è parso più interessante di quanto non sembri a prima vista, tanto più che il frammento, per quanto mi risulta, non è stato oggetto

¹ Vedi O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Torino 1974, pp. 329 sg.; J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris 1976, pp. 337-358.

di particolari attenzioni successivamente ai laconici cenni della prima edizione².

Ρ διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἐντίμους δόξης [.]
 τρύσομεν θ[.]ι ἐρ ὑμῶν (?) δεήσει . [.]
 ἀναγαγεῖν . . . θ . . . ἰ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν¹
 ἄθλιπτον διατηρεῖν² καὶ τοὺς οἴκους πλησθῆναι ἐν ἀγαθ-
 5 οῖς σίτου, οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου τῶν καρπῶν³. / τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν⁴
 αὔξης ἐν φόβῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐλέους⁵
 τυχεῖν· ἀφέματος (?)⁶ παρὰ τοῖς εἰπεν ἐν ἐναγγελίαις · δ ἐ-
 ἀν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑμεῖς⁷ ἀφήτε ἐκεῖνο⁸ ἀφε-
 θήσεται ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. / καὶ δ ἐὰν
 10 δῆσητε πάλιν ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦτο(?)⁹ ἔσται δε-
 δημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. / ὅθεν
 εἰ(?) πιστοὶ γρηγοροῦντες ἐσόμεθα¹⁰,
 λαμπάδες ἡμῶν φωτίζονται¹¹ ἐν ἑλαίῳ, /
 ὡς περιχαρεῖς τῷ νυμφίῳ φαινόμενοι συ-
 15 νευσέλωμεν¹² εἰς τὴν παστάδα¹³ τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹ ὑμῶν pap. ² διατυρεῖ pap. ³ καρπον pap. ⁴ ὑμῶν pap. ⁵ ελαιους pap. ⁶ ἀφέματος pap.
⁷ ημεῖς pap. ⁸ ἐκεῖνω pap. ⁹ οὗτος pap. ¹⁰ οἱ πιστοὶ κροίγοροῦντες εσόμεθα pap.
¹¹ λαμπάτες ὑμῶν φωτίζε pap. ¹² περιχαρὶς τῷ νυμφίῳ φενομένη σύνεισελθομεν pap. ¹³ παστάτα
 pap.

Come si vede, dopo i primi 3 righi mutili, il testo del frammento è conservato per intero. Le diverse espressioni si susseguono con una *gradatio* di tipo assiologico: beni materiali, giustificazione e pace interiore, prospettiva mistico-escatologica dell'unione con Dio. E' da osservare innanzi tutto che il titolo dato al frammento nella prima edizione appare inesatto. E' difficile infatti pensare che si tratti di semplici scoli a un testo biblico, anche perché i vari riferimenti biblici sono fra loro collegati da un unico pensiero — la pace interiore e l'unione con Dio — che ispira i vari tratti del testo, e le stesse linee oblique di demarcazione che compaiono nel papiro, non interrompono quel nesso logico e sembrano destinate, con valore recitativo, a segnare le varie pause o cadenze del discorso, piuttosto che ad una funzione di carattere metrico o scoliastico. Inoltre il *διὸ* iniziale fa pensare ad una sezione conclusiva di un ampio discorso precedente. D'altra parte, la presenza della croce monogrammatica (non della semplice croce, come appare nell'*ed. pr.*) all'inizio del primo rigo e le tracce in senso orizzontale di varie piegature del foglietto papiraceo, regolarmente ritagliato al margine inferiore e ai lati, fanno supporre che si trattasse di un foglio a parte, contenente una serie di reminiscenze bibliche collegate fra di loro in funzione di un contesto impetrativo-parenetico. Era dunque il testo del nostro foglietto un'orazione da recitare in riunioni liturgiche? Forse la parte conclusiva di una preghiera del tipo delle *συναπταί*? Oppure la parenesi finale di un discorso esegetico, ricopiata con mano rapida verosimilmente da un religioso, per uso personale?

² Un mio breve accenno al frammento si trova in *Augustinianum* 14 (1974), 501, sg.

Domande alle quali l'analisi del testo potrà fornire qualche utile indicazione, se non, almeno per ora, una decisiva risposta.

Ai rr. 3-4 l'espressione τὸν βλον ἡμῶν (?) ἄθλιπτον διατηρεῖν, che designa l'oggetto di una probabile preghiera (v. δέησις e ἀναγαγεῖν ai rr. 2-3), ricorda da vicino 1 Tim. 2, 2, ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βλον διάγωμεν κτλ, e accenna ad un motivo — quello della ἡσυχία — piuttosto diffuso. Ma l'uso del raro ἄθλιπτος, non abituale nel linguaggio ascetico, ci sembra indizio non trascurabile di tono letterario. Non potrei asserire che da solo richiami al noto tema della ἡσυχία e quindi dell'esicasmò, ma il contesto lo lascia supporre.

I rr. 4-5 sono evidente reminiscenza di vari passi biblici, in particolare di Ps. 64, 5, πλησθησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ οἴκου σου, e di Ps. 4, 8, ἀπὸ καυροῦ σίτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἐλαίον αὐτῶν ἐπληθύνθησαν (cfr. Ioel 2, 19, 24, Sirac. 22, 23, Ier. 31, 14). Si tratta di passi (specialmente Ps. 4, 7-8; 65, 4, e Ioel 2, 19, 24) che venivano spesso interpretati allegoricamente secondo l'esegesi origeniana³. Lo stesso Metodio d'Olimpo, con esegesi di tipo «botanico», come l'ha definita Musurillo⁴ intende allegoricamente Ioel 2, 21-23, vedendo simboleggiati nella pianta del fico e della vite i frutti di giustizia pienamente maturati nell'economia neotestamentaria⁵.

Nei rr. 5 sgg. è formulata una seconda petizione: che i figli crescano nel timore di Dio, allo scopo di conseguire (così intendiamo l'incerta lettura del r. 7) la misericordia e il perdono. Il concetto del «timore» come atteggiamento rilevante nel rapporto con Dio ritorna frequente, come si sa, nell'Antico e nel Nuovo Testamento, con sfumature diverse nei vari contesti. Quanto all'idea del timore come condizione e insieme coronamento della misericordia divina, si può ricordare, fra l'altro, Ps. 102, 17, particolarmente indicativo come raffronto col nostro testo: τὸ δὲ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν (cfr. Ps. 129, 4). Tanto più che questo versetto è ripreso con citazione sostanzialmente fedele in Lc. 1, 50, nell'inno del *Magnificat*, il cui contesto presenta numerose analogie col medesimo Salmo 102.

Il conseguimento della misericordia è accentuato dalle espressioni dei rigli 7-11, che sono una libera citazione di Mc. 2, 10, Io. 20, 23, Mt. 16, 19; 18, 18, circa il potere trasmesso da Cristo agli apostoli, di rimettere i peccati degli uomini.

Il tema degli ultimi rigli (11-15), l'unione mistico-escatologica con Dio, solennemente conclusivo, risulta dominante nel contesto, punto di convergenza e parte finale di un discorso presumibilmente più vasto, e costituisce, come si è accennato, il motivo principale che caratterizza il breve testo in esame. E' anzi nostra impressione che anche nella prima parte le reminiscenze di scelti passi scritturistici siano intese allegoricamente e concorrano a

³ Vedi Origene, *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12, 1165-8 e 1493 sg; cfr. Agostino, *Enarrat. in Ps.*, PL 36-37, 82.

⁴ H. Musurillo e V.-H. Debidour, *Méthode d'Olympe. Le Banquet*, SC 95, Paris 1963, p. 13.

⁵ Symp. X, 5; PG 18, 200-201.

preparare nella vita e nell'animo le condizioni e la base del voto finale. Si tratterebbe di un'esegesi la cui applicazione sistematica, intrapresa da Origene, costituì in seguito il fondamento per lo sviluppo della spiritualità monastica⁶.

Registriamo alcuni punti di contatto del nostro frammento col *Simposio* di Metodio d'Olimpo: si veda in V, 3 l'esortazione a tenere accesa nel cuore la fiaccola della fede e a vegliare (*ἐγρηγορέναι*) nell'attesa del Signore (cfr. VI, 4, e *Inno*, IX); in particolare VII, 3, dove con riferimento a Mt. 25, 3 sgg. si proclama la sorte delle sante vergini, che per prime entreranno con Cristo (*αὐτῷ . . . συνεισελεύσεσθαι*) nel riposo eterno della «camera nuziale» (*εἰς νυμφῶνα*); e in VIII, 12, l'invito a non lasciarsi turbare dalle vicissitudini e dalle tribolazioni di questa vita, *ἵνα συνεισέλθῃτε γαυροὶ μετ' αὐτῆς* (con la Chiesa) *εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα παραφαίνουσαι τὰς λαμπάδας*.

Quanto ai due aspetti, mistico ed escatologico, dell'unione con Dio, è opportuno ripensare, sia pure fugacemente, alla notevole fusione che essi trovarono in particolare nei carmi di Gregorio Nazianzeno⁷: si veda il carme 2°, l. I, sez. II, 380–388 (vergini vigilanti con le lampade accese), e 665–678 (unione mistico-escatologica con Dio)⁸.

Eloquenti anche le affinità che si riscontrano in Gregorio Nisseno, specialmente nel *De virginitate*, che insieme ad altri scritti del mistico cappadocce (come la *Hypotyposis*) esercitò un forte influsso nella storia della vita monastica⁹. Si noti l'uso di *παστάς* in *De virg.* III, 7, 10–11 (lo splendore della camera nuziale – *ἐν παστάδι* – contrapposto all'«oscurità» dello stato vedovile); particolarmente in III, 8, 23–25: nel caso delle vergini unite allo sposo immortale, la morte non produce la separazione dall'Essere amato, ma l'unione con Lui. Per il quale passo Aubineau annota un espressivo parallelo di *In funere Pulcheriae*¹⁰, dove è ribadita la superiorità del talamo celeste (*οὐρανία παστάς*)¹¹.

Ma le affinità più rilevanti e significative le abbiamo incontrate in scritti di ambienti propriamente monastici, nei quali del resto si era diffusa la conoscenza e l'utilizzazione degli stessi autori sopra citati. La 24ª *adhortatio* dell'abate Iperechio (V-VI secolo?) presenta una evidente analogia col nostro testo: *ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἔστω ὁ χιτὼν τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἄσπιλος*¹² . . . *ἐν μέσῃ γὰρ νυκτὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος συνεισελεύσεται τῷ νυμφίῳ Χριστῷ εἰς τὴν παστάδα*.

⁶ Cfr. H. Crouzel, *Origène précurseur du monachisme*, in *Théologie de la vie monastique. Études sur la tradition patristique*, Paris 1961, p. 26.

⁷ Vedi J. Plagnieux, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Théologie de la vie monastique* cit., p. 126 sg.

⁸ PG 37, 608 sg.; 630 sg.

⁹ Vedi J. Daniélou, *S. Grégoire de Nysse dans l'histoire du monachisme*, in *Théol. de la vie mon.* cit., p. 139.

¹⁰ Vedi M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité*, SC 119, Paris 1966, p. 295, n. 3.

¹¹ PG 46, 869 C.

¹² Cfr. Gregorio Nazianzeno, *Carm.* 1. II, sez. II, 11; PG 38, 87.

**Ελαιον ἐπικομιζέτω ὁ μοναχὸς εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου*¹³. L'analogia è indubbiamente sintomatica.

Nel VI secolo Esichio, prima monaco e poi presbitero a Gerusalemme, usa di frequente il termine *παστάς* a significare la camera nuziale (talvolta la tomba di Gesù) in cui si compie l'unione del Verbo con l'umanità e la Chiesa¹⁴.

Non solo. Una ulteriore riflessione sul nostro frammento ci ha fatto pensare ad una possibile intonazione esicasta, ad una probabile provenienza del testo da un ambiente in cui ci si atteneva alla forma definita «classica» dell'esicasmo monastico. Le quattro note, che secondo P. Adnès costituiscono la *hesychia* interiore¹⁵, appaiono come in sintesi nel nostro frammento: 1^a la *hesychia-amerimnia* (*βίον ἀθλιπτον* ecc.); 2^a la *nepsis* o vigilanza (*γρηγοροῦντες*); 3^a e 4^a, il ricordo di Dio e l'orazione necessaria per ottenere l'unione con Dio (rr. 4-7 e 12-15 del frammento). Le stesse note si riscontrano in maniera più o meno esplicita nelle *Adhortationes* del monaco e abate Iperechio già citato, la cui affinità col nostro frammento appare più stringente anche per altre concordanze:

1) *ἡσυχία* (rr. 4 sgg. fr.): v. *adhort.* 32, la *ἡσυχία* come mitezza e umiltà verso i fratelli; *adhort.* 36, *ἡσυχία* disposizione interiore verso lo Spirito Santo; *adhort.* 70, la *ἀπάθεια* del monaco.

2) *φόβος θεοῦ* (r. 7 fr.): v. *adhort.* 1, il timore di Dio fondamento della vita monastica; *adhort.* 35, interiorità (*ἐν καρδίᾳ*) del timore di Dio (cfr. *adhort.* 142 e 157).

3) *γρηγόρησις* (r. 12 fr.): v. *adhort.* 9, vigilanza nella preghiera contro i fantasmi notturni; *adhort.* 12, vigilanza del monaco contro i mali pensieri; *adhort.* 84, vigilare notte e giorno nella preghiera.

4) *λαμπάδες φωτειναί* (r. 13 fr.): v. *adhort.* 29, il monaco invidioso trae a sé il demonio e rimane fuori con le vergini stolte, come chi non ha reso splendente e gioiosa la lampada con l'olio: *ὁ μὴ ἐλαίῳ φαιδρύνων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαμπάδα*.

5) *συνεισέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν παστάδα* (rr. 14-15 fr.): v. *adhort.* 24 riportata qui sopra; *adhort.* 126, col prezioso possesso della verginità il monaco *εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα*; *adhort.* 155, dolore dei santi, se un asceta per la superbia non entra con lo Sposo nel talamo, *μὴ συνερχομένον τῷ νυμφίῳ εἰς τὴν παστάδα*.

In conclusione, le affinità del nostro frammento con alcuni motivi della spiritualità d'ispirazione monastica appaiono considerevoli, e le analogie con le *Adhortationes* dell'abate Iperechio risultano significative, tanto da far pensare ad una possibile fonte comune dei due testi. Sembra comunque legittimo supporre l'appartenenza del frammento ad un contesto parenetico-

¹³ PG 79, 1476 C.

¹⁴ Esichio di Gerusalemme, *In S. Pascha Hom. II, 2*. Vedi M. Aubineau, *Homélies Pascales*, SC 187, Paris 1972, pp. 122, 134 sg.

¹⁵ *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, s.v. *hésychasme*, coll. 388-397. Cfr. I. Hausherr, *L'hésychasme. Étude de spiritualité*. OCA 176, Roma 1966, 163-237.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript fragment. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that shows signs of wear and discoloration. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words being larger and more prominent than others. The overall appearance is that of an ancient or medieval document.

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esegetico di tipo monastico del V-VI secolo, e verosimile anche l'ipotesi che l'autore si ispirasse alla forma cosiddetta «classica» dell'esicasmo monastico.¹⁶

L'interesse suscitato dal mutilo testo qui rapidamente esaminato non è trascurabile, anche perché di riflesso ci rimanda agli altri numerosi frammenti patristici anonimi sparsi nelle svariate edizioni, in attesa di essere criticamente raccolti e commentati. *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant!*

¹⁶ Quanto al simbolismo cosiddetto «botanico» predominante nel frammento (cfr. i rr. 5-6, 11), si veda G. Bartelink, *Le jeu des mots ἔλαιον – ἔλεος chez les auteurs chrétiens*, in *Sileno* 2 (1978), 189-202.

The Date of Arnobius' *Adversus gentes*

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Arnobius' Seven Books attacking the pagans¹ give us a rare glimpse of Christianity coming to educated men in a provincial African town: Sicca Veneria, modern El Kef, spread across a stony escarpment in Western Tunisia. Often we can overhear him arguing with contemporaries who still respected the natural gods of their close, tense community,² the gods whose temples stood along the streets as square and solid as nuclear reactors, providing a steady flow of power for the city. Arnobius' new beliefs, indeed, seem to have grown so closely from the culture, more literary than philosophical, of his non-Christian past, that theologians mainly interested in unearthing doctrines have even thought he belonged to a heretical sect.³

Unfortunately he gives us very little idea of when he was writing. Once he observes that there have been Christians for about three hundred years⁴:

Trecenti sunt anni ferme minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo coepimus Christiani et terrarum in orbe censeri.

But was he thinking of Christ's birth or his death or some other date? Later he remarks that the City of Rome itself is about one thousand and fifty years old⁵:

Aetatis urbs Roma cuius esse in annalibus indicatur? annos ducit quinquaginta et mille aut non multum ab his minus.

"Or not much less", he says. This is not meant to be an accurate statement. It is part of a rough calculation to find the age of Jupiter which, for instance, allows one hundred and twenty years to a generation and even then disagrees with the estimate of Lactantius.⁶ To wonder if the Fabian or the Varronian era is meant is to miss the point. Anyway, if public monuments

¹ The text most readily available is that of Reifferscheid in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* vol. IV. There are translations by Bryce and Campbell in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library and by G. E. MacCracken: *Arnobius: the case against the pagans*, Westminster, Maryland 1949. MacCracken has extensive notes and on pp. 7-12 he collects scholarly opinion on Arnobius' date.

² MacCracken prints a lot of such passages as conversation.

³ ZNTW 1954. F. Scheidweiler makes a case for Arnobius being a Marcionite.

⁴ Adv. Gent. I, 13.

⁵ Adv. Gent. II, 71.

⁶ Div. Inst. II, v, 2. cf. MacCracken vol. 1 p. 345 note 449.

are anything to go by, Africans used consular dates and the years of the emperors far more than the age of the City of Rome. The phrase is no more accurate than the modern pulpit circumlocution, "two thousand years ago".

The only other ancient writer to name Arnobius is Jerome. Apart from four passing references in various letters,⁷ Jerome mentions him three times: once in the continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*,⁸ once in the life of Lactantius in *De Viris Illustribus*,⁹ and for the third time in his own life in the *De Viris Illustribus*.¹⁰

First the *Chronicle*:

Arnobius rhetor in Africa clarus habetur. qui cum Siccae ad declamandum juvenes erudiret et adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem somniis compelleretur impetraret fidem, quam semper impugnaverat, elucubravit adversum pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros et tandem velut quibusdam obsidibus pietatis foedus impetravit.

This entry is under the year 327, the twenty-first year of Constantine's reign and the first Jerome himself added to Eusebius' *Chronicle*. There is nothing in the Seven Books which suggests that Jerome here followed his scholarly practice of compiling information on famous men from chance references in their writings, but Arnobius twice makes it plain that he wrote the Seven Books not long after his conversion.¹¹ Jerome is well known to be rather haphazard about dates, but it would be a big mistake to put Arnobius' conversion in 327 if he wrote, as is often thought, around 300.¹²

A reason commonly given for a date before 311 is that Arnobius refers to the persecutions and so must have been writing while they were still happening.¹³ But his reaction to them is not very immediate. No emperor is directly blamed, the persecutions are only mentioned because Arnobius holds the gods responsible.¹⁴ He was right. Diocletian would not move against the Christians till he felt a current of responsible religious opinion behind him. His envoys walked up the avenue between the archaic lions to consult the oracle at Didyma. For Arnobius this was far away. What happened in a persecution was no doubt closer to him than the text of any Edict. His quarrel was with fellow townsmen who cultivated the gods, the sort of civic worthies who had special seats at the theatre because they paid for the

⁷ Jerome: Epp. lix, lx, lxii, lxx.

⁸ *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*. Siebenter Band of Eusebius Werke in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte* ed. R. Helm. Berlin 1956 p. 231 sub anno Domini 327.

⁹ Jerome: *De Viris Illustribus* lxxx = P.L. XXIII col. 687 = Herding (Teubner Leipzig, 1924) p. 50.

¹⁰ Jerome: *De vir. Illust.* lxxix = P.L. XIII col. 687 = Herding p. 50.

¹¹ *Adv. Gent.* I, 39; III, 24.

¹² Not one of the scholars listed by MacCracken (vol. I pp. 11–12 and p. 245 note 76) gives a date later than 313. MacCracken settles for ±300.

¹³ This is MacCracken's reason for placing Arnobius before 311.

¹⁴ *Adv. Gent.* I, 26.

shows.¹⁵ It was, after all, these dignitaries who had gone round questioning the Christians,¹⁶ and they would have had, as John Henry Newman realised in his novel about third-century Sicca, a lot of support from people who thought their crops were spoilt by bad weather or locusts because the Christians neglected the natural gods.¹⁷ Large noisy crowds in the theatres shared their liking for ambiguously religious entertainments, like the plays of Sophocles¹⁸ or the ballet of Venus and Adonis which was curtain-raiser to Apuleius' projected debauch of a notorious female poisoner.¹⁹ The theatre and people who went there were open to attack by Christians looking for a target long after the last persecution.

In fact Arnobius seems to be recollecting the persecutions, if not in tranquillity, then in relative security. "So", he says confidently, "what you call the tough policy of persecution is for us liberation, not persecution; the troubles it brings do not cause us pain but lead us to the light of freedom."²⁰ This pious thought is part of a balanced discussion of the problem of Evil and all the troubles of the world. He could hardly have put the Donatists' vicarious enthusiasm for martyrs more philosophically: "One does not get the impression that Arnobius momentarily (sic) expected the arrival of the imperial police at his door."²¹ He is looking back on a golden age of persecution, not, like the Montanists, forward to the eschatological glories of martyrdom. But it is not clear whether he wrote before or after the Persecution which began in 303 and may already have waned as early as 307.²²

Jerome's story about the conversion, if it is true, would also be more plausibly set at a time when violent persecution was in the distance and the Church could afford to be choosy about converts of convenience. Especially if they were converted by dreams. Dreams were part of an ancient man's ordinary apparatus for making decisions,²³ but for bishops they could be an explosive mixture of personal authority and heresy. Augustine especially warns catechists to be careful with converts by dreams.²⁴ It would not be surprising if a bishop keen to keep a pure Church were suspicious of Arnobius.

¹⁵ Adv. Gent. IV, 35–6 has been compared with Eusebius' account of Diocletian's Edict of persecution. It is in fact the peroration of a tirade denouncing the theatre for insulting the gods.

¹⁶ Eg. J. Stevenson: *A New Eusebius*. London 1957, p. 287. Cf. T. D. Barnes: *Tertullian*, Oxford 1972, p. 144.

¹⁷ J. H. Newman: *Callista*, Chaps. XIV and XV.

¹⁸ Adv. Gent. IV, 35 and IV, 25: "Sophocles Atticus cunctis consentibus theatribus".

¹⁹ Golden Ass X, 29–34.

²⁰ Adv. Gent. II, 77.

²¹ MacCracken vol. I p. 279, note 104.

²² T. D. Barnes (*Lactantius and Constantine* in JRS lxxiii 1973 p. 43) points out that Eusebius says that Maxentius began by pretending to be a Christian (H.E. viii, 14, 1.)

²³ One thinks of Lucian's dream about his career (Loeb Library edn. vol. III p. 218).

²⁴ *De Catechizandis Rudibus* X.

Jerome tells us very little more about Arnobius in the sketch of him in the *De Viris Illustribus*²⁵:

Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccae apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit, scripsitque adversus gentes quae vulgo exstant volumina.

There seems no need to translate this to make it look as if the *Adversus Gentes* was written under Diocletian.²⁶ 327 may seem rather late for a man actively teaching in the 280's and 290's to be writing, unless Arnobius did not approach his bishop for the spine-chilling rites of baptism till his old age.²⁷ But the general argument for the work being written later does not stand or fall on this single date. Not that it is an impossibility. If Arnobius was born in the 250's he would have been in his seventies in 327, and in his thirties when Diocletian came to the purple. He would have been quite old enough to be teaching rhetoric; Augustine began at twenty-one.²⁸

It was under Diocletian that his best-known pupil, Firmianus Lactantius, left Africa for the new imperial city of Nicomedia on the coast of Bithynia, as Jerome writes in his biography of Lactantius.²⁹

Firmianus qui et Lactantius Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico, cuius De medicinalibus versu compositi exstant libri, Nicomediae rhetoricam docuit ac penuria discipulorum ob Graecam videlicet civitatem ad scribendum se contulit. habemus eius Symposium, quod adolescentulus scripsit Africae et hodoeporicum Africa usque Nicomediam hexametris scriptum versibus et alium librum qui inscribitur Grammaticus et pulcherrimum De ira dei et Institutionum divinarum adversus gentes libros septem et *ἐπιτομήν* eiusdem operis, librum unum *ἀκρόφων* et Ad Asclepiadem libros duos, De persecutione librum unum, Ad Probum epistularum libros quattuor, Ad Severum epistularum libros duos, Ad Demetrianum auditorem suum epistularum libros duos, ad eundem De opificio dei vel formatione hominis librum unum. hic extrema senectute magister Caesaris Crispi filii Constantini in Gallia fuit, qui postea a patre interfectus est.

This does not help us very much either. Nothing is known of Flavius (his name may even be Fabius) and the chronology of Lactantius' life is rather confusing. He must have been younger than Arnobius, though maybe not very much younger. We cannot say exactly when he sailed to Asia Minor, but when, later, he taught Crispus son of Constantine in Gaul he had all the authority of extreme old age. Crispus was made Caesar in 317 (Jerome repeats the information about his tutor in the *Chronicle* under that date)³⁰ and was killed by his father in 326. Any number of guesses could be made at what Jerome meant by extreme old age, but if Lactantius was born in the

²⁵ De Vir. Illust. 79 = PL XXIII col. 687.

²⁶ As MacCracken does. Vol. I p. 2.

²⁷ As did Constantine. Euseb. Vit. Const. lxii. Africans were often concerned about the difficulty of remaining pure after baptism. Cf. Tertullian *De baptismo* xviii.

²⁸ Conf. IV, 4.

²⁹ De vir. illust. 80 = PL XXIII col. 687.

³⁰ Chronicle ed. Helm p. 230. There is controversy about the exact period of Lactantius' tutorship — summarised in footnote 6 of p. 158 of E. Heck: *Die dualistischen Zusätze und die Kaiseranreden bei Lactantius*. Abhandl. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse 1972. 2 Abhandl.

260's (say ten years after Arnobius) he would have been in his fifties in 317. It is worth noting that E. Heck in his recent and elegant re-dating of the *Divine Institutes* does not think Lactantius too old to be making alterations and additions in 324-5, though he does not think Lactantius lived long afterwards.³¹ Lactantius' dates, then, do not make it impossible for his former tutor to have been alive and writing after the persecutions were over, though they do make Jerome's date of 327 seem improbable.

What is surprising is that master and pupil never mention each other. In his edition of Lactantius, Brandt list four passages of Arnobius which Lactantius might have had in mind, but the similarities are not striking.³² More important is a list of earlier African apologists Lactantius made in the fifth book of the *Institutes*.³³ The shortcomings of Minucius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian are considered but Arnobius is absent. It is unlikely that heresy in the *Adversus Gentes* would have worried Lactantius. He was writing for the *grande publique cultivée* and did not allow Church divisions like Tertullian's Montanism to deflect him.³⁴ Of course the book may never have reached him: it survives in only one manuscript tradition and Jerome is alone in alluding to it. But it was topical and, though cultured, pitched at the right level to be popular. It would have pleased people who found Lactantius' *Epitome* or Hierocles' topical tract easier reading than Porphyry's massive onslaught or the full text of the *Institutes*. We cannot tell if it caught on. But it is certain that Lactantius kept up with friends in the West who might have lent him a copy,³⁵ and by the time he began the fifth book he had probably left Bithynia himself.³⁶ Furthermore, Africans at this time seem very aware of events in Asia Minor. Montanism had come from the uplands of Phrygia and Arnobius himself retails a lot of information about the cult of Magna Mater there.³⁷ Their cities may have been tight centrifugal communities but they were not closed off from the outside world. Anyway, whether Lactantius wrote the fifth book of the *Institutes* by 311 (as Heck thinks)³⁸ or by 313-5 (as Monat thinks)³⁹ it is at least possible that it was already published when Arnobius wrote his attack.

³¹ Op. cit. p. 158. However, maybe rightly, he takes "extrema senectus" to mean about seventy and puts Lactantius' birth about 250. This would make a later date for the *Adversus Gentes* most unlikely, unless Jerome made a mistake about Lactantius' age when teaching Crispus.

³² CSEL xxvii p. 245.

³³ Div. Inst. V, 1, 22-6.

³⁴ Though Scheidweiler, art. cit., argues that Lactantius may have disliked his Marcionite ideas.

³⁵ Acilius Severus, probably from Spain, is mentioned as a correspondent in De Vir. Illust. cxi. cf. Jones and Martindale and Morris: *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* s.v. Severus 16.

³⁶ Div. Inst. V, 22. "Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias litteras accitus docerem . . ."

³⁷ Adv. Gent. V, 20. Quite a lot of the information, here, though, may be booklearning.

³⁸ E. Heck op. cit. p. 143.

³⁹ P. Monat (ed.): *Lactance: Institutions Divines, Livre V*, vol. 1 p. 15 Sources Chrétiennes, Paris 1973. Cf. notice by R. M. Ogilvie in JTS, 1975.

It is likely that Arnobius wrote at a time when Porphyry's book about the Return of the Soul had become available to his opponents. Fragments of it have been salvaged from the peroration of the anti-pagan half of Augustine's *City of God*⁴⁰: Arnobius considers some similar topics in his second book.⁴¹ Theurgy not only fails to make the soul immortal, it does not even give it immunity from interference on the way;⁴² Christ is the only sure way of salvation.⁴³ But Arnobius' target is larger and more amorphous than Porphyry.⁴⁴ He is taking issue with the educated man's deep but ineluctable natural sense of values, represented by the relationship of the soul to the divine.

Vos, vos appello qui Mercurium, qui Platonem Pythagoramque sectamini, vosque ceteros, qui estis unius mentis et per easdem vias placitorum inceditis unitate.⁴⁵

He goes on, quoting Plato, to make them seem what an educated African most despised, a small non-conformist obscurantist sect. At the end of the book they shade into the instigators of the persecutions.⁴⁶ Porphyry was probably still alive in the early fourth century,⁴⁷ but the exact date of the *liber de regressu animae* is not known. It is not at all easy to be certain when opponents are directly answering written arguments and it is anyone's guess how long it took for Porphyry's work to be translated into Latin and penetrate the African hinterland. But if Arnobius was writing later in the fourth century than is usually thought, Porphyry would have had longer to merge in his mind with his other opponents.

The bulk of the Seven Books, though, is more about gods than souls. Here again Arnobius seems to be recording Christian inroads:

Negleguntur dii, clamitant, atque in templis iam raritas summa est, jacent antiquae derisui caerimoniae et sacrorum veterrimi ritus religionum novarum superstitionibus occiderunt.⁴⁸

The Church was used to such complaints, but Arnobius had a new answer

⁴⁰ Fragments collected in J. Bidez: *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néoplatonicien*. Brussels, 1912. There has been controversy following J. J. O'Meara's suggestion (*Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*, Paris 1959) that it was identical with a work mostly recovered from Eusebius' *Preparatio Evangelica*, the *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας*. See the review of O'Meara by P. Hadot in *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes*, 1960.

⁴¹ As Courcelle has shown: *Les sages de Porphyre et les 'viri novi' d'Arnobius* in *Revue des Etudes Latines*, 1953 p. 257 ff.

⁴² Adv. Gent. II, 62. Cf. Bidez frag. 3.

⁴³ Adv. Gent. II, 65. In Bidez frag. 12 Porphyry says that no universally applicable way of freeing the soul has yet been found.

⁴⁴ As Courcelle (art. cit.) is careful to maintain, in agreement with A. J. Festugière; *La doctrine des 'viri novi' sur l'origine et le sort des âmes*, now in his *Hermetisme et Mystique Païenne*, Paris 1967 pp. 261–312.

⁴⁵ Adv. Gent. II, 13.

⁴⁶ Adv. Gent. II, 76.

⁴⁷ T. D. Barnes: The date of Porphyry's *κατὰ χριστιανῶν* JTS 1973, puts this work into the early fourth century, maybe after 306. It seems generally agreed that the *De regressu animae* was written late in Porphyry's life.

⁴⁸ Adv. Gent. I, 24. Tertullian too answered this complaint, but in rather different terms.

for them. It is more than irony to ascribe natural disasters to the obscene and insulting myths and rites of the pagans, it is a claim that the Christian God is the god behind Nature, that Christianity is the culturally established religion. Paganism like many traditional religions was resilient enough to survive quite a lot of neglect – at one time one of the temples in Sicca had been in such a poor state that burglars had broken in and decamped with the statue of the goddess.⁴⁹ Evangelical fervour was not the basis of traditional religion: the smoke continued to rise from the temples of Capitoline Jupiter which dominated massively most of the forums of Roman Africa.⁵⁰ Moreover, as Arnobius was aware, people still went to the temples in times of crisis. His assertion that the weighty forces of Nature were Christian would not have been accepted by everybody, but it would have made much more sense when the Church had popular support and little official opposition.

There is nothing we can say for certain about the date Arnobius wrote the *Adversus Gentes*. It seems likely, if only from the absence of eschatology, that the Church he wrote for considered persecution a time of past solidarity rather than present pain. We cannot be sure if Arnobius wrote before or after the storm of the Great Persecution broke, and he gives no other clues which place him in a larger political chronology⁵¹: there is not even any allusion to the administrative organisation of Africa, which was reformed by Diocletian. He concentrated on argument within his own horizons. It does seem likely, however, that Lactantius had not heard of the Seven Books when he was writing the fifth book of the *Divine Institutes*, and that enough time had elapsed for Porphyry's way of presenting the issues of personal religion to be assimilated by a wider public. Also, if we consider the reluctance of men of the age of Constantine to accept the personal sanctions and public obligations of baptism, it is quite possible that Arnobius did not become a member of the Church till near the end of his life. There is nothing in any of this, except the carelessness of the Saint, to explain the date in Jerome's *Chronicle* of 327. Arnobius' conversion must remain an undated episode in the slow establishment of Christianity as the religion and culture of Africa.

⁴⁹ Cited in G. Burton: *The Curatores Rei Publicae of Roman Africa* JRS 1940 p. 64.

⁵⁰ A lot of Arnobius' fifth book denigrates Jupiter. This is surely not wasted space. Nor need we think that Saturn, the god who looked after the agricultural interests of the towns, was dead. It is true that the last stele dedicated to him that we can date securely (from Masqueray in Mauretania) is of 255–9 (M. Leglay: *Saturne Africain* BEFAR 1966) but the proportion of inscribed stelae is tiny compared to the acres of pictorial ones.

⁵¹ Is there any significance, though, in the fact that in *Adv. Gent.* I, 26 Arnobius asks if Dodona and (maybe) Trophonius have ever spoken against the Christians, but merely abuses Didyma?

Postscript

Since the Conference I have revised this paper in the light of kind and perceptive criticism, especially from the chairman of the session. In particular I have been prompted to second thoughts on how old Lactantius was when he taught Crispus. In an article in the *Harvard Theological Review* (XXXVI for 1943) M. Travis considers what age Jerome meant by "extrema senectus" in the case of Marius Victorinus. He lists a number of uses of the phrase which can be checked independently, many of them from Cicero, a favourite author of Jerome's. In no case does it mean less than seventy. Lactantius, and so Arnobius, may then have lived earlier than I maintained when reading this paper. However, the earlier one dates the *Adversus Gentes*, the harder it becomes to account for Arnobius' knowledge of a late work of Porphyry.

La lettre "De hymno trisagio" du Damascène, ou Jean Mosch, patriarche de Jérusalem

Keetje ROZEMOND, Haarlem

Dans trois ans, le savant éditeur des œuvres de Jean Damascène, le R. P. Bonifatius Kotter O. S. B., prévoit l'édition nouvelle des œuvres polémiques du Damascène. Pour la lettre «De hymno trisagio»¹, l'Institut Byzantin de Scheyern, qui prépare l'édition, a déjà collationné les chapitres sélectionnés des 39 manuscrits qui lui sont connus. Ainsi on a pu établir un classement de ces manuscrits, les plus importants en ont été comparés, et un texte en quelque sorte définitif a pu être fixé. L'éditeur a mis généreusement à notre disposition les données de ce texte qui ont trait à la communication présente.

La lettre «De hymno trisagio» est née des circonstances suivantes. Pour affirmer le rapport de l'hymne des séraphins² au seul Dieu Fils, un certain Anastase, dirigeant du monastère de saint Euthyme³, avait cité l'auteur de notre lettre. En outre, il s'était autorisé du support de Jean, «Patriarche de la cité sainte du Christ notre Dieu»⁴. Pour défendre celui-ci, l'auteur de notre lettre écrit: «Qui a connu mieux que moi la pensée du très bienheureux Jean le patriarche? Personne. A vrai dire, il n'a jamais émis un souffle en matière dogmatique⁵ sans me le communiquer à moi, son disciple. Pourquoi, maintenant que ce saint homme ne vit plus et ne parle plus, cela a-t-il été dit sur lui? Qu'on ne calomnie plus ce zélé serviteur qui respira le feu de l'orthodoxie, *μόςχον φημί*, le célèbre Jean, l'exterminateur et le destructeur de toute voix illusoire»⁶. Dans ce passage, deux mots sont restés sans traduction. Le mot *μόςχον* est attesté presque unanimement par les manuscrits. Un seul manuscrit, que le R. P. Bonifatius Kotter considère comme le meilleur, présente les lettres *σχ* grattées, et un *ν* écrit par-dessus (*μόνον*), un autre manuscrit omet le mot *μόςχον*. Puisqu'il n'y a pas lieu de juxtaposer au «feu de l'orthodoxie» un rameau ou un veau, nous ne pouvons traduire *μόςχος* que par un nom propre. Le mot *φημί* vient confirmer cette traduction: ailleurs dans sa

¹ *Ἐπιστολή πρὸς Ἰορδάνην ἀρχιμανδρίτην περὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου*, PG 95, 21–61.

² Esaïe 6 : 3.

³ Nik. L. Phoropoulos, *Μονὴ Εὐθυμίου, Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια*, V, 1048–1049.

⁴ *Περὶ τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου*, α', PG 95, 24 C.

⁵ Tous les MSS: *δογματικὴν* (B. Kotter).

⁶ Op. cit., κς', PG 95, 57 AB.

lettre, notre auteur répète le nom d'Anastase avec les mots suivants: « τοῦ κροῦ⁷ ἀββᾶ Ἀναστασίου φημί »⁸. Si la traduction de μόσχος par un nom propre est exacte, nous nous trouvons ainsi en présence de Jean Mosch. Celui-ci nous est connu comme le moine itinérant, auteur du « Pré spirituel »⁹. Quel est le disciple qui peut dire de lui-même que Jean Mosch n'a jamais émis un souffle en matière dogmatique sans le lui communiquer? Ce dernier rôle convient éminemment à Sophrone le sophiste, appelé aussi Damascène, fidèle compagnon de route de Jean Mosch. Serait-il l'auteur de la lettre « De hymno trisagio »?

Un argument pourrait s'opposer à cette paternité littéraire: c'est l'emploi, dans la lettre, du verbe μαρωνίσσομεν¹⁰. Ce verbe est attesté par tous les manuscrits, sauf deux qui ont παρωρήσομεν. Le verbe μαρωνίζω peut-il dater déjà du temps de l'empereur Héraclius¹¹? Il m'est impossible de trancher cette question.

Une autre question se pose, à savoir si la lettre originale se terminait peut-être: Εὐχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, θεοτίμητε, ὡς θεόληπτος¹². La partie suivante qui commence: Προσθετέον δὲ τῇ λόγῳ καὶ τάδε . . .¹³ semble, en effet, être une addition postérieure, adressée à un autre ou à d'autres. Elle se termine: Οἶδα δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ θείον πεπληρωμένοι Πνεύματος, τὰ λείποντα νόμῳ φιλας πληρώσετε, ἀδιαλείπτως ἡμῶν ὑπερευχόμενοι¹⁴. L'auteur de cette addition pourrait être Jean¹⁵ Damascène. Cependant, la tradition manuscrite ne soutient pas cette hypothèse: aucun manuscrit ne se termine à l'endroit proposé ci-dessus.

Notre recherche présente se bornera à la question suivante: est-ce bien Jean Mosch, auteur du « Pré spirituel », qui est appelé « Patriarche de la cité sainte du Christ notre Dieu »? Une question préalable: d'où vient l'expression πατριάρχης τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ¹⁶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως, et que signifie-t-elle?

Déjà au dix-septième siècle, Bollandus a attiré l'attention sur une appellation particulière qui, aux sixième et septième siècles, est donnée aux monastères près de Jérusalem¹⁷. Dans les actes du synode *sub Menna* (Constantinople 536) ces monastères sont appelés τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἁγίους Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τόπους¹⁸. Les représentants des églises du patriarcat de

⁷ D'après tous les MSS (B. Kotter).

⁸ Op. cit., α', 24 B.

⁹ Λειμών, PG 87, III, 2851–3112.

¹⁰ Περί τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου, ε', PG 95, 33 B et note 4.

¹¹ Voir Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199), éditée par J.-B. Chabot, tome II, Paris 1901, p. 412; Eutychius patriarcha Alexandrinus, Annales, PG 111, 1089 A.

¹² Op. cit., κς', 57 C.

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Op. cit., κη', 61 A.

¹⁵ Nommé comme auteur par tous les MSS (B. Kotter).

¹⁶ Nombre de bons MSS omettent Χριστοῦ, mais d'après B. Kotter, à tort.

¹⁷ Acta Sanctorum, Ianuarii Tomus II, Antverpiae 1643, p. 298.

¹⁸ Joannes Dominicus Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . Collectio, VIII, Florentiae 1762, 882 E, 931 A, 939 D-942 A, 954 C.

Jérusalem sont désignées également comme les responsables et les clercs *τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς ἁγίους Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τόπους*¹⁹. Jean Mosch, autre source de Bollandus, emploie des termes plus proches encore de ceux dont nous faisons la recherche. Dans son « Pré spirituel », nous rencontrons deux fois une périphrase, qu'il réserve uniquement pour le monastère de saint Théodose : d'abord, il parle de l'archimandrite *τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τῆς διακειμένης κατὰ τὴν ἐρημον τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως*²⁰, puis, il parle de la communauté *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως*²¹. Mais, ni les actes du concile *sub Menna* ni Jean Mosch ne désignent un patriarche de Jérusalem par le terme *πατριάρχης τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως*²².

Dans la biographie de son maître, Georges le Chozibite, le moine Antoine use des trois expressions suivantes. D'abord, Georges vénéra *τοὺς ἁγίους Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τόπους*²³. Ensuite, le Perse prit *τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν*²⁴. Et enfin, l'abbé Dorothee de Chozibe fut plus tard staurophylax *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μοδέστον, πατριάρχον τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως*²⁵. A la même époque, dans sa lettre synodale au patriarche Serge de Constantinople, Sophrone, patriarche de Jérusalem, se dit *ἀχρεῖος δοῦλος τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως*²⁶.

Or, il convient de se rappeler (1) qu'avant d'être patriarche de Jérusalem, le sus dit Modeste fut higoumène du monastère de saint Théodose près de Jérusalem, (2) que, selon toute vraisemblance, Sophrone, patriarche de Jérusalem, est le même que Sophrone le sophiste, moine de saint Théodose²⁷; (3) et que, d'après son biographe anonyme, Jean Mosch fut moine de saint Théodose²⁸. En conclusion, il semble que la périphrase « cité sainte du Christ notre Dieu » était en vogue, au septième siècle, parmi les moines aux alentours de Jérusalem. Elle procédait d'une indication de Jérusalem par les saints lieux, désignation en cours au sixième siècle. Jean Mosch garda la périphrase en question pour le seul monastère de saint Théodose. Est-il téméraire de conclure que le titre « Patriarche de la cité sainte du Christ

¹⁹ Mansi, op. cit., 913 A.

²⁰ *Λειμών*, XCII, PG 87, III, 2949 B.

²¹ Op. cit., CV, 2961 C.

²² Mansi, Conciliorum . . . Collectio, VIII, 927 D, 938 C, 950 E, 975 A, 978 C; *Λειμών*, I, 2852 C, VIII, 2857 D, XIX, 2865 B, XXXV, 2884 B, XCVI, 2953 C, CXXXIV, 2997 C.

²³ Les lieux saints, et non les monastères, comme dit le commentaire, Sancti Georgii Chozebitae confessoris et monachi Vita auctore Antonio eius discipulo, Analecta Bollandiana VII, 1888, I', p. 98. Voir aussi note 2 de la même page.

²⁴ Op. cit., KΘ', p. 127.

²⁵ Op. cit., Ιζ'', p. 115.

²⁶ Mansi, . . . Conciliorum . . . Collectio, XI, 1765, 461 B; voir aussi 464 B.

²⁷ S. Vailhé, Sophrone le sophiste et Sophrone le patriarche, Revue de l'Orient chrétien, VII, 1902, p. 360–385, VIII, 1903, p. 32–69, 356–387.

²⁸ Pratum Spirituale, Elogium auctoris, PL 74, 119–122; Hermann Usener, Der Heilige Tychon, Sonderbare Heilige, I, Leipzig-Berlin 1907, p. 91–92.

notre Dieu » fut particulièrement conféré à trois patriarches issus du monastère de saint Théodose : Jean Mosch, Modeste et Sophrone le sophiste?²⁹

²⁹ Voir aussi Keetje Rozemond, Jean Mosch, patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614–634), *Vigiliae Christianae* 31, 1977, p. 60–67; eadem, Quelques lumières sur la vie de saint Jean Damascène, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, III. Rubrik « Religion », herausgegeben von W. Haase, Berlin-New York.

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A Poet's Mosaic

Some remarks on the composition of the hymns of Prudentius*

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In view of the new horizons that have been opened by the diligence and insight of others¹, it seems imperative now that study be devoted to line-by-line commentaries on the writings of Prudentius. No commentary on the complete works of Prudentius has been written since F. Arevalo finished his edition in 1788². As a modest contribution towards filling this gap I embarked upon a commentary on the morning and evening hymns of Prudentius³. In writing this commentary I followed two guidelines. The one concerns the use of words in a wide sense, including individual words, word combinations, phrases and points of grammar⁴. Of each word or phrase I seek to determine how it is being used, the point of departure being the use common to classical Latin. The other guideline concerns the interpretation. The two are, of course, closely interrelated.

* I wish to express my thanks to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for enabling me to attend the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford.

¹ To name a few: L. Cotogni, *Sovraposizione di visione e di allegorie nella Psychomachia di Prudenzio*, *Rendiconti della Acad. Naz. d. Lincei, Class. d. Scienze Mor. Stor. e Fil.* 6, vol. 12 (1936), 441–461. H. R. Jauss, *Form und Auffassung der Allegorie in der Psychomachia*, *Festschr. W. Bulst, Heidelberg 1960*, 181 ff. Chr. Gnllka, *Studien zur Psychomachie des Prudentius*, *Klass. Philol. St.* 27, Wiesbaden 1963. J. Fontaine, *Le Pèlerinage de Prudence à Saint-Pierre et la Spiritualité des Eaux Vives*, *Oikoumene*, Catania 1964, 243–266. Id., *Trois Variations de Prudence sur le Thème du Paradis*, *Forsch. zur röm. Lit., Festschr. K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970*, 1, 96–115. K. Thraede, *Studien zu Sprache und Stil des Prudentius*, *Hypomnemata* 13, 1965. R. Herzog, *Die allegorische Dichtkunst des Prudentius*, *Zetemata* 42, München 1966.

² Published in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* as vols. 59 and 60. D. José Guillén – Fr. Isodoro Rodriguez, *Obras completas de Aurelio Prudencio*, *Bibliot. de aut. crist.*, Madrid 1950, though containing useful notes and an excellent bibliography, does not constitute a full-fledged commentary.

³ Marion M. van Assendelft, *Sol ecce surgit igneus*, a commentary on the morning and evening hymns of Prudentius, Groningen 1976.

⁴ Metre and features such as alliteration and assonance receive only incidental attention, the former having been treated by E. B. Lease, *A syntactic, stylistic and metrical study of Prudentius*, Baltimore 1895 (cf. C. Brakman, *Mnemosyne* 1921, 106–109; F. Klingner, *Gnomon* 1930, 39–52; G. Meyer, *Philologus* 1932, 249–260, 332–357), the latter being discussed extensively in W. Evenepoel, *Zakelijke en Literaire Onderzoekingen betreffende het Liber Cathemerinon van Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*, Brussels 1979.

There can be no doubt that Prudentius uses many words metaphorically. He says so himself in his writings. In the first hymn of the *liber Cathemerinon* e.g. we read that sleep is *forma mortis* (v. 25/26); that sins are *ceu nox horrida* (v. 27); that the cock's crow is *figura nostri iudicis* (v. 14-16); that the cock's crow is *signum repromissae spei* (v. 45/46). In itself this is not unusual. There appears to be a wealth of Christian symbols, images, metaphors from which Prudentius and his contemporaries draw at will.

When suggesting an interpretation of any given passage of Prudentius, I strive to base it on texts of contemporary writers, predecessors, and at times immediate successors, using similar or even identical phraseology as is to be found in the Prudentius passage. Among these Ambrose proves to offer the richest store. One cannot establish in this manner whether any influence of one upon the other of Prudentius and his contemporaries can be proven. The signal similarity, however, of the use Ambrose and Prudentius make of a great number of images does whet the curiosity!

In thus exploring the writings of Prudentius the reader soon finds himself surrounded by symbols and images, at various levels of meaning, which seem to shift, blend and separate at will. Herzog devoted a careful study to the identification and interpretation of this imagery in his book on the allegorical poetry of Prudentius⁵. When one looks more closely at these varying levels, one begins to discern a certain pattern. In the fluctuating display the images fall into place like the bright pieces of a kaleidoscope.

By way of example I have tried to reduce the first hymn to a diagram (p. 116). In this diagram a continuous deepening of the imagery becomes apparent as each new association with the cock or with sleep is added. The whole culminates in Peter's denial of Christ before cock-crow, just before dawn and Christ's triumph over death, again at cock-crow. After that the imagery seems to subside gradually, terminating in a final triumphant restatement of the point of departure.

Because of its prominent place, the New Testament episode is shown to have a remarkable function. In using such words as "cock", "light", "day", "sleep", "darkness" and "night" metaphorically, Prudentius has woven an intricate pattern that is then lifted in the biblical episode beyond the everyday level. Thus the cock calling us as light overcomes darkness at break of day becomes Christ calling the sinner to His light as it overcomes sin at the break of life eternal.

Looking back over the imagery from this perspective⁶, the hymn in its

⁵ cf. note 1.

⁶ Prudentius does this in the second part of the hymn when he uses expressions that in one way or another recall former passages. E.g. *vigil* (v. 77) — *vigilate* (v. 8, similarity); *flentes, precantes, sobrii* (82) — *castique, recti ac sobrii* (7, similarity); *laborans* (80) — *labori* (12, seeming similarity, difference in meaning); *dum meta noctis clauditur* (79) — *ni parte noctis addita* (11, similarity); *hic est veritas* (92) — *iam sum proximus* (8, fulfilment of an announcement).

totality becomes an expression of the firm conviction that the scriptures form the basis of a Christian life, that the deeper meaning of all things surrounding us can be understood only from this starting-point, and that such deeper meaning is valid only if it leads back to the truth of the Bible. Thus we find in the biblical episode the unifying force of the hymn's imagery.

In view of its cohesion the first hymn can be called an allegory in the Hellenistic sense that it says one thing but means something beyond what it says. It certainly constitutes allegory in Quintilian's definition of a sustained metaphor⁷. At the root of this hymn there is no typology in the Pauline sense; no event or person of the Old Testament is being interpreted as a type that is eschatologically fulfilled in the New Testament. However, the allegory does evolve from and revolve around a prophecy-fulfilment relation analogous to Pauline exegesis. Peter's sinning before cock-crow, but not thereafter, as Christ rose from the dead, is a historical reality that points to the end of sin at Christ's second coming.

Hence, the hymn can be called a Christian allegory in that the Hellenistic-Philonic method is employed to develop an eschatological truth along Pauline tradition. Whoever judges the essence of Christian allegory to lie in its immediate derivation from New Testament typology, as Herzog seems to do, must reject the term in relation to the first hymn, a thing Herzog does not do.

To illustrate the intricate way in which Prudentius develops the various levels of his composition, I have chosen the first strophes of the hymn for the lighting of the lamp, Cathemerinon 5. The central theme of this hymn is the crossing of the Red Sea and the journey to the promised land. The typology of the *Transitus* is dealt with in full by J. Daniélou in *Sacramentum Futuri* (p. 131 ff.). In our hymn it signifies the journey from the land of darkness, the world of sin, the realm of Satan, to the land of promise, the true light, the realm of Christ, under guidance of God's light, by way of baptism and the eucharist. Let us look very briefly at a few aspects of the way this theme is introduced in the first strophes.

In the very first line Christ is invoked as the *inventor luminis* and the *dux bonus*. As such he will dominate the hymn. He is the originator of light. Not at this point the Old Testament light of moon and stars (v. 5/6): the hymn points beyond these to the new light given to man, the light of the New Testament. This light is to be made manifest in and to everyone. *Vos estis lux mundi* we read in Matthew (5, 14-16) and this light must not be hidden under the bushel but must shine for all to see. Christ, the originator of light, the light of truth, is also the originator of the light within each of us. Thus the singular light of v. 1 becomes a plural *lumina* in v. 7. We, *nos* emphatically placed immediately following *lumina*, are shown to seek our lights from the seed, the essence, *semen* (a word used of the Logos by Marius Victorinus

⁷ Quint. Inst. 9, 2, 46.

in the first half of the fourth century⁸). This essence, this spark is rock-born, it is *saxigenus*, deriving from the *silex* (v. 7), the *petra* (v. 11) which is Christ (v. 10). Note that the *silex* is mentioned here as the source of light, but as the source of water in v. 91.

As we light our lamps at night, we realize that we ourselves are lamps, Christ-originated lights to illumine the darkness of this world. We each light our lamp from the spark of the true light and only by bringing to this spark our richest store of faith and hope can the flame thus kindled grow strong in us. For the oil of v. 13 has deep implications. The light of the lamp, says Ambrose⁹, is oil (*oleum*), not the oil of this earth but the oil that is filled with heavenly compassion and grace. Your oil, he continues, is humility, compassion, your oil heals the ailing and shines in the darkness. Then, after calling to mind the parable of the ten bridesmaids, he calls out: "pour oil, o mankind, into your lamps" (*ungite, o hominēs, lampadas vestras*), let us drench our soul in oil that our body be a-light.

This passage is by no means the only one that illustrates the connotations of oil¹⁰, but it must suffice to give an indication of the world of thought within which the hymn must be placed. Note by the way the verbs in vv. 14ff.: we nourish the sparks, the lamp supplies the oil, the torch brings sustenance; in short, the fuel is brought to the spark instead of the other way around. But this fuel can burn only because of the *vis ignea* (v. 23), the fiery essence which is Christ¹¹. Thus Christ is our guide, *dux bonus*, through the darkness, just as Moses was shown the way out of the darkness of Egypt by the column of light.

The darkness plays its part in the hymn as well, being introduced in v. 3: *chaos ingruit horridum*, all three laden words which point beyond the mere falling of evening darkness. To do justice to the implications of these words as well as to many other details which have been passed over, would take us beyond the scope of this communication¹². I hope, however, that these few remarks have achieved their end: to give some intimation of the intricate pattern that forms the mosaic of this versatile poet.

⁸ Adv. Ar. 1, 57.

⁹ Expos. Ps. 118, 14, 7.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Ambr. de Noe 19 (67); Hilar. comm. in Matth. 27, 4; Hieron. comm. in Matth. 5, 25, 1 ff.; Aug. enarr. Ps. 140, 13; id. serm. 93 passim; Prud. A 338 ff.; Ti 77 ff.

¹¹ Cf. A 17, 83, 744 and 830 where *vis* indicates the essence of God.

¹² Cf. *nox horrida* in C 1, 27. Passed over in this introduction has been e.g. the reminiscence of Hor. carm. 4, 5, 4-5 contained in vv. 1-4; the function of *lunari lampade* (6), *spem luminis* (9), *solido corpore* (10), *conditam* (10), *igniculis unde genus* (12), etc.

A diagram of Cathemerinon 1 of Prudentius.

verses	theme	theme	verses
1-4	cock/light/Christ/life	chaos	1-4
8/9	light	sleep	10
13-16	cock/judge	sleep/wordly life	17/18
19-24	cock/dawn/hope/light	sleep/death/sin/night	25-28
29-31	cock/Christ/light	sleep/death/sin	32-35
36	light	sleep/death/sin/demons	37-44
39-48	cock/light/salvation/hope		
49-64		Peter episode	49-64
66-68	dawn/cock/Christ/resurrection		
69-72	victory/light/Christ	death/night/sin/sleep	72-76
81-84	Christ/life	wordly life/sleep	90-91
92	truth	worldly life	93-96
97-100	(cock)/Christ/victor/new light		

Paulinus of Nola and Virgil

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In his prose-letters Paulinus constantly identifies classical literature with the pagan Roman civilisation against which he wages an ideological battle. Just as Tertullian had asked *What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?* and Jerome *What has Cicero to do with the apostle Paul?*, just as Ambrose maintained that the sacred writings alone were sufficient for the Christian's needs¹, so Paulinus repeatedly banishes classical literature from the purview of the committed Christian. So in *ep.* 4 (395 AD) at the outset of his monastic conversion he writes to Augustine: "Up to now I have admired in my wretchedness the world's wisdom, and in God's eyes I have been foolish and dumb through my useless writing and depraved knowledge." In *ep.* 7 to Romanianus (396/7 AD) he makes a passing reference to Terence's *Adelphi* and at once apologises: "Why should I speak in the language of foreigners, since our own store is adequate for everything, and to speak the language of strangers is not the act of a sane mind?" In *ep.* 22 to Sulpicius Severus (?399 AD) he makes a literary allusion to the fury Allecto in Virgil's *Aeneid* vii, and again he apologises: "Please do not blame me for quoting a poet whom I do not now read, and for appearing to break my resolution in this respect." And in *ep.* 38 (?c. 400 AD) he bids his Aquitanian friend Aper: "Let the orators keep their literature, the philosophers their wisdom, the rich their wealth, the princes their kingdoms. Our glory, property and kingdom is Christ." So the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome, together with wealth and power, are to be uncompromisingly rejected by Christians.

This poses an interesting problem when we turn to Paulinus' poetry, because here we find Paulinus parading his knowledge of classical poets and especially Virgil. Hartel in his CSEL edition catalogues about 350 reminiscences, and Green, Fletcher and others have added to the list². So the problem is this: why, if Virgil is proscribed from the reading of the Christian, does Paulinus bring him so frequently to his readers' minds?

A part of the answer has been signalled by Christine Mohrmann³.

¹ Tert., Praescr. 7. 8; Jerome, Ep. 22; Ambrose, Off. Min. 22, Exc. Satyr. 2. 30, etc.

² R. P. H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola* (Brussels, 1971), 133; G. B. A. Fletcher, *Mnem.* 3 (1934), 208 ff.

³ *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens I* (Rome 1961), 151 ff.

Paulinus is the victim of his traditional Roman education. Just how traditional that education was at Bordeaux can be gauged from the writing of his mentor Ausonius. Under the *grammaticus* Roman poetry was the staple subject, and Paulinus must have learned most of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* by heart. The surviving poetry of his secular days reflects this traditionalism. So a great number of the Virgilian echoes occurring in his religious poetry have no deep function of evocation or reminiscence; the phrases well up out of his well-stocked mind as required.

But this is not the whole story. There are many places where Virgil is evoked deliberately, and I assemble some of them for convenience under four headings.

i) *Condemnation of pagan religions*. Paulinus seems to deploy Virgil to condemn religious orgies and excesses. So in xix the devotees of Bacchus are described by evocation of Amata's orgy in *Aeneid* vii:-

P. xix 280ff. in quibus insanos dabat ebria turba tumultus,
'euhoe Bacche' sonum fractis imitantur anhel
vocibus . . .

Aen. vii 389: euhoe Bacche fremens . . .

So too Satan when envisaged as inspiring such cults is described with Virgil's portrayal of the fury Allecto:

P. xix 158ff. cui genus humanum per nomina mille deorum,
quae tamen ex obitis mortalibus et sibi sumpsit
ipse suisque dedit coluber, quatit arte nocendi . . .

Aen. vii 337: tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes . . .

ii) *Poems written to classical enthusiasts*. Two of Paulinus' extant poems are addressed to Ausonius, most Virgilian of Aquitanians; another two are *protreptici*, poems of exhortation, urging his kinsman Jovius and the young friend of Augustine Licentius to abandon their zeal for pagan culture and Roman service in favour of Christian study and commitment. Virgil is here evoked as a *captatio benevolentiae*; Paulinus explains his aspirations for his correspondents, and his own commitment, in phrases which already have significance for them. So in bidding Jovius renounce his classical pursuits for Christian studies, he deploys the phrase by which Virgil signals the greater theme of the second half of the *Aeneid*:

carm. xxii 11: maior rerum tibi nascitur ordo.

Aen. vii 44: maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo.

He bids Jovius study the biblical explanation of creation, and to reject the falsehood of classical myths which demean the stature of man:

40: . . . prima referens ab origine mundum . . .

45: nec te ceu lapides Pyrrhae argillamque Promethei
contemnas . . .

Georg. iv 286: prima repetens ab origine famam . . .

Ecl. vi 41: hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos furtumque Promethei.

If Jovius follows this course of Christian study, he will be a truly inspired poet in a sense transcending the inspiration of Mopsus of *Ecl.* 5:

157: tunc te divinum vere memorabo poetam,
et quasi dulcis aquae potum tua carmina dicam . . .

Ecl. v 45: tale tuum nobis carmen, divine poeta,
... quale per aestum
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.

Just as Paulinus urges Jovius to abandon classical literature with a mosaic of Virgilian sentiments, so he urges Licentius to renounce the secular world of Rome with phrases recognisable to the young litterateur but shaped to a different meaning:

ep. viii 1: quare age, rumpe moras et vincla tenacia saeculi . . .

These words bidding Licentius to abandon the secular world are adapted from Mercury's command to Aeneas to abandon Carthage for his true destiny:

Aen. iv 569: heia age, rumpe moras . . .

Likewise Paulinus' exhortation that Licentius avoid state service is a Virgilian phrase:

11: et repetens iterum iterumque monebo
ut fugias durae lubrica militiae.

Aen. iii 435: et repetens iterum iterumque monebo . . .

In reassuring Licentius that Christ's yoke is sweet and his burden light, Paulinus yokes with the words of Matthew the appropriate phrase from the *Georgics*:

29: da mollibus ora capistris. *G.* iii 188: inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris.
aliosque mores postulat.

The letters to Ausonius contain a host of Virgilian reminiscences. It is interesting to note how Paulinus explains his vocation in one such phrase:

carm. x 29: nunc alia mentem vis agit, maior deus,
Aen. xii 426: (Iapix medicus)
non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proveniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextera servat;
maior agit deus, atque opera ad maiora remittit.

He explains that it is the fear of Christ's second coming which impels him to full commitment, and that coming is likened to the arrival of Augustus on the eastern frontier:

304: huius in adventum trepidis mihi credula fibris
corda tremunt . . .

Aen. vi. 798: huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
responsis horrent divum.

The second letter is devoted primarily to his relationship with Ausonius. After disclaiming his worthiness to rank with Ausonius as a poet by a reminiscence of the first Eclogue (himself as the wayfaring tree and Ausonius as a cypress:

carm. xi 36: si confers fulicas cynis et aedona picae,
castaneis corylos, aequas viburnas cupressis . . .

Ecl. i 25: inter viburna cupressi . . .)

he expresses his undying friendship by close evocation of the same Virgilian poem:

47: prius ipsa recedat
corpora vita meo quam vester pectore vultus.

Ecl. i 63: . . . quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.

iii) *Scriptural epic.* One of Paulinus' poems, the *Laus s. Ioannis*, an encomium of John the Baptist, is essentially versification of Luke I. Earlier in the tradition of Christian epic Juvencus had pointed the way to the exploitation of the metre and diction of Virgil, and Paulinus continues in this convention by which Romans trained in the traditional education could be introduced to biblical themes. Perhaps the most striking of the Virgilian reminiscences in this poem are two in which the Archangel Gabriel's visits to Zachary and Mary appear in the Virgilian garb of Mercury's visit to Aeneas:

vi 84: haec ait et tenuem elabitur ales in auras.
132: dixerat, et visus pariter terrasque reliquit.

Aen. iv 276: mortales visus medio sermone reliquit,
et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

iv) *Didactic Imitation.* In other contexts Paulinus seems deliberately to evoke a Virgilian passage to point to superior Christian beliefs or attitudes. The best-known example is in *carm.* xiv, where he describes how contingents from towns in Latium and Campania gather at Nola for St. Felix's feast on January 14. Here the poet evokes the famous 'gathering of the clans' passage in *Aeneid* vii, with repeated echoes of the same towns. The implication we are to draw is that now these Christian communities are assembled not for war but for prayer.

A second example. Poem xiii describes Paulinus' arrival at St. Felix's shrine and his sense of having reached his true home. The comparison with Aeneas reaching Italy was irresistible. So after a preliminary reminiscence of Eclogue 5 to pun on Felix's name, there is extended evocation of Aeneas' tribulations and final arrival in Latium:-

xiii 14: et maria intravi duce te . . .
31: sis bonus o felixque tuis . . .
33: post pelagi fluctus, mundi quoque fluctibus actis
in statione tua placido consistere portu.
hoc bene subductam religavi litore classem,
in te compositae mihi fixa sit anchora vitae.

Aen. vi 58: tot maria intravi duce te . . .

Ecl. v 65: sis bonus o felixque tuis . . .

Aen. i 333: erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti . . .

vii 106: gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem

The point being made here, of course, is that whereas for Aeneas Italy alone is sufficient, for Paulinus it is the Christian sanctuary of Felix in Italy. The final line quoted lays extra emphasis on Nola and Felix as life's anchorage.

It would be possible to offer numerous other examples of such creative imitation; for example, the decorations of Felix's church and those in Dido's palace; Virgilian nymphs and Christian virgins from Mt Ida; the Christian belief that the dead care for the living contrasted with the scepticism of Anna at Carthage – id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos?; the contrast between the power of pagan Rome and of the Christian Rome defended only by the tombs of Peter and Paul. One final extended example is worth citing. *carm.* xxvi, composed in January 402 just after Alaric's invasion of Italy, proclaims that Paulinus will hymn the annual feast of St. Felix whatever the hazards from the hostile Goths; this is an echo of Aeneas' determination to celebrate his father's anniversary wherever he is:-

xxvi 1: ecce dies nobis anno revoluta peracto
 inlustrem revehit Felicis nomine lucem . . .
 22: hunc ego si Geticis agerem male subditus armis
 inter et inmites celebrarem laetus Alanos,
 et si multiugae premerent mea colla catenae, . . .
 (I would still celebrate it)

Aen. v 46ff: annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis . . .
 iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest . . .
 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exul,
 Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae . . .
 (I would still carry out my vow)

We may now revert to the original question. Why these conspicuous evocations when Paulinus renounces classical literature? The classical doctrine of creative imitation is at the heart of the explanation. When the Virgilian thoughts and words are exploited for a totally different message, although the reminiscences underline that message they cease to be thought Virgilian. It is not the form of Virgilian epic to which Paulinus takes exception, but the ideological content. The words, the techniques are so to say baptised to be pressed into service for a Christian purpose.

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Aspects of Donatist Scriptural Interpretation at the Conference of Carthage of 411

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The object of this paper is to examine the interpretation of some of the biblical texts deployed by the Donatists in their letter read in response to the official statement of the catholic position at the conference of Carthage¹. The doctrinal argument on either side is presented largely in the form of extensive scriptural quotation. While the sense in which the catholic proof texts are cited is only too familiar from their use in the voluminous anti-Donatist writings of St. Augustine, the precise meaning the Donatists wished to give to the texts collected in their letter is sometimes less obvious, partly because these are linked together by a minimum of explanatory comment, partly because even indirect access to Donatist literature for purposes of comparison is strictly limited. Further help may, however, be sought, with due caution, from Tertullian and Cyprian. Of course this is not to say that proof texts employed by Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Donatists are necessarily used in the same sense – even by the same authors in different contexts – but simply that the existence of a certain continuity of scriptural interpretation may sometimes enable us to see the Donatist argument in the deeper perspective of an African exegetical tradition and thus clarify its meaning².

The contents of the Donatist letter may be briefly summarised. First, to the catholic view of a universal and morally mixed church awaiting the judgement of God before finally achieving its promised holiness, the Donatists opposed their conception of the church's holiness presently maintained by a priesthood whose ministry remained unimpaired by the guilt of apostasy. Second, to the catholic idea of heretical or schismatic baptism as valid but inefficacious, the Donatists opposed a view, no less authoritative for

¹ *Gesta Conlationis Carthaginensis*, CCL, 149 A, (1974), pp. 78–88, 243–259, to which references below are made; for the background to the debate see S. Lancel: *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, SC, 194 (1972), and for a survey of the doctrinal debate E. Lamirande: *Augustine and the Discussion on Sinners in the Church at the Conference of Carthage (411)*, *Augustinian Studies*, 3, 1972, pp. 97–112.

² The usefulness of this approach has been demonstrated by Y. M. J. Congar: BA, 28, esp. pp. 48–70; J. P. Brisson: *Autonomisme et Christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (1958), esp. pp. 145–53; see also R. Crespin: *Ministère et Sainteté* (1965), pp. 221–5; A. M. la Bonnardière: *Pénitence et réconciliation des Pénitents d'après saint Augustin*, II, REA, 13, 1967, pp. 270–2.

its anonymous ascription to the martyrs, totally rejecting baptism administered outside the church. Third, the Donatist letter ends, as it had begun, on a note of shrill defiance, reflecting their situation at the conference as they saw it: their catholic opponents, having thrown in their lot with apostates and heretics, now persecute the Donatists, as they had done from the start, only to confer upon them a mark of the true church as 'that which suffers but does not inflict persecution'.

The themes of baptism and, a little later, of persecution are anticipated in the texts collected round the question of the church's holiness with which the letter begins. Thus, its holiness is foretold together with the coming of Christ by the prophet Isaiah, under the image of a holy city or way (Is. 52. 1; 62. 11-12; 35. 3-7, 8-10), and associated, according to an interpretative principle clearly stated by Cyprian (ep. 63. 8) and adopted elsewhere by the Donatists³, with the water of baptism, an association made explicit by St. Paul, when the image is changed to that of Christ's betrothed (Ca. 4. 7; 2 Cor. 11. 2), in a favourite Donatist text⁴ from Ephesians (5. 25-7) describing the purpose of Christ's saving work as the sanctification of the church by water and the word⁵. The link between the promised holiness of the church and the sacrament of baptism is thus firmly established.

The Donatists next take up their opponents' challenge that they should reply to their argument from the parables of the field, threshing floor, sheep and goats, and net⁶, together with the scriptural examples of the prophets, Christ himself, and the apostles, namely, that known offenders, and thus, in relation to the chief case in point, Caecilian's, even apostate bishops may be openly tolerated in the church for the sake of unity⁷.

The Donatist approach to the parables, first, is sufficiently clear from their exegesis of the field and the net: the toleration of known offenders gains no support because either, as in the case of the field, it is the world not the church that is referred to, or, as in the case of the net, it is purely a question of sinners whose presence in the church escapes detection by the priests⁸. The insistence⁹ with which the Donatists adhere to the Lord's own identification of the field with the world (Mt. 13. 38) perhaps recalls Tertullian's restrictive attitude towards the interpretation of the parables (*de res. carn.* 33. 5), though, of course, it is intended to trump the card skilfully played by the catholic side¹⁰ in citing Cyprian's application of this parable

³ eg. Opt. 2. 13; c. ep. Parm. 2. 10. 20.

⁴ Opt. 2. 18; adv. Fulg. 13 (ed. Lambot, p. 218, ll. 7-8); cf. c. litt. Petil. 3. 49. 59; c. Crescon. 2. 20; de bapt. 6. 3. 5; Cyp. ep. 79. 2. 6.

⁵ gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 244).

⁶ Mt. 13. 24-30, 36-43; 3. 12; 25. 32-3; 13. 47-9 (allusions).

⁷ gesta coll. Carth. 1. 55 (p. 83-5).

⁸ gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (pp. 244-6).

⁹ 'Ager', inquit, 'est mundus' . . . nec potest a domino interpretata homo corrumpere . . . , gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 245), cf. 3. 274, 278 (p. 256).

¹⁰ gesta coll. Carth. 1. 55 (p. 85).

to the church (ep. 54. 3. 1). The further contention that the apostles, whose authoritative witness is underlined in a phrase reminiscent of Tertullian (*de praescr. haer.* 22. 3), also understood the field as the world, since they would not otherwise have expelled from the church such notorious offenders as Simon Magus and others, is perhaps modelled on Tertullian's list of scriptural renegades illustrating his application of the parable of the threshing floor to the case of apostates and heretics (*de praescr. haer.* 3. 11). The point is reinforced with reference to the duty expressly laid upon priests in the old testament of dividing between holy and profane, clean and unclean (*Lev.* 10. 9–10), already cited by Parmenian¹¹. Interestingly, Parmenian also anticipates the surprisingly cursory dismissal which follows of the catholic interpretation of the threshing floor with Jeremiah's rhetorical question, comparing false prophets with true: 'What has chaff in common with grain?', understood in line with Paul's antithesis, frequently adopted by the Donatists¹², between faith and unbelief, light and darkness (2 Cor. 6. 14) or that between a sinner and a just man in the book of Ecclesiasticus (13. 21). But how do the Donatists wish to reconcile Jeremiah's words with the parable, which, in the debate afterwards, they take as parallel to the net?¹³ They appear to be asking for recognition of a fundamental incompatibility between faith and unbelief, just and unjust, so that, contrary to the catholic view, their coexistence in the church may only be acknowledged in terms of the parable of the threshing floor so long as it is not possible to distinguish between them, a point best illustrated by the parables of the net, where the bad fish remain unknown to the fishermen till the final separation (*Mt.* 13. 47–9), and the wedding guest, whose improper dress went unnoticed till the entry of the king (*Mt.* 22. 11–13).

Similarly, having carefully underlined the distinction between God's ability and man's to discern the secret sins of the heart in much the same way as the Donatists later in their letter¹⁴, Tertullian understands the chaff which remains indistinguishable from the grain on the threshing floor until carried away by the wind of persecution or heresy as depicting those whose lack of faith is not humanly perceptible until exposed in a moment of crisis (*de praescr. haer.* 3. 7–9; 4. 2–3). Cyprian, of course, can employ the threshing floor along with the field to justify the readmission of the lapsed to the church (*epp.* 54. 3. 2; 55. 25. 1), recognising that it will be for God to judge

¹¹ c. ep. Parm. 3. 3. 18; cf. c. Crescon. 4. 59. 71. Y. M. J. Congar (*BA*, 28, p. 436, n. 3) is critical of Parmenian's apparent disregard for the original context, much as Augustine is of the Donatist use of *Jer.* 23. 28 here, *brev. coll.* 3. 8. 10 (*BA*, 31, p. 154); cf. also E. Lami-rande, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 104–5.

¹² *acta Sat.* 19; c. *litt. Petil.* 2. 40. 95 (with reference to apostates and persecutors). 2 Cor. 6. 16–18, along with other texts urging separation from sinners concludes the entire Donatist argument on the basis of scripture, *gesta coll. Carth.* 3. 258 (p. 250).

¹³ *gesta coll. Carth.* 3. 263 (p. 252).

¹⁴ Tertullian quotes 1 Sam. 16. 7; the Donatists add *Deut.* 29. 29; *Ps.* 43. 22; *Rev.* 2. 23; *gesta coll. Carth.* 3. 258 (p. 248).

any who succeed in deceiving the priests as to the genuineness of their penance (ep. 55. 18. 1). But like Tertullian he is in no doubt about the division between faithful and unfaithful, just and unjust brought about here and now by heresy or schism, even before the day of judgement 'separating chaff from grain', and he can go on to describe schismatic priests in Jeremiah's words as 'false prophets' (de un. 10-11 (Jer. 23. 16-17, 21-2); ep. 59. 7. 3). Thus the Donatists may simply be applying this traditional line of interpretation to the point at issue, the case of apostate priests, who, in their view, as indeed in Cyprian's, were no less cut off from the true church than the Donatists themselves were as schismatics in the eyes of their catholic rivals.¹⁵

Next come the scriptural examples from which the catholic side had sought corroboration for their interpretation of the parables, beginning with the prophets, who did not discriminate in any but a moral sense between themselves and those whose sins they denounced. The Donatists first draw a distinction between the new dispensation and the old 'when baptism was available as often as men sinned'¹⁶. This expression, again reminiscent of Tertullian (de bapt. 15. 3), seems to imply that if it can be shown that, at a time when the possibility of frequent purification might have encouraged laxity, the prophets took no part in the cultic ceremonies of those they condemned, then it will follow that it is all the more necessary for Christians to whom baptism is available but once to refrain from communion with sinners. A formidable array of proof texts, relating to Samaria and Jerusalem in turn, is headed a little unexpectedly by a relatively minor figure, the unknown 'man of God' of 1 Ks. 13, sent to denounce Jeroboam's altar at Bethel and later killed by a lion after failing to keep the fast to which he had been solemnly bound. More surprisingly, the Donatists refer to this nameless prophet as Zephaniah (Sophonias). Although retained by modern editors, this manuscript reading may represent a misguided scribal correction for Shemaiah (Sameas), if the Donatists may be supposed to have followed Tertullian in so identifying him (de ieun. 16. 2), apparently on the assumption that he was the same as the 'man of God' of that name mentioned in the previous chapter (1 Ks. 12. 22)¹⁷.

For their exegesis of the passage, however, it is to Cyprian that they turn, for he had already applied it to the Novatianist schism (ep. 69. 6. 2-3) to show that if the sharing of ordinary bread and water with schismatics is forbidden, how much more participation in the saving water of baptism, especially since the Lord himself is understood by Cyprian to have classed Samaritans with pagans (cf. Mt. 10. 5). The fact that the Donatists describe

¹⁵ eg. c. ep. Parm. 3. 3. 17-19, where Augustine uses the idea of schismatics as 'chaff' to ridicule Parmenian's application of Jer. 23. 28 to the exclusion of sinners from the church.

¹⁶ gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 246); cf. E. Lamirande, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 105, 'a strange comment'.

¹⁷ His anonymity is carefully preserved in Cyp. ep. 69. 6. 2; and Aug. ad Don. p. coll. 20. 29.

Jeroboam as being 'in schism' and go on to refer to Elijah's flight to the wilderness and recruitment of Elisha (1 Ks. 19) in protest against 'the altars of Samaria's schism' may suggest that the texts relating to Samaria are concerned with schismatic sacraments specifically, though not necessarily in isolation from the idea of apostasy, if we may judge from the contrast drawn later by Fulgentius between true baptism and false, the living water of Christ and the well of Samaria (Jn. 4. 13-14), which includes explicit mention of 'Samaria's apostasy' (adv. Fulg. II). The text which follows from Hosea (9. 4) condemning unworthy sacrifices is used indifferently by Cyprian of schismatic and apostate sacraments alike (epp. 59. 5; 69. 9), and by the Donatists elsewhere with clear reference to apostasy or complicity in persecution¹⁸. The theme of persecution is perhaps introduced in the final text relating to Samaria – the sentence of exile imposed on Amos by Jeroboam II at the instigation of Amaziah, the priest of Bethel (Am. 7. 10)¹⁹ – as it is more clearly in the text from Isaiah which heads the second group relating to Jerusalem: "What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?", says the Lord . . .', concluding: 'even though you make many prayers, I will not listen to you, for your hands are full of blood' (Is. 1. 11-15). The point is perhaps elucidated by Petilian's comments elsewhere²⁰ in connection with a similar text which follows (Is. 66. 3), asking those who have shed human blood to recognise as their own the sacrifices condemned by Isaiah and denouncing as of no avail the prayers of those with blood on their conscience. A quotation from Haggai (2. 14) here, as elsewhere²¹, underlines the guilt in which those who receive the sacraments of sinful priests are implicated, and the whole catena of texts from the prophets ends pointedly with a passage in condemnation of unworthy priests and their sacraments (Mal. 1. 6-7). A concluding comment, echoing Tertullian (de spec. 15. 8; de idol. 14. 5-6), explains that the prophets lived among those they condemned but did not participate in their religious observances²².

The Donatists next develop to their own advantage an aspect of Christ's toleration of Judas noted by both Tertullian (de pat. 3. 7) and Cyprian (de bon. pat. 6). and already taken up by Cresconius (c. Crescon. 2. 19. 24), the fact that Christ did not expose Judas as a traitor much earlier than he did. This, the Donatists explain, shows precisely how Christ tolerates secret sinners in the church, not, as the catholic argument had implied, that Christ's supreme example of patientia opens the apostolic ministry to apostates²³, for no sooner had Judas' treachery been revealed than he left the

¹⁸ acta Sat. 19; c. litt. Petil. 2. 52. 119, where Hos. 9. 4 is linked to Is. 66. 3.

¹⁹ cf. the exile of Donatist bishops mentioned at the end of the letter, gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 250-1).

²⁰ c. litt. Petil. 2. 52. 119, 53. 121.

²¹ acta Sat. 19; adv. Fulg. XVI (ed. Lambot, pp. 222-3); cf. Opt. 6. 3.

²² communio in the context refers particularly to participation in religious rites, gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 248).

²³ gesta coll. Carth. 1. 55 (pp. 84-5).

company of the apostles and returned only to betray his Lord²⁴. As in Tertullian's list of renegades, Judas comes as a fitting climax to the Donatist argument.

Finally, the Donatist answer to the catholic argument from the apostles is obscured by a lacuna in the manuscript. Nevertheless, there follows an important series of texts on the heredity of sin (Hos. 2. 4-5; Is. 14. 19-21), culminating significantly in Abiathar's deposition from the priesthood in fulfilment of the promised rejection of Eli's house (1 Ks. 2. 27; 1 Sam. 2. 27)²⁵. Although St. Augustine could argue against the Donatists that it was only when imitated that other men's sins were harmful, drawing Petilian's retort that as persecutors his catholic opponents showed how truly they imitated their predecessors' apostasy, there seems to have been a sense in which the Donatists regarded the taint of apostasy as being sacramentally transmitted to all whose spiritual paternity could be traced back to Caecilian²⁶. Eli's house is doubtless intended as an example of how an entire priestly line might be destroyed in this way.

The Donatist letter, which makes no mention of Caecilian or his alleged apostasy, is chiefly concerned with the question of principle, how far the holiness of the church may be compatible with the presence within it of sinful men. Yet the supporting proof texts give the studied generality of the Donatist argument a much greater degree of precision, focusing attention on the link between the church's promised holiness and baptism, on the priestly duty of separating good from bad in cases where it is believed humanly possible to distinguish effectively between them, and especially on the necessity of rejecting the sacraments of priests whose unworthiness is clearly marked not merely by schism, but by apostasy issuing in persecution, and is communicated to all who participate in them. A carefully constructed pattern of developing and mutually supporting themes is thus presented in the compelling language of scripture, which, when read against the background of earlier African exegesis and of contemporary Donatist literature, adds considerable substance to the meagre framework within which it is set.

²⁴ gesta coll. Carth. 3. 258 (p. 248); cf. c. litt. Petil. 2. 8. 17, 43. 101; as here, Deut. 29. 29 is quoted in c. Crescon. 2. 19. 24.

²⁵ The idea of 'spiritual adultery' is given clear expression by Petilian in c. litt. Petil. 2. 57. 129; cf. Opt. 4. 8; Cyp. 73. 1. 2. Hos. 2. 4-5 is doubtless intended to be understood in that sense here, while Is. 14. 19-21 probably continues the theme of persecution.

²⁶ Thus an attempt was made to trace Augustine's spiritual ancestry back in this way in gesta coll. Carth. 3. 221-47 (pp. 234-241). The Donatists later referred to the analogy of Adam's sin, capitula gestorum 3. 309-12 (p. 35); see A. C. de Veer: *La traditio considérée par les donatistes comme un péché d'origine*, BA, 31, pp. 839-42. For the idea of voluntary imitation see for example c. ep. Parm. 3. 1. 1 ff; c. litt. Petil. 2. 11. 25.

The Hermeneutic Approach of Theodoret of Cyrhus to the Old Testament

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« Il est permis de formuler que l'évêque de Cyr sorte enfin des ténèbres où il est, depuis trop longtemps, enveloppé ».¹

The remarkable nature of Theodoret's method of biblical commentary lies in its being the only example of its kind from the patristic period. For his approach to the Old Testament is not that of the Alexandrines, who "used" the Old Testament as only having any value at all if it could be made to point to Christ by image and allegory at every turn. Nor is his approach that of his revered predecessor, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who asserted the historical meaning of Old Testament scripture and even dared to assert that the Song of Songs was love poetry. Briefly Theodoret's method is to explain the historical meaning first and then to take it through to Christ in certain cases and under the control of certain principles. Hence his interest lies in his anticipation of modern hermeneutic. Naturally he did not use modern critical methods – none of the church fathers did. Also, although he must have been well equipped to expound the Hebrew text, by his birth and ministry in a Syriac speaking area in the interior of Syria, he in fact strayed very rarely from the Septuagint text. Yet in his exegetical method he anticipated the new hermeneutic in many ways.

It may be that there is a relationship between the theology of the Antiochene school and its exegesis. This has been asserted.² Antiochenes insisted on the full humanity of Christ, to the extent that in Christ human nature and divine nature freely cooperated. This insistence on the fullness of Christ's humanity may have had some connection with their insistence on the value and validity of the literal, historical meaning of Old Testament books. In this they certainly differed from the Alexandrine fathers, who used the historical meaning as a springboard to the real meaning. Cyril referred to the historical meaning as the coarse outer leaves of the vegetable, to be stripped off in order to reach the inner core. Antiochenes saw the whole of Old Testament revelation fulfilled in Christ, as a whole, and found that allegorising individual texts one by one was both spurious and invalid. Both schools used the word *θεωρία* to express the inner, or fuller meaning of Scripture, but whereas the

¹ G. Bardy. 'Théodoret' in 'Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique', Paris 1946.

² Rowan Greer. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian, London 1965.

Alexandrines took each passage as an allegory of the fuller meaning, the Antiochenes accepted the validity of each passage in its own right. They then took up certain defined themes which they called *τύποι* and found their fulfilment in the New Testament revelation. In some cases the end product is the same, but the attitude to the Old Testament differs immensely. To the Alexandrine the Old Testament is little use apart from the message of the future, the flesh of the globe artichoke, that it contains and which must be prised loose, or extracted by means of allegory. To the Antiochene the Old Testament is in its own right the revelation of God to Israel, the whole of it fulfilled in Christ: the arteries of the connection between Old Testament and its fulfilment in Christ are the specific "types", the themes that are essential to the gospel message as understood by the Christian church of the fifth century.

First, then, Theodoret insists that the literal sense must not be perverted and made to say something which it palpably does not intend to say. Likewise, an action in the Old Testament which would appear to be immoral cannot be made into the type of a moral one in the New Testament. All explanation of the Old in terms of the New must follow what Guillet calls the "ossature" of the Bible.³ There has to be a clear and plausible bond between ideas and persons in the two Testaments for *θεωρία* to be used. Hence most of Theodoret's commentary is a straight commentary on the text, without the use of allegory or types. He explains the narrative, retells the story, deals with difficult words or phrases. Typical of this is his commentary on the Pentateuch, which is a series of what we would call "Problems" but which have come down in patrology under their Latin title of "Quaestiones". These contain quite a number of ever-popular "catch 29" chestnuts, such as "Where did the light come from in Creation if God had not yet created the Sun and Moon?"

Secondly history is no illusion. Formerly it could be allegorised away; in more recent times it can be demythologised. For Theodoret it showed God at work towards His final act in Christ. Hence God's activity reaches a series of "salvation-peaks" – the Creation, Noah, Abraham, the Exodus and Sinai, the Assyrian invasion, the Fall of Jerusalem and the Return, the Maccabean revolt and the Coming of Christ.

Thirdly, there is prediction in the Old Testament: it looks, strains, towards the future. Now the assumption that one of the attributes of the prophet (and Moses and David are reckoned as prophets) is to share the mind of God as to the future, is an assumption of biblical and post-biblical times. Even Theodore of Mopsuestia, who resolutely refused to allegorise his text, did allow his prophets to predict – however he frequently allowed them only to predict the near future, within the scope of Hebrew history up to the time of

³ J. Guillet. 'Les Exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche. Conflit ou malentendu?' in *Recherches des Sciences Religieuses*, no. 34, Paris 1945.

the Maccabean revolt. Against this and against the Alexandrine tendencies, Theodoret wrote,

"I have consulted various commentaries of which some fall into allegory, whilst others adapted the prophecies themselves to the history of the past, so that their interpretation applied more to Jews than to Christians. I have felt it my duty to avoid equally the two extremes. All that is relevant to ancient history ought to be recognised. But predictions concerning Christ our Saviour, the church of the nations, the expansion of the gospel, the preaching of the apostles ought not to be diverted from their proper sense and applied to other things, as if they had been fulfilled by the Jews".⁴

Much now depends on the types themselves. It has been seen that they must arise naturally out of the text, inasmuch as there must be some obvious connection between Old Testament word and the types that take it through to the fullness of Christ. But the types themselves are those fundamental themes which for Theodoret constituted the armoury of the gospel.

(a) There are certain salvation personnel who point to Christ. They are associated with salvation events in Israel. David himself is a prophet of Christ, because of his own position as a salvific figure and a prophet.

(b) The sum and goal of all revelation of God lies in the Trinity and in Christ as God and man. This, the main topic of all patristic theology of all schools, is assumed by Theodoret. Fully accepting the record of the Old Testament as the work of the Spirit in the life of Israel, he finds the Trinity in type, in shadow, in various places where the sense allows it, throughout the Old Testament. This is not only an apologetic with Judaism in mind (oddly enough, Theodoret does *not* find the Trinity in the three angels who came to visit Abraham at Mamre) but is the result of the assumption that biblical revelation is one and that the ancient writers were striving towards the fullness that is now apparent to the Christian church.

(c) Sin is passed on from man to man, not by procreation (Theodoret went out of his way to assert this and was one of the few church fathers with a view of marriage that set it as an equally blessed way as virginity) but by heredity. It is not so much a part of him that he cannot decide not to sin. Man has free will and is capable of goodness. This is proved in Christ, who shows man's free will by his utter goodness. Men show their free will by opting for Christ and by seeking baptism. Man in the Old Testament looks forward to his perfection in the manhood of Christ. He also looks forward to incorporation into Christ through water – the water of baptism. Cleansing with water, crossing water (as at the Red Sea), finding water are, to Theodoret, all examples of man's search for baptism in Christ.

(d) God rules the nations. This was only seen in certain ways in Old Testament revelation. It is fulfilled in that great punch-line of the Christian church in Theodoret's own age and before, that what they preached was for

⁴ Migne, P. G. 80, 860 CD, from Theodoret's preface to his commentary on the Psalms.

all men, all nations, not just for some few men, the Hebrew race. All references to God's universality look forward with longing to the universal vocation of the Church to gather in armfuls of all sorts of men together. Christianity was "catholic", that is, for all men, all cultures, all needs.

(e) Sacrifice, to Theodoret, because he shared the general patristic approach to the practice, though a custom tolerated by God in old times, can only be justified inasmuch as it looks forward to Christ's supreme sacrifice. Hence the whole sacrificial system of Israel with all its minutiae is a type of Christ.

These were his "types". They are applied to situations which, in Theodoret's judgement, bear this interpretation. There is room here for three brief examples only.

(i) The goats offered on the day of Atonement are a type of Christ. The slaughtered goat is type of the sufferings of the humanity of Christ, while the loosed goat shows the impassibility of the Godhead. Theodoret is well aware that the Passover lamb prefigures Christ (would that New Testament scholars were equally well aware of this!) but as the righteous offering, whereas the goat represents the offering for sin. Together they are types of the once-for-all offering and for the cleansing of the whole of mankind.⁵

(ii) The inclusion of Rahab and her family in Israel at the fall of Jericho, coming after the typology of the twelve (stones/tribes/apostles) and of the scarlet cord as a type of Christ's saving blood, is the type of the entry of the nations into the church, which is for all.⁶

(iii) The Song of Songs was Solomon's epithalamium, welcoming and blessing human love. "Solomon is a prophet. He is predicting by his own experience the love of Christ for his bride, the church. The chief occasion when that love is shown is when Christ grasps the Christian to himself in baptism".⁷

In all his commentaries, Theodoret starts from the situation in the life of Israel. Out of this may arise prediction pure and simple, prediction of Israel's future or prediction through to Christ. Out of it may also arise types of the final rescue by God in the person of the Lord Christ. These types contain within themselves the promise that they concern the salvation of all nations. All peoples have the opportunity of entering Christ's kingdom through baptism. Hence the Jew may see his history as the shadow of the reality revealed in Christ and the Gentile may see in the prophetic view of history the type of what concerns him – God's salvation for all the world.

Theodoret used to be dismissed as a commentator. "Theodoret is little else than a judicious compiler from Chrysostom and Theodore"⁸ and "if not distinguished by originality, yet remarkable for terseness, good sense and

⁵ P. G. 80 328 ff.

⁶ P. G. 80 469 C.

⁷ G. W. Ashby. Theodoret of Cyrrhus as Exegete of the Old Testament, p.81, Grahams-town 1972.

⁸ H. B. Swete. 'Theodorus of Mopsuestia' in 'Dictionary of Christian Biography', ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, London 1887.

appreciation of his subject".⁹ The latter reads like a school report. It can now be asserted that, while the catenae in Migne may give the impression of a plagiarising Theodoret, this view is impossible to sustain. He did take note of what Theodore had written, though he amended his approach considerably. He has a way of complimenting Theodore and contradicting him without mentioning names! There is little direct connection with Chrysostom's work. Chrysostom is writing devotional addresses, while Theodoret is producing commentaries. It may be that Theodoret's work is a representation of that of some lost Antiochene opus, but there is no evidence of such a work. His work and method is his own.

His limitations were great and he wrote for monks and literate laymen of Christian Syria. Nevertheless, in the context of the "New Hermeneutic" it may be suggested that some of the pioneering work had already been done and that Theodoret found out the balance between the erudite and the devotional, between analysis and application, that modern commentaries rarely find.

⁹ E. Venables. 'Theodoretus', in 'Dictionary of Christian Biography'.

Galilaea – A difference of opinion between Augustine and Jerome's "Onomastica Sacra"

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It has long been recognized that in the Old Testament the name of the individual is of great spiritual importance¹. The Old Testament shows that, in addition to the true meaning of the name, other popular interpretations were allowable²; so that a certain flexibility from the start characterized the *Onomastica Sacra* tradition. New Testament writers fully inherited this tradition, and its premisses formed the unconscious presuppositions of their approach to sacred names. When the Church, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., became more thoroughly lodged in a Graeco-Roman milieu, the knowledge of Hebrew, in particular, became increasingly rare, and all the more highly prized, when a Christian scholar could add it to his accomplishments. We know that Origen, for example, studied the language with the assistance of Jewish rabbis, as did Jerome. The *Onomastica Sacra* tradition was regarded as an important part of the Church's exegetical heritage, and Christian scribes made great efforts to preserve the all too slender links with the legacy bequeathed by Israel. St Augustine explains his indebtedness to Semitic scholars: "We have the interpretation of Hebrew names, for there have not been lacking scholars to translate for us out of Hebrew into Greek and therefrom into Latin . . ."³ In these words he pays tribute to a tradition of scholarship, classically exemplified by such scholars as Philo, the Jewish exegete; Origen, Eusebius and Jerome. However, there were many others, not so erudite, whose names we know not, who also tried to interpret the meaning of Hebrew names, and the results of their attempts were preserved to varying degrees, and with varying accuracy in the multifarious and miscellaneous traditions of *Onomastica Sacra*. In the modern era, Hebraists, because they are trained in accordance with the canons of exact linguistic science, often are tempted to dismiss with sorrow or scorn the

¹ Cf., the excellent discussion of M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, 1928. Of course, place names were often quite as significant as personal names, as in Gen. 28, 19 – Bethel; Gen. 32, 30 – Peniel; 1 Sam. 7, 12 – Ebenezer.

² Cf., Gen. 29, 29 – 30, 24.

³ Cf., Augustine, In Psalmum XXXIII Ennaratio, Sermo 1, 4 (in *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 38, p. 276/4–7): "Nominum hebraeorum interpretationem non defuerunt docti uiri, qui nobis nomina ex hebraeo in graecam linguam, et inde in latinam transferrent."

Onomastica Sacra tradition almost in toto; thus P. W. Schmiedel, when he examines the traditional interpretations of the name, MARIA, expresses his scholarly disdain for the renderings: "almost all of them impossible, resting as they do on an utter ignorance of Hebrew"⁴. Though from the standpoint of exact linguistic scholarship he is justified, yet, perhaps, the judgement is a trifle over-hasty and sweeping, for, upon reflection, one can often see what Hebrew words may have been in mind, when an exegete offered his translation. Further, it is worth remarking that one must approach the Onomastica Sacra tradition in a different way, if its full savour is to be appreciated; for the scribes were not solely interested in linguistics; they were even more interested in exegetical and mystical interpretations. As a result, when the linguistic possibilities for a given word multiplied, the commentator, far from being embarrassed by the scholarly uncertainty, welcomed the opportunity of exercising his exegetical ingenuity and skill. It must be confessed, however, that the motive of providing edification for the faithful often prompted interpreters to take linguistic liberties that astonish, if not repel the modern critic.

I have taken this opportunity of recalling well-known facts, so as to provide a context for the examination of a detail, namely the interpretation of the name, "Galilee". When Jerome was producing his Latin translation of Greek Onomastica Sacra, which he entitled, "Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum," he found the following interpretations for "Galilee":

Γαλιλαία ἀποκάλυψις (173/76); *Γαλιλαία ἀποκάλυψις ἡ κυλιστὴ ἡ μετοικισμός* (177/58); *Γαλιλαία κατακυλιστὴ ἡ μετοικία ἡ ἀποκάλυψις* (189/6).

Of these varying interpretations Jerome settles for two: "Galilaea uolubilis siue transmigratio facta" (58/2); "Galilaea uolutabilis aut transmigratio perpetrata" (64/25);⁵ and for "Galilaei," he offers, "uolubiles uel rotabiles" (69/12). The one connotation he discarded was "reuelatio." When Augustine had occasion to expound the mystical significance of Galilee, clearly he was not dependent upon Jerome, for he tells us that "Galilaea namque interpretatur uel transmigratio uel reuelatio."⁶ The connotation of "passing over" is made to apply to the grace of Christ being transferred from Israel to the Gentiles. Therefore its application to the message from the risen Christ to the apostles, that they would see Him in Galilee (Mk. 16, 7; Matt. 28, 7), must be that the message was a divine promise of the forthcoming success of the Christian mission to the Gentiles. It meant that God would prepare the hearts of the Gentiles for the reception of the Gospel, whenever it was faithfully proclaimed in obedience to the command of Christ. Augustine shows by his exegesis that he is well aware that "transmigratio" and "reuelatio" are alterna-

⁴ Cf., his article on MARY in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iii. 2952f.

⁵ References apply to the edition of Paul de Lagarde, "Onomastica Sacra", Hildesheim, 1966.

⁶ Cf., Augustinus, *De Consensu Euangelistarum*, iii. 86.

tive or rival renderings, but the task for the mystical expositor is to harmonize the alternatives: so when he expounds "reuelatio" as the disclosure of the risen and ascended Lord as the divine, ineffable Light, who is the true destiny of the believer (1 Jn. 3, 1), he finds in that eschatological hope a confluence of the two meanings of "Galilee": "That will be a revelation which may be spoken of as a true Galilee, when we shall be like Him . . . Then, also, for us there will be the more blessed passing over from this world into that eternity,"⁷ at least, he hastily warns, for those whose lives here and now are characterized by obedience to Gospel precepts.

When we look at the linguistic data concerning "Galilee", we find that the Hebrew root, from which it is derived, does not support the connotations of either "transmigratio" or "reuelatio", for the word, "Galilee" is a transliteration of the Hebrew name, גליל or הגלילה from the root, גלל, "g-l-l", "to roll", from which is derived the noun, גליל. The noun has other ordinary applications, such as "door-hinges" or "swivel-pins", in 1 Kg. 6, 34, or "rings" in Est. 1, 6; or, a circle of land, and hence, "district," or "territory," initially, and then the name of region called "Galilee", as in Jos. 20, 7; 21, 32; 2 Kg. 15, 29 and 1 Chr. 6, 61 (in English versions, 6, 76). We see a similar pattern in the name "Gilgal", הגלגל, lit., "stone circle," then the place name, as in Jos. 4, 19; and with other ordinary applications, such as "cart-wheel," in Isa. 28, 28; or "chariot-wheel", as in Isa. 5, 28; or "thistledown" generally, from an initial reference to the wheel-shaped dried calix of thistledown, as in Ps. 83, 14; Isa. 17, 13. Reference back to the root, "g-l-l", underlies the interpretations, κλιστή, κατακλιστή, "uolubilis," "uolutabilis," "uolubiles," and "rotabiles."

If the renderings "transmigratio" and "reuelatio" are mistakenly applied to "Galilee", the question then arises as to what Hebrew root the scribes of "Onomastica Sacra" may have had in mind when they offered these renderings. It appears that they may have been thinking of the root, גלה, "g-l-h", which, perhaps, should be regarded as a derivative from "g-l-l", in that it has the specialised connotation of "to roll back," or "to uncover." In 2 Sam. 22, 16 the foundations of the earth are "uncovered" at Yahweh's rebuke. Its reference, sometimes, is to physical nakedness, as in Jer. 13, 22, which speaks of the uncovering of the limbs. The idiom of "uncovering oneself" yields the meaning of "to make oneself known," as in 1 Sam. 14, 8. 11. The verb has an important reference to God's self-revealing activity, as in Gen. 35, 7; 1 Sam. 2, 27; God can be trusted to reveal his plans to His servants, the prophets, so Am. 3, 7 asserts. The verb has a secondary meaning of "to depart," so mirth can depart, Isa. 24, 11; or the grass may disappear, Prov. 27, 25; the meaning of the name "Ichabod" is that the glory has departed from Israel, 1 Sam. 4, 21 f. The verb with this connotation is applied to departure into exile or captivity, usually in the context of prophetic threats of divine punishment for sins, as in Mic. 1, 16; Am. 7, 11. 17; Isa. 5, 13; Jer. 1, 3. It is

⁷ *ibid.*

this latter usage which appears to underlie the renderings *μετοιχία*, *μετοιχισμός*, and "transmigratio."

We can now see the difference in approach between the scribe upon whom Augustine was dependent, and Jerome's own scholarly method in this instance. Augustine's source had decided that "Galilaea" was derived from the root, "g-l-h", and set out the two connotations associated with that verb, namely, "reuelatio," and "transmigratio", which Augustine later on skilfully combined into a harmonious exegetical whole. His source had discarded "g-l-l", possibly because he thought it to be exegetically unproductive. Jerome, however, was convinced that "g-l-l" was the correct linguistic root for "Galilaea", for he offers three renderings, "uolubilis," "uolutabilis," and "rotabiles." He alludes to the possibility of "g-l-h" by the one rendering "transmigratio," and it may be that the kind of thinking that lay behind this reference was an attempt to draw out the significance of Galilee for the life of our Lord in the Gospel plan of salvation. For Jerome had learnt from the first Gospel that every single detail of our Lord's life had been divinely fore-ordained. Thus the infant Jesus only arrived at Nazareth of Galilee, after he had to go into temporary exile into Egypt, Matt. 2, 13-15. After Herod's death, the child Jesus then passed over from Egypt into "the region of Galilee", Matt. 2, 22⁸. The connexion between the literal events of the infancy of our Lord and the possible meaning of "Galilee" must have seemed to be too close for Jerome to be able to ignore it. We know that Jerome, despite his scholarship, on occasion was perfectly prepared to display this kind of flexibility, for when discussing the meaning of the name "Nazareth", he wanted to apply both נֶזְרֵת and נָזַר to the name, and justified his linguistics by blithely quoting the apostolic dictum, "for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,"⁹ even, it seems, linguistic liberty!

⁸ I owe this suggestion to Dr. L. G. Kelly, Associate Professor of Linguistics, University of Ottawa, Ontario.

⁹ Cf., his *Commentarii in Esaiam*, on Isa. 11, 1 in CCSL 73, p 148/39.

La première épître de Jean dans les sermons de Césaire d'Arles

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Saint Césaire fut toute sa vie un homme de la Bible. La *Vita* nous rapporte que chaque jour, à table, il s'efforçait, par des lectures et des débats, d'en donner le goût à ses clercs¹. Aucun diacre, d'ailleurs, sous sa juridiction, ne pouvait être ordonné avant d'avoir lu au moins quatre fois dans l'ordre tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament².

A ses fidèles même, Césaire n'a pas craint d'en préconiser la lecture régulière: «Quand les nuits sont plus longues, leur dit-il, y aura-t-il quelqu'un capable de tant dormir qu'il ne puisse lire personnellement ou écouter les autres lire l'Ecriture sainte au moins pendant trois heures?»³ Et que nul ne vienne s'excuser sur son ignorance: «toi, qui que tu sois, qui ne sais pas lire, pourquoi ne charges-tu pas quelqu'un, au besoin contre un juste salaire, de te lire régulièrement l'Ecriture sainte? . . .»⁴

Cette Ecriture sainte, Césaire a fait reposer sur elle toute sa prédication. Aussi faut-il espérer que l'étude exhaustive des quelques 3.000 citations scripturaires relevées par Dom Morin dans son édition des sermons tentera, un jour prochain, de patients chercheurs.

En attendant, voici, beaucoup plus modestement, quelques remarques sur l'utilisation que fait l'évêque d'Arles de la première épître de Jean, sur l'originalité de sa lecture par rapport à celle de ses grands devanciers et sur le rôle particulier que jouent certains versets dans l'exposé de sa doctrine.

La première épître de Jean est bien représentée chez Césaire; nous la trouvons citée une soixantaine de fois dans trente-six sermons⁵ et deux d'entre eux, les sermons 185 et 186, se présentent même, en partie, comme un commentaire, le premier des versets 2, 8. 9, le second du verset 5, 1. Si nous mettons à part les grands textes aux Romains et aux Corinthiens, aucune autre épître ne jouit d'une pareille présence.

Le choix de Césaire n'en demeure pas moins très étroit: 20 versets seulement dans tout ce qui nous est parvenu de son œuvre (lettres, règles et

¹ *Vita Caesarii*: I, 52; II, 31–33.

² *Ibid.*, I, 56.

³ Sermon 6, p. 33, 9–11.

⁴ Sermon 6, p. 33, 21–22.

⁵ Ce sont les sermons: 1, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29, 36, 37, 39, 90, 91, 102, 108, 111, 115, 118, 132, 140, 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 159, 171, 180, 185, 186, 187, 196, 219, 221, 223, 229, 234, 235.

traités compris), dont 17 versets dans les sermons.⁶ Si nous ne possédions aujourd'hui de I Jean que ce qu'en a cité Césaire, que nous resterait-il? Un verset du chapitre I, le tiers du chapitre II, 4 versets du chapitre III, 3 du chapitre IV et 2 du chapitre V.

Cette sélection met particulièrement en valeur un des principaux thèmes de l'épître: le commandement de la charité et sa source divine; dix versets le reprennent⁷, avec les grandes antithèses: amour-haine, lumière-ténèbres, vie et mort. En revanche, elle ne fait qu'effleurer les deux autres volets du triptyque de Jean: d'une part l'opposition entre les convoitises périssables du monde et la volonté éternelle de Dieu (Césaire cite 2, 15 et 2, 17, mais pas 2, 16); d'autre part l'opposition entre l'enseignement mensonger des faux prophètes et la vraie doctrine, sous-entendue seulement dans la citation tronquée de 2, 19, à propos des hérétiques: «Ils sont sortis de chez nous, mais ils n'étaient pas des nôtres». Enfin, Césaire laisse entièrement de côté les versets sur le péché qui va ou ne va pas à la mort, ou ceux affirmant que «quiconque est né de Dieu ne commet pas le péché»⁸. Il s'agit donc d'une lecture orientée. La fréquence avec laquelle revient tel ou tel verset le montre mieux encore.

Six versets constituent à eux seuls les 3/4 des citations; or, mis à part 1, 8: «Si nous disons que nous n'avons pas de péché, nous nous abusons nous-mêmes et la vérité n'est pas en nous», répété cinq fois, tous les autres sont liés directement au thème principal. Les voici: (2, 9) «Celui qui dit être dans la lumière et qui hait son frère est encore dans les ténèbres»; (2, 11) «Celui qui hait son frère est dans les ténèbres et marche dans les ténèbres et ne sait où il va, car les ténèbres ont obscurci ses yeux»; (3, 14) «Tout homme qui n'aime pas son frère demeure dans la mort»; (4, 8) «Dieu est amour»; et (3, 15) «Celui qui hait son frère est homicide», lequel ne revient pas moins de 18 fois dans les sermons⁹.

Non seulement Césaire privilégie ces textes, mais il se plaît à les grouper: deux fois nous trouvons 2, 9 associé à 2, 11 et 3, 15¹⁰; trois fois 2, 11 à

⁶ Dans les sermons: 1, 8, 2, 1, 2, 2, 2, 6, 2, 8, 2, 9, 2, 10, 2, 11, 2, 15, 2, 17, 3, 2, 3, 14, 3, 15, 3, 17, 4, 8, 4, 20, 5, 1. En dehors des sermons: 2, 19 *Apc.* 3 (219, 24) et 11 (246, 23); 4, 16 *Mon* (151, 22); 5, 20 *Bre* (183, 29) et (187, 12); *Tri* 4 (168, 12) et 7 (171, 28).

⁷ Ce sont les versets: 2, 8, 2, 9, 2, 10, 2, 11, 3, 14, 3, 15, 4, 8, 4, 16, 4, 20, 5, 1.

⁸ Cf. *I Jean* 5, 16. 17 et 5, 18.

⁹ *I Jean* 1, 8: s. 91 (361, 15); s. 132 (520, 5); s. 144 (563, 24); s. 185 (714, 7); s. 234 (888, 15). *I Jean* 2, 9: s. 37 (159, 20); s. 39 (167, 19); s. 90 (358, 17); s. 180 (691, 18); s. 185 (731, 5). *I Jean* 2, 11: s. 1 (10, 23 et 12, 3); s. 25 (108, 27); s. 37 (159, 20); s. 39 (167, 20); s. 90 (358, 15); s. 148 (574, 3); s. 180 (691, 18); s. 187 (725, 27); s. 221 (830, 22); s. 223 (838, 30). *I Jean* 3, 14: s. 187 (725, 30); s. 219 (824, 24); s. 221 (830, 23); s. 223 (838, 30). *I Jean* 3, 15: s. 1 (10, 22 et 12, 3); s. 19 (85, 20); s. 25 (108, 26); s. 37 (159, 18); s. 39 (167, 18); s. 90 (358, 14); s. 145 (565, 35); s. 171 (661, 16); s. 180 (691, 17); s. 185 (713, 14); s. 187 (725, 24); s. 219 (824, 25); s. 221 (830, 22 et 831, 24); s. 223 (838, 29); s. 229 (864, 24); s. 235 (893, 11).

I Jean 4, 8. 16: s. 22 (95, 16); s. 23 (101, 5); s. 29 (122, 34); s. 36 (153, 19).

¹⁰ s. 39 (167, 19. 20. 18); s. 90 (358, 17. 15. 14).

3, 14 et 3, 15¹¹ et neuf fois 2, 11 à côté de 3, 15¹². L'idée de ces rapprochements lui vient probablement de Cyprien qui, dans son *De Zelo et Livore*¹³, cite ensemble 2, 9, 2, 11 et 3, 15, ainsi que d'Augustin qui réunit dans son *Speculum*¹⁴ 2, 11, 3, 14 et 3, 15.

Une telle insistance ne peut être fortuite; ce que Césaire retient avant tout de l'épître de Jean, ce qu'il veut en inculquer à son peuple, c'est le danger mortel de la haine et le lien indissoluble entre l'amour des hommes et l'amour de Dieu. Or ce choix, dans son ensemble, lui demeure personnel.

Cyprien, en effet, a bien pu lui donner l'idée de grouper 2, 9, 2, 11 et 3, 15, mais ces versets ne reviennent que deux ou trois fois dans l'œuvre de l'évêque africain, qui, lui insiste bien davantage sur les versets 2, 15 à 2, 19 stigmatisant les convoitises du monde et mettant en garde contre le danger des antichrists.

Chez Ambroise, les versets privilégiés de Césaire n'apparaissent qu'une seule fois, alors qu'il cite dix-sept fois le verset 2, 1 sur le Christ, avocat des pécheurs auprès du Père, et onze fois le verset 4, 18: «Il n'y a pas de crainte dans l'amour».

Ce dernier verset est également fréquent chez Jérôme, bien que celui-ci donne de beaucoup la première place à 5, 19: «Nous savons que quiconque est né de Dieu ne pèche pas». Viennent ensuite, en troisième position, les versets 2, 18 et 2, 19 sur les antichrists, chers à Cyprien.

Quant à Pélagé, c'est le verset 3, 2 sur notre filiation divine qui retient particulièrement son attention. Il faut citer ensuite le verset 2, 6 sur l'obligation de nous conduire comme le Christ s'est conduit et les versets 4, 18 sur l'amour qui bannit la crainte, 2, 15 et 2, 17 sur le monde qui passe et la volonté de Dieu qui demeure; enfin, à l'instar de Jérôme, la déclaration que «quiconque est né de Dieu ne pèche pas».

D'ailleurs, si l'on considère dans la *Vetus Latina* les passages de I Jean les plus souvent repris par l'ensemble des Pères, avant ou après Césaire, nous voyons que les versets 3, 2 sur notre filiation divine, 4, 18 sur l'amour qui bannit la crainte, 2, 16 sur les convoitises du monde, 4, 3 sur l'esprit de l'Antichrist et 1, 8 sur notre état de pécheur, sont les plus fréquents. En revanche, si nous laissons de côté Augustin et Césaire, nous relevons moins de 30 citations de 2, 11 et à peine 75 de 3, 15.

¹¹ s. 187 (725, 27. 30. 24); s. 221 (830, 22. 23. 22); s. 223 (838, 30. 30. 29).

¹² s. 1 (10, 23. 22 et 12, 3); s. 25 (108, 27. 26); s. 37 (159, 20. 18); s. 39 (167, 20. 18); s. 90 (358, 15. 14); s. 187 (725, 27. 24); s. 221 (830, 22); s. 223 (838, 30. 29).

¹³ Césaire reprend en effet dans le sermon 90 (357, 25 à 358, 2) un passage du *De Zelo et Livore*, 7, 8. 9 qui contient les trois versets, les versets 2, 9 et 2, 11 étant amalgamés de la façon suivante: «qui dicit se in luce esse, et fratrem suum odit, in tenebris est, et in tenebris ambulat, et nescit quo vadat, quoniam tenebrae obcaecaverunt oculos eius.» Or, c'est la seule fois que Césaire les cite sous cette forme.

¹⁴ *Speculum* 47 (278, 3). Ce groupement apparaît dans les sermons 187, 221 et 223 de Césaire. D'une façon curieuse, le verset 3, 14 est attribué, dans le sermon 221 (830, 24), non à Jean mais à Jacques, alors que dans le sermon 187 les mêmes paroles sont explicitement attribuées à Jean (725, 27).

Augustin mérite, bien sûr, une attention particulière, bien que les quatre versets qu'il privilégie n'apportent guère d'éléments nouveaux : l'ordre seul change un peu, 1, 8 constatant notre état de pécheur venant aussitôt après la déclaration de 3, 2 selon laquelle «dès maintenant nous sommes enfants de Dieu». Ce verset 1, 8, qui revient, nous l'avons dit, cinq fois chez Césaire, révèle une préoccupation pastorale commune aux deux évêques.

Toutefois, il peut paraître surprenant qu'Augustin, dans toute son œuvre, ne cite que trois fois¹⁵ le verset 2, 9 sur la haine qui plonge dans les ténèbres ; et que le verset 3, 15 «Celui qui hait son frère est homicide» n'apparaisse guère plus chez lui que dans les seuls sermons de Césaire.

Pourtant, s'il en était besoin, la thèse actuellement sous presse de Dany Dideberg sur *Saint Augustin, exégète de la première épître de saint Jean*¹⁶ nous rappellerait la place centrale qu'occupe la charité dans la doctrine de l'évêque d'Hippone. Or, nous dit celui-ci, dans ses *Tractatus in Johannis Epistulam* : «Le prix de la charité, toute l'Écriture le fait valoir ; mais je ne sais s'il est un autre lieu où elle soit plus mise en valeur que dans cette épître.»¹⁷

Malgré cela, Césaire utilise une seule fois, dans son sermon 186, trois courts passages du *Tractatus* 10, à propos du verset 5, 1 : «Quiconque croit que Jésus est le Christ est né de Dieu . . .», verset qu'il ne cite, d'ailleurs, qu'à cette occasion. C'est aux *Enarrationes*¹⁸ et aux sermons¹⁹, qu'il emprunte surtout, en particulier au sermon 211 dont il reproduit presque textuellement les quatre premiers paragraphes dans son sermon 185.

Ce texte, dans lequel revient à plusieurs reprises *Mt.* 6, 12 : «Remets-nous nos dettes comme nous remettons à nos débiteurs» est tout entier consacré à la concorde entre frères et à l'obligation de pardonner. Ne laissons pas le fétu de la colère devenir la poutre de la haine, car celui qui hait son frère est un homicide et il vit dans les ténèbres de la prison de son cœur, nous dit Augustin, qui cite les versets 2, 8, 2, 9, 2, 11 et 3, 15 de l'épître, et nous rappelle par le verset 1, 8 notre situation de pécheur.

Je ne peux m'empêcher de remarquer en passant que Césaire, qui reprend mot pour mot tout cela – et notamment la description du triste état de celui qui refuse de pardonner ou de demander pardon – laisse entièrement de côté la dernière partie du sermon d'Augustin, consacrée à ceux qui ont été offensés et attendent en vain qu'on leur demande pardon. Ils ne sont visiblement pas l'objet de ses préoccupations.

¹⁵ *I Jean* 1, 11 (1985) ; sermon 211, 2 (1054) ; *speculum* 47 (278, 1).

¹⁶ Je dois à la gentillesse de Mademoiselle A.-M. La Bonnardière d'avoir pu prendre connaissance de cette thèse, ainsi que l'idée du sujet même de cette communication.

¹⁷ «Quid valet caritas, omnis Scriptura commendat ; sed nescio si alicubi amplius quam in ista Epistola commendetur.» *Tr. in Io. Epist.* V, 13.

¹⁸ Le sermon 132, par exemple, est en grande partie emprunté à *Enarr. in Ps.* 97, n. 5 et 6 ; et le sermon 180 à *Enarr. in Ps.* 25, n. 2–5.

¹⁹ Le sermon 140 est redevable au s. 178, 7–11 d'Augustin ; le sermon 141 au s. 311, 9–14 ; le sermon 145 à un sermon perdu d'Augustin ; le sermon 159 au s. 96, n. 3 et 4 ; le sermon 185 au s. 211, 1–4, et le sermon 221 au s. 49, 5–7.

En revanche, dans le passage retenu, se trouvent rassemblés – et c'est la seule fois dans l'œuvre d'Augustin – les versets qui constituent pour Césaire le cœur même de l'épître.

L'évêque d'Arles est donc allé chercher, dans la prédication de son maître, l'essentiel de ce qu'il retient de l'épître johannique, mais son choix nous éclaire déjà sur sa pensée personnelle. Il ne prend, en effet, chez autrui, que ce qu'il peut faire sien, et nous avons la preuve que ce ne sont pas toujours les textes de prédilection de ses prédécesseurs. Ses emprunts en ce qui concerne *I Jean* sont d'ailleurs moins fréquents qu'ils ne sont d'ordinaire : vingt et un²⁰ des trente-six sermons où il cite cette épître lui appartiennent en propre, dont neuf *Admonitiones* qui traitent essentiellement de la charité et où se trouvent les textes les plus représentatifs de sa pastorale.

En effet, si nous replaçons *I Jean* dans l'ensemble des citations scripturaires de Césaire, nous voyons que seize versets²¹ tirés d'autres livres bibliques reparaissent de trois à six fois dans le voisinage de cette épître, neuf d'entre eux²² figurant parmi les plus cités de l'Écriture. Prenons l'exemple du sermon 25 sur la miséricorde divine et humaine : il s'ouvre sur la béatitude préférée de Césaire²³ : « Bienheureux les miséricordieux, car ils obtiendront miséricorde » *Mt.* 5, 7, continue par *Mt.* 25, 40 : « Aussi longtemps que vous avez fait cela à l'un de ces petits, c'est à moi que vous l'avez fait », puis, par deux versets sur l'aumône : *Eccli.* 3, 33 et *Luc* 11, 41, qu'il cite à plusieurs reprises ensemble²⁴. La même idée reparaît avec *Luc* 6, 38 : « Donnez et l'on vous donnera » et la première partie du sermon s'achève sur le verset le plus cité de toute la Bible : *Mt.* 24, 34. 35 « Venez, bénis, prenez possession du Royaume ; car j'ai eu faim et vous m'avez donné à manger ; j'étais étranger et vous m'avez accueilli ».

Quant à la seconde partie du sermon, elle repose essentiellement sur un

²⁰ Il s'agit des sermons : 1, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29, 36, 37, 39, 91, 115, 148, 149, 171, 186, 187, 196, 223, 229, 234, 235.

²¹ *Prov.* 12, 28 ; 20, 13 ; *Sag.* 1, 11 ; 2, 24 ; *Mt.* 5, 44 ; 6, 12 ; 6, 14 ; 7, 3 ; 25, 34 ; *Luc* 11, 41 ; *Jean* 13, 35 ; *I Cor.* 6, 10 ; 13, 3 ; *Gal.* 5, 14 ; *Eph.* 3, 17 ; *I Tim.* 6, 10.

²² *Prov.* 20, 13 ; *Sag.* 1, 11 ; *Mt.* 6, 12 ; 6, 14 ; 25, 34 ; *Luc* 11, 41 ; *I Cor.* 6, 10 ; 13, 3 ; *I Tim.* 6, 10.

²³ Césaire ne cite que six des dix béatitudes : il cite huit fois *Mt.* 5, 7 sur les miséricordieux : (106, 6 ; 108, 6 ; 109, 10 ; 142, 28 ; 607, 31 ; 612, 3 ; 844, 27 ; 859, 11) ; sept fois *Mt.* 5, 5 sur les affligés : (30, 10 ; 240, 21 ; 277, 13 ; 628, 21 ; 758, 7 ; 789, 7 ; 872, 22) ; trois fois *Mt.* 5, 3 sur les pauvres en esprit : (207, 11 ; 213, 2 ; 214, 28) ; trois fois *Mt.* 5, 6 sur les affamés de justice : (23, 17 ; 409, 6 ; 439, 23) ; deux fois *Mt.* 5, 8 sur les cœurs purs : (216, 26 ; 795, 1) ; enfin, deux fois *Mt.* 5, 9 sur les artisans de paix : (359, 17 et 623, 14).

²⁴ Césaire cite huit fois *Eccli.* 3, 33 : « Comme l'eau éteint le feu, ainsi l'aumône éteint le péché » ; (53, 3 ; 107, 34 ; 127, 10 ; 130, 5 ; 189, 12 ; 592, 32 ; 858, 1 ; 863, 10) et sept fois *Luc* 11, 41 : « Faites plutôt l'aumône et voici que pour vous tout est pur » : (72, 20 ; 107, 32 ; 122, 6 ; 127, 11 ; 142, 30 ; 592, 31 ; 863, 9). Quatre fois il les cite ensemble. Or, ces deux versets, qui sont nettement plus utilisés par Césaire que par l'ensemble des Pères, sont déjà réunis chez Cyprien, les deux fois où il les cite : *te* 3, 1 et *op.* 2. Ensuite, cette habitude ne reparaît que chez Césaire, chez Grégoire le Grand, à deux reprises : *ep.* 7, 25 (470, 22) et *ev.* 20, 11 (1165 B) et chez Epiphane latin : 51 (129, 3) et 56 (149, 26).

verset de *Mt.* 6, 14–15: «Si vous remettez, votre Père vous remettra aussi vos péchés; si vous ne remettez pas, votre Père ne vous remettra pas non plus vos péchés», et sur les versets 2, 11 et 3, 15 de *I Jean*.

Tous ces versets reviennent de sept à vingt-neuf fois au cours des sermons. La même remarque s'impose si nous regardons les citations dans l'admonition 23 sur la charité. Nous y rencontrons notamment *I Jean* 4, 8: «Dieu est amour», suivi de *Gal.* 5, 14: «Vous accomplissez toute la Loi en accomplissant un seul commandement: tu aimeras ton prochain comme toi-même» et de *I Cor.* 13, 3: «Si je distribue tous mes biens pour la nourriture des pauvres et si je livre mon corps au bûcher, mais que je n'aie pas la charité, cela ne me sert à rien». Le sermon s'ouvre et se clot sur une des antithèses-clefs de Césaire, entre la convoitise, racine de tous les maux et la charité, racine de tous biens. Nous trouverons toujours à proximité d'une citation de *I Jean* l'un ou l'autre des versets cités dans ces deux sermons, et le plus souvent, plusieurs.

Or, que nous disent-ils essentiellement? Que nous sommes pécheurs et que nous avons besoin du pardon divin; que ce pardon, Dieu est toujours prêt à nous l'accorder, à la seule condition qu'à son exemple nous pardonnions à nos frères, car Dieu est amour et l'unique façon de demeurer en Lui est d'être enraciné dans la charité: charité active au service des pauvres, charité plus grande encore et ouverte à tous, riches et pauvres, qui consiste simplement à aimer en vérité.

Voilà pourquoi les versets 2, 11 et 3, 15 de l'épître de Jean tiennent tant de place dans la prédication de Césaire, car la haine est le péché irrémissible. On peut, selon lui, excuser tout le reste par la fragilité humaine, mais qui peut dire: «Je ne peux pas aimer»? ²⁵

²⁵ Sermon 37 (154, 18).

Aperçu sur l'histoire des chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psautier (V^e–XIV^e siècles)

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L'intérêt pour les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psautier est ancien, c'est ce que prouve l'existence de chaînes imprimées aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles¹; la perspective, toutefois, est alors avant tout de repérer dans les chaînes des textes inédits: «il ne serait pas même nécessaire de publier ces Compilations entières, puisque nous avons les Auteurs d'où elles ont été prises: mais il serait à désirer qu'on donnât seulement au public ce qui s'y trouve de singulier et qui n'a point encore été publié» déclare Richard Simon au XVII^e siècle²; B. de Montfaucon, A. Mai et J-B. Pitra, par exemple, s'adressent aux chaînes parisiennes et vaticanes pour compléter les lacunes de la tradition directe du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe de Césarée³. Mais, à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, plusieurs savants montrent qu'on ne peut pas mettre toutes les chaînes sur le même plan⁴; certaines sont plus anciennes et plus fidèles à leurs sources que d'autres; des phénomènes d'abrégement et de réécriture peuvent être constatés; les sigles d'auteurs sont plus ou moins erronés; souvent ils manquent; bref est apparue la nécessité «d'étudier une collection pour elle-même»⁵, de la situer par rapport aux autres collections et d'aboutir ainsi à une histoire des chaînes, caractérisée, dans le temps, par des étapes et, dans l'espace, par des lieux d'élaboration et de diffusion.

Où en est, à l'heure actuelle, l'histoire des chaînes sur le psautier? On peut dire qu'elle est écartelée entre un schéma général, idéal, et une classification

¹ R. Devreesse, article «Chaînes exégétiques grecques», *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, I, 1928, c. 1114–1115.

² R. Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, Nouvelle édition, Rotterdam, 1685, p. 412.

³ G. Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psaume 118*, Paris, 1975 (thèse 3^e Cycle dactylographiée), p. 388 et 563 note 5.

⁴ H. Lietzmann, *Katenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Ueberslieferung, mit einem Beitrag von H. Usener*, Freiburg i.B., 1897, p. 1–27. — M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Katenen*, Biblische Studien, 4. Band, 2. Heft, Freiburg i. B., 1899. — M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien-, und Predigerkatenen*, Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft, Vienne, 1902. — M. Faulhaber, «Katenen und Katenenforschung», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18, 1909, p. 383–395, en particulier p. 384–386. — R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, passim.

⁵ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1098.

particulière; quelques indications précises, toutefois, jettent parfois une passerelle à travers ce fossé. Le schéma général a été énoncé par M. Faulhaber⁶ et repris par R. Devreesse⁷: selon eux, il y aurait trois étapes dans l'histoire des chaînes, l'étape des chaînes à deux ou trois auteurs (V^e–VI^e siècles), puis, à peu près à la même époque, l'étape des chaînes à auteurs multiples, enfin l'étape des résumés, des adjonctions de fragments nouveaux et des combinaisons de chaînes anciennes; M. Faulhaber considère avoir vérifié la validité de ce schéma dans le cas des chaînes sur le Cantique des Cantiques⁸; R. Devreesse l'applique aux chaînes sur le Psautier⁹; mais G. Zuntz a critiqué les analyses de M. Faulhaber¹⁰ et on doit faire de même avec celles de R. Devreesse tant elles manquent de précision: quelques manuscrits seulement sont cités, sur plus de cent qui constituent le corpus des chaînes sur le Psautier.

A l'autre bout, G. Karo et I. Lietzmann ont proposé une classification des manuscrits de chaînes sur le psautier en 26 types; chaque type est caractérisé par la présence des mêmes fragments pour deux psaumes, les psaumes 22 et 115; un 27^e type regroupe les manuscrits divers qui ne se classent dans aucun des types déterminés¹¹. Mais cette classification «ne tient compte ni de la chronologie (des chaînes) (...) ni de leurs relations mutuelles»¹²; elle ne correspond pas à l'histoire réelle des chaînes; elle contient en outre beaucoup d'inexactitudes¹³.

Quelques études particulières ont permis toutefois de progresser dans l'histoire des chaînes. La plus importante est celle de M. Richard sur «les premières chaînes sur le psautier»¹⁴, qui sont, selon lui, au nombre de deux: la première serait d'origine palestinienne et daterait du VI^e siècle, la seconde serait monophysite et égyptienne et serait de la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle; ces chaînes à auteurs multiples ont connu des réécritures et des sélections que M. Richard analyse; il parvient ainsi à rectifier la classification de G. Karo et de I. Lietzmann à plusieurs reprises. On constate qu'il y a de cette manière un écart avec le schéma idéal de M. Faulhaber, puisque M. Richard ne signale aucune chaîne à deux auteurs parmi les premières

⁶ M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.* note 4 (1899), p. 2 note 2 et *art. cit.* note 4, p. 384–385.

⁷ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1092–1094.

⁸ M. Faulhaber, *art. cit.* note 4, p. 385. Il est à noter que, dans l'histoire qu'il propose des chaînes sur le Cantique des cantiques (*op. cit.* note 4, p. 58–65), M. Faulhaber envisage le début du V^e siècle pour la confection des premières chaînes.

⁹ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1116–1119.

¹⁰ G. Zuntz, «Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri», *Byzantion*, 13, 1938, p. 631–690, 14, 1939, p. 545–614, en particulier 14, 1939, p. 575–577.

¹¹ G. Karo-I. Lietzmann (en abrégé K.-L.), «Catenarum graecarum Catalogus», *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1902, p. 1–66, 299–330, 559–621, en particulier p. 20–66.

¹² M. Richard, «Les premières chaînes sur le psautier», *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 5, 1956, p. 87–98, en particulier p. 87.

¹³ Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, *passim*.

¹⁴ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12.

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chaînes; dès lors ou bien il faut rectifier le schéma ou bien il faut compléter les analyses de M. Richard¹⁵.

Est-il possible de poursuivre cet effort pour constituer une histoire des chaînes sur le Psautier? Celle-ci ne doit faire qu'un avec la classification des chaînes elles-mêmes. Mais M. Richard n'est pas sûr que l'on puisse remplacer la classification de G. Karo et I. Lietzmann par une classification rationnelle, tant la fantaisie des caténistes médiévaux lui paraît grande¹⁶. De son côté, R. Devreesse, qui, en 1928, était persuadé qu'«en essayant de refaire les étapes des collections, (on arrivera) (...) à fixer avec plus de précision les éléments qu'elles ont successivement absorbés et à retrouver les pivots autour desquels elles ont évolué»¹⁷, affirme, en 1970, que «suivre par le détail l'évolution et l'imbrication de nos chaînes, présumer le moment où des auteurs – qui n'étaient plus des exégètes se trouvèrent exploités dans nos collections, (...) paraît à peu près irréalisable»¹⁸. Pourtant E. Mühlenberg annonce, dans l'Introduction de sa toute récente édition des fragments d'Apollinaire de Laodicée et de Didyme d'Alexandrie, que le tome III (à paraître) sera consacré à des «Recherches sur les chaînes sur les Psaumes»¹⁹. De notre côté, nous nous proposons de donner maintenant un aperçu sur l'histoire des chaînes sur le psautier; le mot «aperçu» n'est pas employé ici par clause de style ou par modestie – attitude qui serait pourtant bien de mise puisque, avec les chaînes sur le psautier, il s'agit, selon l'expression de

¹⁵ D'autres études ont fait progresser nos connaissances de certains points de l'histoire des chaînes. Signalons, parmi les multiples contributions de G. Mercati, son livre *Alla ricerca dei nomi degli «altri» traduttori nelle omilie sui salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune catene del Salterio*, Studi e Testi n° 158, Città del Vaticano, 1952. On doit aussi noter les articles de M. Richard, «Quelques manuscrits grecs peu connus des chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le psautier», *Bulletin d'information de l'I. R. H. T.*, 3, 1954, p. 87–98, et «Les manuscrits de la chaîne du type VI sur les psaumes», *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 1973, p. 19–38. Parmi les contributions de M.-J. Rondeau, les plus utiles du point de vue de l'histoire des chaînes sont «Le Commentaire sur les psaumes d'Evagre le Pontique», *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 26, 1960, p. 307–348 et «A propos d'une édition de Didyme l'Aveugle», *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 81, 1968, p. 385–400.

¹⁶ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12, p. 87.

¹⁷ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1119.

¹⁸ R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des psaumes*, Studi e Testi n° 264, Città del Vaticano, 1970, p. XIX.

¹⁹ E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Band I, Patristische Texte und Studien Band 15, Berlin New-York, 1975, p. XI. E. Mühlenberg a eu l'amabilité de nous prêter le manuscrit de son tome III, à l'occasion de la VII^e Conférence de Patristique d'Oxford. L'A. y analyse certaines filiations de chaînes; plusieurs de ses conclusions sont proches des nôtres: ainsi, par exemple, sur les types II, XII, XIV, XV et XVI; en revanche nous nous séparons de ses propositions sur le type XX, qui, selon nous, est faussement jumeau du type XIV, sur la datation du type XVII (que l'A. date du X^e siècle, à cause de l'intervention de Photius pour la réunion des Homélies du Chrysostome, et que nous datons du VIII^e siècle) et sur la «thèse» de l'A., qui pense qu'il existe 7 Grundtypen, ce qui est soit trop soit pas assez. L'A. reste également fidèle à la classification de K.-L., ce qui est commode, mais ce qui fausse à plusieurs reprises la réalité. Le livre d'E. Mühlenberg sera indispensable par sa précision.

M. Richard, d'un «énorme puzzle» —, mais parce que nous avançons les résultats d'un sondage limité à un seul psaume, le plus long de tous les psaumes, le psaume 118 de la Septante, qui représente un seizième du psauteur. Les résultats de notre travail ont la valeur de l'échantillonnage choisi, qui est difficile à apprécier²⁰. Toutefois nous comptons, au cours des années à venir, multiplier les coups de sonde et ainsi aboutir à des conclusions d'une fiabilité, sinon totale, du moins grande.

1. Les filiations des chaînes

Il existe une seule manière correcte de définir une chaîne, c'est de déterminer «les sources utilisées par le caténiste», ainsi que le remarque M. Richard²¹; repérer toutes les chaînes sur un livre de l'Ancien ou du Nouveau Testament implique donc de lire et de transcrire tous les manuscrits de chaînes connus sur ce livre; une fois que chaque chaîne, au prix de ce travail, a été repérée et définie par ses sources, alors l'histoire des chaînes peut commencer; cette histoire consiste, dans un premier temps, à décrire les filiations et les rapports entre chaînes, à analyser les phénomènes qui apparaissent; dans un second temps, il s'agit de dater les étapes ainsi dégagées et, dans la mesure du possible, de les localiser. L'histoire des chaînes constituée de cette manière doit alors être située par rapport à l'histoire générale des faits littéraires des siècles concernés.

1.1. Les chaînes primaires

Au psaume 118, nous avons repéré 35 chaînes différentes. Comment s'organisent-elles les unes par rapport aux autres? 13 de ces chaînes sont des chaînes primaires, c'est-à-dire que leurs sources sont les Commentaires eux-mêmes en tradition directe. Deux catégories de chaînes primaires se distinguent nettement, les chaînes à auteurs multiples et les chaînes à deux auteurs.

1.1.1. Les chaînes à auteurs multiples

Elles sont au nombre de 4. La chaîne palestinienne, repérée par R. Devreesse²², décrite et définie par M. Richard²³, a été publiée naguère au psaume 118 par M. Harl, d'après le *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* F 126 sup. et le *Patmensis Monasterii S. Johannis* 215²⁴; les sources de cette chaîne sont les

²⁰ Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 3.

²¹ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12, p. 87.

²² R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1116–1117.

²³ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12, p. 87–93. La chaîne est essentiellement connue par les types VI et XI de K.-L.

²⁴ M. Harl, *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume 118*, Sources chrétiennes n° 189 et 190, Paris, 1972.

Commentaires sur les Psaumes d'Origène (les *Tomes*), d'Eusèbe, de Didyme, d'Apollinaire, et, dans une moindre mesure, d'Athanase, de Théodoret et d'Hésychius. La deuxième chaîne primaire n'est pas parvenue en tradition directe; elle est combinée avec une sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne²⁵; ses sources sont les *Commentaires* d'Athanase et d'Hésychius, tous deux inédits à l'heure actuelle²⁶, et des extraits des œuvres de Cyrille d'Alexandrie et de Sévère d'Antioche. La troisième chaîne associe Théodoret, Jean Chrysostome, Astérius et quelques autres; au psaume 118, que Jean Chrysostome et Astérius n'ont sans doute pas commenté, la chaîne présente à peu près exclusivement le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Théodoret; il existe en outre trois fragments isolés d'un anonyme (v. 6), d'Origène (v. 83) et d'Olympiodore (v. 127), ainsi qu'une collection de leçons hexaplaïres d'origine antiochienne²⁷; la présence quasi exclusive de Théodoret au psaume 118, ainsi que la large diffusion de la chaîne, connue par une vingtaine d'exemplaires²⁸, nous la font désigner sous le vocable de «chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion»; elle s'oppose en ce sens à la quatrième chaîne primaire à auteurs multiples qui, certes, a pour auteur de base Théodoret, mais qui est connue par deux exemplaires seulement²⁹: pour cette raison nous appelons cette dernière chaîne «chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion»; les sources de la chaîne sont le *Commentaire* de Théodoret, des extraits du *Commentaire* inédit d'Hésychius et un petit nombre de gloses (Athanase, Hésychius Antonelli, Isidore, pseudo-Jérôme, Basile, . . .).

Il faut noter que ces quatre chaînes primaires s'opposent deux à deux: les extraits des deux premières chaînes représentent seulement un choix de textes, relativement réduit, parmi les vastes *Commentaires* utilisés³⁰; dans les deux dernières chaînes, au contraire, le *Commentaire* de Théodoret est cité à peu près intégralement³¹; ce phénomène, qui correspond, chez les caténistes, à une nouvelle façon de travailler, est une indication précieuse pour la datation relative des chaînes primaires.

²⁵ Les deux manuscrits anciens où se trouve la chaîne sont le *Parisinus graecus* 139 et le *Venetius Marcianus* 17 (= type III K.-L.).

²⁶ Le *Commentaire* d'Athanase édité en *P. G.* 27 est en fait une chaîne sans sigles d'auteurs, où il y a certains fragments d'Athanase. Le *Commentaire* d'Hésychius est connu, au psaume 118, dans la tradition directe interpolée de l'*Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Th. Roë* 13.

²⁷ Cf. G. Dorival, «L'apport des chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des *Hexaples* d'Origène», *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 4, 1974, p. 45-74.

²⁸ = type XVII de K.-L.; aux 14 manuscrits qu'ils signalent, il faut joindre 6 manuscrits signalés par M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 15, ainsi que le *Scorialensis* Y II 14.

²⁹ *Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus* 340, ignoré par K.-L., et *Vindobonensis theologicus graecus* 297, par erreur classé dans le type XII.

³⁰ Cf. M. Harl, *op. cit.* note 24, p. 56-66.

³¹ Il semble qu'il y ait un très petit nombre d'omissions dans la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion; il y a 14 omissions (sur 176 versets) dans la chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion. Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 52 et 59.

1.1.2. Les chaînes à deux auteurs

Elles sont au nombre de 9. La première a pour sources les *Scholies sur les Psaumes* d'Origène, ouvrage jusqu'à ce jour considéré comme perdu, et des extraits du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Théodoret³². La deuxième chaîne complète les gloses du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Evagre le Pontique dans son état pseudépigraphique, — les gloses sont attribuées à Origène —, à l'aide d'extraits du *Commentaire* de Théodoret³³. Trois chaînes confrontent les gloses du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et les gloses du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Hésychius Antonelli³⁴: ce sont les chaînes du *Taurinensis* B VII 30, de l'*Oxonienis Bibl. Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 1.* (= *Misc.* 5) et de l'*Athous Vatopedi* 660; elles se distinguent entre elles par des divergences dans le choix des gloses et dans l'état des textes. A ces trois chaînes s'oppose la chaîne du *Parisinus graecus* 165³⁵: si, comme elles, il groupe le *Commentaire* d'Athanase et d'Hésychius Antonelli, à leur différence, il a pour source principale le *Commentaire* d'Hésychius. La septième chaîne groupe des extraits du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et du *Commentaire* inédit d'Hésychius³⁶. Toutes les chaînes à deux auteurs jusqu'ici signalées sont connues par un seul exemplaire; la huitième chaîne présente l'originalité d'être connue par au moins trois exemplaires³⁷; elle groupe deux séries de textes anonymes, distinguées l'une de l'autre par des signes conventionnels³⁸; la première revient à Hésychius Antonelli, la seconde à Théodoret. La dernière chaîne à deux auteurs confronte les fragments du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Euthyme Zigabène, composé vers 1060–1070³⁹, et les fragments du *Commentaire* de Théodoret⁴⁰. L'examen de ces 9 chaînes permet

³² G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 34–35 et 196–385 (étude, publication et traduction des *Scholies sur les Psaumes* d'Origène), ainsi que «Origène dans les chaînes sur les psaumes: deux séries inédites de fragments», *Actes du colloque origénien de Montserrat* (Septembre 1973), 1975, p. 199–213. La chaîne est donnée par le *Vindobonensis theologicus graecus* 8 (=type V de K.-L.); le manuscrit mêle notre chaîne et une chaîne qui est une sélection de la chaîne palestinienne.

³³ La chaîne est donnée par le *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* F 12 sup. (=type XII de K.-L.). Sur la transmission du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Evagre, en attendant la contribution de M.-J. Rondeau dans les *Mélanges M. Richard*, à paraître dans *Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. 133, cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 569–698.

³⁴ Hésychius de Jérusalem a composé trois *Commentaires* sur les Psaumes; les deux premiers sont en fait des gloses; le premier d'entre eux a été publié sous le nom d'Athanase par A. Antonelli (*P.G.* 27, c. 649–1344); le second a été publié, sans nom d'auteur, par V. Jagić, *Incerti auctoris explanatio psalmorum graeca*, Vienne, 1917. Le troisième *Commentaire* est le grand *Commentaire* inédit: cf. note 26.

³⁵ Le manuscrit n'est pas signalé par K.-L.

³⁶ La chaîne se trouve dans l'*Oxonienis Trin. Coll.* 78.

³⁷ Ces exemplaires sont le *Scorialensis* *Ψ. I. 2*, son modèle et l'*Oxonienis Bibl. Bodl. Canonicianus graecus* 62.

³⁸ Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 68–69.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴⁰ La chaîne est connue par le *Vallicellianus* D. 35 (= "type" XXVII K.-L.).

d'opposer aux quatre premières les cinq dernières : celles-ci donnent uniquement les fragments de deux Commentaires ; celles-là, en revanche, possèdent, en plus des deux Commentaires, quelques gloses supplémentaires, dont on peut penser, à l'aide de plusieurs indices, qu'elles ont été ajoutées au cours des siècles au fonds initial⁴¹. Cette remarque constitue également une indication précieuse de chronologie relative.

1.2. Les chaînes secondaires ou complexes

Les 22 autres chaînes sont des chaînes secondaires : elles possèdent parmi leurs sources au moins une chaîne ; elles dépendent d'une (ou de plusieurs) chaîne primaire ; ce rapport de dépendance, de filiation, se traduit à travers un certain nombre de phénomènes d'ordre textuel.

1.2.1. Lorsque la chaîne-source est à deux auteurs, la chaîne secondaire est constituée soit par l'adjonction de gloses supplémentaires, – trois exemples signalés ci-dessus : 1.1.2. –, soit par l'adjonction d'une chaîne supplémentaire, – c'est le cas du *Vindobonensis th. gr.* 8, où il n'y a toutefois pas de fusion entre les deux chaînes –. Il n'y a pas de phénomène d'abrégement de la chaîne primaire.

1.2.2. Dans le cas des chaînes à auteurs multiples, le premier phénomène général est l'adjonction de fragments supplémentaires à la chaîne primaire qui sert de source. Deux cas sont susceptibles de se présenter.

1.2.2.1. L'adjonction de fragments supplémentaires s'accompagne d'un phénomène de gain de place dans la chaîne primaire : celle-ci est sélectionnée, abrégée ou réécrite. La sélection de la chaîne palestinienne constitue le premier exemple : elle présente un tiers environ des fragments de la chaîne palestinienne, ainsi que quelques fragments supplémentaires de Théodoret et de "Jérôme prêtre"⁴². Le second exemple est fourni par la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne : il ne manque que 10% environ des fragments, mais les textes sont fortement abrégés⁴³ ; les fragments supplémentaires sont ici la seconde chaîne primaire signalée plus haut. Le dernier cas est celui de la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne : la réécriture permet de gagner de la place, mais aussi sans doute d'unifier et de clarifier stylistiquement les Commentaires divers ; au phénomène est associé, il faut le noter, un phénomène de sélection des fragments : la réécriture ne présente que la moitié des extraits de la chaîne originale. A cette réécriture sont juxtaposés les *Commentaires sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et d'Evagre, ainsi que des gloses diverses (Hésychius Jagic, *Scholies* d'Origène, Théodoret, Cyrille, les deux Grégoire, Isidore, Jérôme). La chaîne nouvelle ainsi obtenue n'est pas connue dans son

⁴¹ Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 4–5, 39, 42, 44–46.

⁴² La sélection est donnée par l'*Athous Esphigmenou* 73 et le *Vindobonensis th. gr.* 8 ; les extraits sont le plus souvent de même longueur que ceux de la chaîne palestinienne.

⁴³ Cette sélection abrégée est attestée dans le *Parisinus graecus* 139 (= type III K.-L.) ; M. Harl, *op. cit.* note 24, p. 72–77, l'a étudiée dans le détail.

état original, mais dans diverses traditions : – la tradition longue des *Vaticani graecus* 754 et *Pii II* 26, qui possède en outre des leçons hexaplaïres, issues d'un psautier hexaplaire d'origine palestinienne⁴⁴; – une seconde tradition longue, qui ajoute des fragments empruntés à Hésychius Antonelli⁴⁵; – deux traditions courtes⁴⁶; – et deux traditions ultra-courtes⁴⁷.

1.2.2.2. Le second cas est celui où l'adjonction de fragments se fait sans gain de place dans la chaîne qui sert de source : celle-ci est utilisée intégralement. L'adjonction correspond ici à un phénomène pur et simple d'enrichissement.

1.2.2.2.1. L'adjonction est d'abord celle d'une ou plusieurs collections indépendantes à une chaîne, primaire ou secondaire, qui sert de source. 10 chaînes relèvent sans doute de ce cas. Ce sont :

– le *Patmensis Monasterii S. Johannis* 215 qui fait précéder les extraits de la chaîne palestinienne par les fragments du *Commentaire* de Théodoret attribué à Diodore.

– la chaîne du *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* B 106 sup. et du *Vaticanus graecus* 1747⁴⁸ enrichit la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne à l'aide de gloses empruntées à Hésychius Jagic.

– l'*Oxonienensis Bibl. Bodl. Thomas Roe* 4⁴⁹ utilise les mêmes sources que la chaîne précédente, mais les combine différemment; en ce sens, il est une chaîne faussement jumelle de la précédente; il utilise en outre deux autres sources, Théodoret et des fragments d'origine inconnue.

– le *Vaticanus graecus* 752⁵⁰ fusionne à la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion des extraits du *Commentaire* d'Hésychius Antonelli.

– la chaîne de Nicétas⁵¹ combine les *Commentaires sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe de Césarée, d'Euthyme Zigabène et de Théodoret, en tradition directe, avec des extraits tirés des œuvres de Basile, Cyrille, les deux Grégoire, Isidore, Jean Chrysostome; le pseudo-Justin, Nil d'Ancyre; Nicétas a également utilisé – à son insu semble-t-il –, une fille inconnue de la chaîne palestinienne⁵².

⁴⁴ Cf. G. Dorival, *art. cit.* note 27.

⁴⁵ Les témoins de cette seconde tradition longue sont les *Vaticani graecus* 1685, *Ottobonianus* 398, *Mosquensis Mus. Hist. Bibl. Synod.* 194 et *Sinaiticus Bibl. Monast. graecus* 27.

⁴⁶ L'une des sources du *Mosquensis Mus. Hist. Bibl. Synod.* 358 élimine 9 fragments, le *Parisinus Coislinianus* 10 une quarantaine.

⁴⁷ Les deux témoins sont le *Genuensis Bibl. Miss. Urb.* 3 et le *Parisinus graecus* 167 (240 fragments en moins).

⁴⁸ = type XIV K.-L. Il est à noter qu'il y a probablement un changement dans les sources utilisées, Théodoret disparaissant à partir du v. 29.

⁴⁹ = type XX K.-L.

⁵⁰ = type XXII K.-L., par erreur.

⁵¹ = type VIII K.-L.; la chaîne est connue par une quinzaine de manuscrits (cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 164–166).

⁵² Comme le montre le fait qu'on trouve des fragments d'Apollinaire et de Didyme, pourtant explicitement exclus par Nicétas de sa compilation. Sur cette fille inconnue, cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 162.

– l'*Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus graecus* 231⁵³ combine la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne, le *Commentaire* de Théodoret dans un état pseudépigraphique avancé, – de nombreux fragments sont attribués à Jean Chrysostome –, des extraits des *Commentaires* d'Hésychius Antonelli et d'Hésychius Jagic et des fragments non-identifiés. Il est possible que ces trois dernières séries d'extraits aient été combinées dans une chaîne disparue.

4 chaînes doivent sans doute être jointes aux 6 qui précèdent; mais il est aussi possible qu'il faille les grouper avec la catégorie de chaînes que nous analyserons par la suite, – les chaînes qui combinent deux ou plusieurs chaînes entre elles –, en fait les sources de ces chaînes sont complexes et restent en partie obscures.

– la chaîne de Pierre de Laodicée⁵⁴ présente les sources suivantes: le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Diodore de Tarse (actuellement inédit), sans nom d'auteur, le *Commentaire* de Théodoret et une chaîne fille de la chaîne palestinienne⁵⁵.

– les *Vaticani graeci* 753⁵⁶ et 767 ont des sources voisines de celles de la chaîne de Pierre de Laodicée, mais plus complexes: le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Diodore, une chaîne fille de la chaîne palestinienne⁵⁷ et d'autres sources encore dont l'origine reste, en l'état actuel de nos connaissances, mystérieuses⁵⁸.

– le *Parisinus graecus* 169⁵⁹ combine sans doute une chaîne à deux auteurs, Athanase et Hésychius Antonelli, proche de celle donnée par le *Taurinensis* B VII 30 et une source non-identifiée.

– la chaîne de l'*Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Baroccianus graecus* 223⁶⁰ combine une réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne, le *Commentaire* de Théodoret dans un état pseudépigraphique avancé, une collection antiochienne de leçons hexaplaïres⁶¹, le *Commentaire* d'Euthyme Zigabène et une source inconnue (Taraise?). La chaîne peut, dans une certaine mesure, être rapprochée de celle du *Sabaiticus graecus* 231⁶².

⁵³ = type XXVII K.-L. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Band 2, Berlin 1914, p. 81, estime à tort qu'il s'agit de la chaîne de Nicéas.

⁵⁴ = type XXV K.-L., qui ne signalent que deux manuscrits; il faut leur joindre l'*Athous Vatopedi* 196, les *Sinaitici graeci* 22 et 25, les *Vaticani graeci* 412 et *Barberinianus graecus* 525. On ne sait rien de Pierre de Laodicée, sinon qu'il a été un caténiste fécond.

⁵⁵ Cette chaîne hypothétique est difficile à caractériser: cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 135–136. Le *Commentaire* de Diodore sur les psaumes 1 à 50 été publié par J.-M. Olivier en 1980 dans le *Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca*.

⁵⁶ = type XXIII K.-L.

⁵⁷ Cette chaîne hypothétique ne peut être identique à la chaîne supposée dans le cas de Pierre de Laodicée. Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 143–144.

⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.* L'existence de doublets prouve la complexité de ces sources.

⁵⁹ = type XXIV K.-L.

⁶⁰ = type X K.-L. Deux autres témoins donnent la chaîne: l'*Hierosolymitanus Bibl. Patr. S. Crucis* 1 et le *Vaticanus Borgianus graecus* 2–4.

⁶¹ Cf. G. Dorival, art. cit. note 27.

⁶² Cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 116–117.

1.2.2.2. *Les chaînes de chaînes*

Un cas particulier est constitué par la combinaison de plusieurs chaînes entre elles avec, éventuellement, l'addition de fragments supplémentaires. On obtient ainsi des chaînes d'une importance considérable. 4 chaînes résultent de la combinaison entre deux chaînes-sources. Ce sont :

- la chaîne du *Parisinus graecus* 139⁶³ qui fusionne la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne et la chaîne monophysite (la deuxième chaîne primaire).
- le *Vaticanus graecus* 2057⁶⁴ combine la chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion et une réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne⁶⁵.
- le *Mosquensis Mus. Hist. Bibl. Synod.* 358⁶⁶ combine la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion avec la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne du *Vat. gr.* 754.
- le *Vindobonensis th. gr.* 299⁶⁷ combine la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion et une sélection de la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne (*Vat. gr.* 754).

Deux autres chaînes combinent plusieurs chaînes entre elles :

- le *Vaticanus Reginensis graecus* 40⁶⁸ fusionne la chaîne palestinienne, sélectionnée –, la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne (*Vat. gr.* 754) et une troisième source (Hésychius Antonelli et Théodoret) qui peut être une chaîne.
- la chaîne d'Ephrem, ainsi nommée parce que trois de ses exemplaires ont été probablement copiés dans le scriptorium d'Ephrem⁶⁹, présente deux sources distinctes ; la première est constituée par la fusion de la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion dans un état détérioré, de la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne en extraits, d'une collection diodorienne circulant sous le nom d'Anastase et de gloses diverses ; la seconde source consiste dans la combinaison de la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne et des *Commentaires* d'Hésychius Antonelli et d'Hésychius Jagic. Ces deux sources sont juxtaposées, au moyen de deux numérotations distinctes, dans l'état ancien de la chaîne⁷⁰ et sont fusionnées dans l'état définitif de la chaîne, celui des trois exemplaires du scriptorium d'Ephrem⁷¹. On doit signaler que l'état définitif présente des fragments nouveaux, d'origine indéterminée.

1.2.3. Un second phénomène général, auquel il a déjà été fait allusion, est

⁶³ Cf. notes 25 et 43.

⁶⁴ = type II K.-L.

⁶⁵ Cette réécriture n'est pas celle du *Vat. gr.* 754 et des autres manuscrits du type IV-XIII-XVIII-XIX. La question reste ouverte de savoir s'il y a eu deux réécritures différentes de la chaîne palestinienne ou deux évolutions différentes d'une même réécriture originale perdue. La seconde hypothèse est la plus plausible : cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 80.

⁶⁶ = type XVIII K.-L.

⁶⁷ = type XVII K.-L.

⁶⁸ = type IX K.-L.

⁶⁹ J. Irigoin, « Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins », *Scriptorium*, 1, 1958, p. 208–227, 2, 1959, p. 171–209, en particulier, 1959, p. 190–191. Il s'agit des *Parisini gr.* 146, *Suppl. gr.* 1157 et du *Vaticanus gr.* 1422.

⁷⁰ = type XVI K.-L. connu par deux manuscrits.

⁷¹ = type XV K.-L. connu par trois manuscrits.

également attesté dans les chaînes secondaires à auteurs multiples. Ce phénomène, inverse du premier, l'adjonction de fragments supplémentaires, consiste à opérer une sélection parmi les extraits d'une chaîne: on obtient ainsi une tradition plus ou moins courte de la chaîne initiale. Les exemples de ce traitement sont les suivants: — l'*Athous Lavra* B 83⁷², qui est une sélection détériorée de la chaîne d'Ephrem; — et surtout les deux sélections courtes et les deux sélections ultra-courtes de la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne, dont il a été question plus haut (1.2.2.1. *in fine*).

1.3. Conclusion

Au terme de cette analyse des filiations, il faut insister sur deux points:

1.3.1. La chaîne palestinienne intervient, sous l'une quelconque de ses formes, — originale, sélectionnée, abrégée, réécrite —, dans toutes les chaînes secondaires à auteurs multiples, à l'exception de deux d'entre elles⁷³; la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion est l'une des sources de 4 chaînes complexes⁷⁴; en revanche, la chaîne monophysite et la chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion n'ont servi de source, chacune, qu'à une seule chaîne⁷⁵.

1.3.2. Par opposition aux chaînes primaires à auteurs multiples ou à deux auteurs, les chaînes secondaires se caractérisent par leur complexité, qui se traduit à trois niveaux différents: — complexité de l'état de leurs sources d'abord: une même chaîne peut être fabriquée à partir de deux chaînes dont l'une est dans son état original, tandis que l'autre est dans un état réécrit; — nombre fort élevé des fragments ensuite, plusieurs, parfois 10, à chaque verset commenté; — diversité des auteurs cités enfin: il n'est pas rare que près de 15 auteurs soient utilisés. L'on est ainsi fondé à parler de chaînes complexes.

2. La datation des chaînes

2.1. A quelle époque les premières chaînes sur le psautier sont-elles apparues?

Il n'est pas facile de répondre à la question; les données externes sont rares et peu exploitables: au psaume 118, le plus ancien codex de chaîne sur les psaumes remonte à la fin du VIII^e siècle⁷⁶; il est délicat d'établir un rapport entre les renseignements qu'apportent la codicologie et la paléographie et les

⁷² Inconnu de K.-L., le *Lavra* B 83 est signalé par M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 15, p. 96–97, qui le rapproche de la chaîne palestinienne, de sa réécriture et de la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion.

⁷³ Les chaînes du *Vat. gr.* 752 et du *Par. gr.* 169.

⁷⁴ Ce sont les chaînes d'Ephrem, du *Vat. gr.* 752, du *Mosq.* 358 et du *Vindob.* 299.

⁷⁵ Ce sont les chaînes du *Par. gr.* 139 et du *Vat. gr.* 2057.

⁷⁶ C'est le *Taurinensis* B VII 30, écrit en onciales penchées; il est fortement endommagé à la suite de l'incendie de 1904.

dates d'apparition des chaînes: le codex qui donne la plus ancienne chaîne sur le psautier est, au psaume 118, l'*Ambrosianus* F 126 sup., du XIII^e siècle. Les historiens anciens, les Vies de moines ou de saints, les correspondances anciennes, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, ne font aucune allusion aux chaînes⁷⁷.

Les indications que l'on peut tirer des sources utilisées par les chaînes sont plus sérieuses. Les deux premières chaînes primaires à auteurs multiples que nous avons dégagées présentent des extraits tirés des *Commentaires* d'auteurs palestiniens (ou assimilables): les *Tomes* d'Origène, les *Commentaires* d'Eusèbe, de Didyme, d'Apollinaire, dans la chaîne palestinienne, le grand *Commentaire* inédit d'Hésychius de Jérusalem dans la chaîne monophysite. Deux chaînes à deux auteurs citent les *Scholies* d'Origène et le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Evagre le Pontique. Où était conservée la tradition directe de ces œuvres, à laquelle se sont adressés les caténistes? Sans aucun doute dans les bibliothèques de Palestine, à Césarée, — où se trouvait la bibliothèque d'Origène, de Pamphile, d'Eusèbe, d'Acace et d'Euzoios —, à Jérusalem, à Gaza. Peut-être aussi dans les monastères origéniens de Palestine. En revanche la tradition directe de ces œuvres paraît avoir disparu, sauf exceptions⁷⁸, des bibliothèques de Constantinople ou des monastères de l'Athos. Malheureusement, si l'origine des bibliothèques de Palestine est relativement bien connue⁷⁹, à partir du V^e siècle les renseignements manquent: ce qui est sûr, c'est que les bibliothèques ont disparu, puisque les livres les plus célèbres qu'elles possédaient ne sont plus connus que par des citations, — ainsi les *Hexaples* d'Origène —. Mais à quelle époque a eu lieu leur disparition? On admet souvent qu'elles ont été incendiées ou qu'elles sont tombées en désuétude à la suite de l'invasion arabe des années 630. Peut-être pourra-t-on préciser davantage les faits dans l'avenir. Pour le moment nous nous contentons d'admettre 630 comme *terminus ante quem* pour la confection des premières chaînes.

Mais il est à peu près certain que les chaînes sur le Psautier sont antérieures à cette date. Des parallèles l'indiquent. Nous connaissons le nom et l'activité d'un caténiste palestinien des premières années du VI^e siècle, le sophiste chrétien Procope de Gaza (mort vers 538); Procope avait écrit des chaînes sur l'Octateuque, Isaïe, l'Ecclésiaste, les Proverbes et le Cantique des Cantiques⁸⁰; il a, dans un second temps, résumé ces chaînes «d'une longueur intermi-

⁷⁷ Le plus ancien lecteur de chaînes actuellement connu est Photius (mort en 892), qui connaît les chaînes de Procope sur l'Octateuque, les Rois et les Proverbes (*Myriobiblion*, codex 206) et sur Isaïe (codex 207).

⁷⁸ Le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe était sans doute entièrement conservé à Constantinople et à l'Athos à l'époque de Nicétas (cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 402). Le *Commentaire* d'Hésychius est partiellement conservé dans l'*Oxon. Bibl. Bodl. Th. Roe* 13 et le *Commentaire* d'Evagre est partiellement donné en marge du *Commentaire* de Théodoret dans les *Vaticani graecus* 1232 et *Barberinianus graecus* 548.

⁷⁹ J. de Ghellinck, «Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques. Guides de lectures, bibliothèques et pages choisies», *Gregorianum*, 14, 1933, p. 356-400.

⁸⁰ Cf. G. Zuntz, *art. cit.* note 10, p. 577-578.

nable⁸¹; ce sont ces épitomés qui nous sont parvenus et qui ont été parfois édités⁸²; F. Petit a bien montré qu'on ne peut les assimiler à des chaînes au sens technique de ce terme⁸³. Par chance la chaîne sur le Cantique des Cantiques est parvenue jusqu'à nous: c'est une chaîne à auteurs multiples, du type de la chaîne palestinienne ou de la chaîne monophysite. Procope est généralement considéré comme l'inventeur et le père des chaînes. Si cela était vrai, l'on aurait un *terminus a quo* pour dater la confection des premières chaînes sur le psautier: elles seraient postérieures à la mort de Procope, puisque Procope n'a pas, semble-t-il, consacré de chaîne au psautier⁸⁴. Mais, si vraiment Procope est l'inventeur des chaînes, il est étonnant qu'il n'ait pas composé de chaîne sur le psautier, pas plus d'ailleurs qu'il n'a composé de chaîne sur le Nouveau Testament. L'importance du rôle joué par le psautier et le Nouveau Testament dans la spiritualité, la liturgie, la prédication de l'Eglise des premiers siècles était telle que le premier fabricant des chaînes devait, en bonne logique, commencer par eux. Le silence de Procope n'est-il pas un signe que la place était déjà prise? Notre argumentation est de l'ordre de la vraisemblance et ne repose sur aucune preuve décisive. Toutefois il est sûr que Procope n'est pas en fait le père des chaînes: on a pu démontrer que sa chaîne sur le Cantique des Cantiques dépendait d'une chaîne perdue antérieure⁸⁵. On peut en conclure, avec prudence, que Procope a repris une forme littéraire en usage avant lui, attestée au moins dans le cas du Cantique des Cantiques, et dont l'existence est vraisemblable pour le psautier et le Nouveau Testament.

Où Procope a-t-il emprunté la forme littéraire de la chaîne? L'importance de la bibliothèque de Césarée de Palestine par le nombre de volumes présents, le fait qu'elle était aussi à la fois un centre de copie et un lieu de formation théologique, invitent à voir en Césarée le lieu de l'invention des chaînes. On peut en saisir une indication dans le fait suivant: Pamphile n'avait pas retrouvé dans les *Tomes* d'Origène conservés à Césarée le commentaire sur la lettre Phé, c'est-à-dire sur la strophe Phè du psaume 118; or la chaîne palestinienne ne présente aucun extrait d'Origène sur cette strophe; elle est conforme à l'exemplaire de Césarée; cet exemplaire, semble-t-il, n'a pas été copié et diffusé; il en résulte que le caténiste de la chaîne palestinienne a travaillé dans la bibliothèque de Césarée⁸⁶. A quelle date s'est opérée cette création des premières chaînes? Plutôt que le VI^e siècle auquel songe M. Ri-

⁸¹ Prologue de Procope à l'épitomé de sa chaîne sur l'Octateuque, *P.G.* 87, c. 21.

⁸² *P.G.* 87.

⁸³ F. Petit, *L'ancienne version latine des Questions sur la Genèse de Philon d'Alexandrie*, T.U. n° 113, Berlin, 1973, p. 23-25.

⁸⁴ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1088, suggère que Procope pourrait être le père de la chaîne palestinienne; mais, c. 1117, il refuse de se prononcer définitivement. M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12, n'a pas repris cette suggestion, qui n'a aucune preuve pour elle.

⁸⁵ M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.* note 4 (1902), p. 58-64, établit que la chaîne de Procope et la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe dépendent d'une Urkatene, qu'elles ont remaniée.

⁸⁶ Cf. M. Harl, *op. cit.* note 24, p. 90-91. Le premier caténiste ne peut être Eusèbe,

chard⁸⁷, on suggèrera la deuxième moitié ou le dernier tiers du V^e siècle, — Hésychius, qui est présent dans les plus anciennes compilations, est mort vers 450 —.

Quelle chronologie relative peut-on proposer en ce qui concerne les premières chaînes sur le psautier? La chaîne palestinienne est la plus ancienne; elle a sûrement été remaniée par endroits⁸⁸, mais son état ancien est bien attesté au psaume 118; elle date sans doute des années 475–500. La chaîne monophysite, qui possède des fragments de Sévère d'Antioche, est un peu plus tardive: comme l'a montré M. Richard⁸⁹, elle est postérieure à 538, date de la mort de Sévère, puisque ce dernier est qualifié, dans les sigles d'auteurs, de "saint", et elle est antérieure à 639, date de la défaite du monophysisme; l'abondance et la qualité des fragments d'Hésychius de Jérusalem fait pencher en faveur d'une date haute, vers 550.

A notre sens, la sélection, la sélection abrégée et la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne sont des chaînes relativement hautes; en effet elles représentent tout d'abord un effort de diffusion de la chaîne palestinienne, une tentative d'assurer sa pénétration; on se rappelle ensuite qu'elles sont liées à un phénomène de gain de place; or la nécessité de gagner de la place a été entraînée par la rareté ou la pénurie du parchemin; ce phénomène économique est bien attesté à partir des années 600 environ, qui voient le développement des palimpsestes, par exemple.

La plus ancienne des trois filles de la chaîne palestinienne est probablement la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne: le fait qu'il existe, dès le X^e siècle, plusieurs états de cette réécriture et, en ce qui concerne le premier état, deux sélections longues, deux sélections courtes et deux sélections ultra-courtes, implique presque nécessairement une date haute pour la confection de la chaîne; l'excellence des sources et des sigles est un signe d'ancienneté; la présence du sigle «Jérôme» devant un fragment d'Origène (v. 73), — un cas de pseudépigraphie qui attribue au docteur latin, pilier de la lutte antiorigénienne, des thèses origénienne —, ne s'explique que si le caténiste avait à la mémoire la controverse origénienne et voulait en quelque sorte l'annuler: cela implique une date haute; enfin le *Vaticanus graecus* 754 joint à la réécriture des leçons hexaplaïres tirées d'un psautier d'origine palestinienne. De toutes ces remarques, on conclura que la réécriture a été composée dans les années 550–600.

La sélection de la chaîne palestinienne est un peu plus récente, comme le montrent, d'une part, l'adjonction de fragments supplémentaires de Théodoret, d'autre part, la présence du sigle «Jérôme prêtre» (v. 73): à notre sens, ce sigle est une rationalisation du sigle ancien «Jérôme»: pour le caténiste,

comme l'a cru T. Zahn; M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.* note 4, p. 58–64, a réfuté définitivement cette idée.

⁸⁷ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12.

⁸⁸ M. Harl, *op. cit.* note 24, p. 57–66.

⁸⁹ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12.

comme pour R. Devreesse⁹⁰, ce Jérôme ne pouvait être le docteur latin, qui n'avait rien écrit en grec; le caténiste a tout naturellement songé à un des nombreux prêtres nommés Jérôme qui avaient dû peupler le clergé de Palestine⁹¹. On proposera ici les années 600–630.

Il n'y a pas d'argument précis pour dater la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne du VII^e siècle plutôt que du VIII^e ou du IX^e siècle. Toutefois le parallélisme qui existe entre le procédé de la sélection abrégée et le procédé de la sélection ou celui de la réécriture invite à proposer, là encore, les années 600–630.

Quant à la fusion entre la chaîne monophysite et la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne, rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'elle se soit produite à peu près à la même époque.

2.2. La datation problématique des chaînes à deux auteurs

Selon M. Faulhaber⁹², les chaînes à deux auteurs sont anciennes, du V^e siècle; il donne comme exemples la chaîne qui groupe Grégoire de Nysse et Nil d'Ancyre sur le Cantique des Cantiques et les deux chaînes qui groupent Hésychius (Antonelli) et Théodoret sur le psautier et sur les petits Prophètes, – chaîne de Philothée –; selon M. Faulhaber, ces chaînes correspondent à une volonté de confronter l'exégèse allégorico-mystique d'Alexandrie et l'exégèse historico-littérale d'Antioche; R. Cadiou précise que cette volonté de confrontation correspond à la politique du patriarcat de Constantinople, désireux de pacifier les esprits et de réconcilier les écoles opposées, avant 550⁹³. Mais comment dater les chaînes à deux auteurs qui ne confrontent pas des représentants des deux écoles? M. Faulhaber examine la chaîne qui groupe Théodoret et Jean Chrysostome, deux antiochiens, sur Jérémie; il formule deux hypothèses: ou bien Théodoret a édité les scholies de son maître, ou bien, plus probablement, un copiste a enrichi le *Commentaire* de Théodoret à l'aide des scholies de Jean Chrysostome⁹⁴. M. Faulhaber n'indique pas de date, mais il n'y a pas de doute qu'il songe à une époque ancienne. R. Devreesse n'a pas remis en question, bien au contraire, les opinions de M. Faulhaber⁹⁵. L'idée implicite qui préside aux analyses de ces auteurs est que les chaînes à deux auteurs sont antérieures aux chaînes à auteurs multiples, parce que la logique veut qu'on aille du plus simple au plus complexe.

Mais en réalité il est impossible d'établir que les chaînes à deux auteurs sur le psautier ont servi de sources aux chaînes anciennes à auteurs multiples.

⁹⁰ R. Devreesse, *op. cit.* note 18, p. 321.

⁹¹ Sur l'histoire du sigle «Jérôme», cf. G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 727–731.

⁹² M. Faulhaber, *art. cit.* note 4, p. 385.

⁹³ R. Cadiou, «La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes», *Revue des Sciences religieuses*, 1936, p. 474–483.

⁹⁴ M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.* note 4 (1899).

⁹⁵ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1092.

Les deux formes de chaînes semblent tout à fait indépendantes, sauf une exception qui se situe à date tardive. Seconde remarque: R. Cadiou explique les chaînes à deux auteurs par la volonté de conciliation du patriarcat de Constantinople, mais il semble bien que la seule «preuve» de cette volonté de conciliation du patriarcat soit précisément les chaînes à deux auteurs; on est ainsi en présence d'un cercle vicieux. Troisième remarque: G. Zuntz a établi, avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, que la chaîne de Philothée, – Hésychius et Théodoret sur les Petits Prophètes –, a été composée vers le VIII^e siècle⁹⁶.

Faut-il dès lors exclure une date haute pour les chaînes à deux auteurs? Ici il faut faire trois remarques. Voici la première: certaines chaînes à deux auteurs ne sont pas des chaînes au sens strict; au lieu de faire alterner les deux auteurs sur chaque verset, elles utilisent le second pour compléter les lacunes du premier, lorsque ce dernier n'a pas commenté tous les versets; sur le psautier, les exemples sont les chaînes qui groupent Origène et Théodoret, Evagre et Théodoret et, peut-être aussi, la chaîne de l'*Oxon. Bibl. Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 1*, qui groupe Athanase et Hésychius Antonelli; de telles chaînes relèvent en fait d'une forme littéraire qui a été repérée pour la première fois par G. Zuntz⁹⁷; elle est originaire de Palestine et est liée à la liturgie et au culte; elle consiste à écrire sur deux colonnes parallèles le texte biblique et son Commentaire; la communauté chrétienne, – ou plutôt à notre sens les moines –, pouvait ainsi comprendre le service suivi ou nourrir la méditation; il s'agit de la forme littéraire de la glose continue qui, comme le dit justement R. Devreesse⁹⁸, «avait pour but de soutenir l'attention des moines dans la récitation du psautier»; G. Zuntz donne les exemples de l'*Enchiridion* (les *Scholies*) d'Origène, – ce qui est critiquable –, et des *Commentaires* d'Hésychius sur les Psaumes et sur les Prophètes, – ce qui est incontestable –, on peut ajouter les *Commentaires sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et d'Evagre le Pontique. Or il se trouvait que ces *Commentaires* n'étaient pas systématiques, qu'ils ne commentaient pas tous les versets; pour parvenir à la glose continue, il fallait donc les compléter à l'aide d'extraits empruntés à un autre auteur. Voilà sans doute comment les premières chaînes à deux auteurs sont nées, à date haute, peut-être dès 450.

Voici la deuxième remarque: on peut considérer que les chaînes qui font alterner verset après verset les *Commentaires sur les Psaumes* d'Athanase et d'Hésychius, – lesquels sont destinés à un public monastique –, sont une complication de la glose continue; dès l'instant où, pour fournir une glose

⁹⁶ G. Zuntz, *art. cit.* note 10, p. 576–577.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 565–570. On doit signaler que, comme nous ne possédons pas d'exemplaires des IV^e, V^e ou VI^e siècles, l'existence d'une telle mise en page n'est pas attestée. Mais les arguments de G. Zuntz sont forts. Son hypothèse permet de rendre compte de beaucoup de phénomènes de l'histoire des chaînes. Nous l'admettons ici, en nous réservant la possibilité de modifier notre avis, si nos recherches ultérieures devaient nous y obliger.

⁹⁸ R. Devreesse, *op. cit.* note 18, p. 244. Hésychius de Jérusalem déclare: «ce qui est nécessaire à la méditation, je l'ai ajouté (...)» (*P.G.* 93, 1399).

continue, on complétait un auteur par un autre, il n'y avait pas de raison de ne pas faire alterner deux auteurs, là où cela était possible; on peut dire que, de cette façon, la méditation et l'office sont soutenus deux fois plutôt qu'une. Pour ces chaînes on songe à une date plus récente, le VII^e siècle et l'ensemble des «siècles obscurs». Relèvent de cette période les chaînes du *Taurinensis* B VII 30 et, peut-être, de l'*Oxon. Bibl. Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 1.*

Dernière remarque: parmi les chaînes à deux auteurs, les unes présentent uniquement les textes des deux auteurs, les autres proposent, en plus des deux séries, quelques fragments supplémentaires d'autres auteurs; or on sait que l'adjonction de fragments supplémentaires est, dès les années 600, un phénomène normal et constant dans les chaînes à auteurs multiples; on peut dès lors considérer comme anciennes les chaînes à deux auteurs qui ont été enrichies de quelques gloses: les quatre chaînes signalées au cours de nos deux premières remarques relèvent de cette catégorie et sont de date haute. En revanche les «pures» chaînes à deux auteurs doivent être considérées comme plus récentes: elles n'ont pas eu le temps d'être complétées, enrichies. Les cinq chaînes à deux auteurs du *Vatopedi* 660, de l'*Oxon. Trin. Coll.* 78, du *Parisinus graecus* 165, du *Vaticanus graecus* 752 et du *Vallicellianus* D. 35 – dans lequel la présence d'Euthyme Zigabène, moine exégète et théologien de la fin du XI^e siècle, suffit à prouver la date récente de la chaîne –, sont d'époque tardive et datent peut-être même, dans certains cas, de la confection du manuscrit qui les présente⁹⁹; il est en tout cas peu probable qu'une de ces cinq chaînes soit antérieure au IX^e siècle.

2.3. La seconde période productive de l'histoire des chaînes (VIII^e–XIV^e siècles)

Dans quelle mesure «les siècles obscurs», c'est-à-dire la période qui s'étend du règne d'Héraclius jusqu'à la fin de l'iconoclasme, ont-ils, sinon arrêté, du moins diminué la production des chaînes? J. Irigoin rappelle que, par opposition à ce qui se passe dans le cas des textes classiques, l'intérêt pour les textes scripturaires et théologiques, ainsi que pour quelques traités techniques, ne s'est pas démenti à cette époque¹⁰⁰. Nous avons vu que, de fait, dans le cas des chaînes à deux auteurs, il n'y avait pas lieu de supposer un arrêt dans l'élaboration des chaînes. En est-il de même pour les chaînes à auteurs multiples? Le lieu de leur invention et de leur première diffusion est la Palestine. A partir des années 675–725, c'est l'ère des chaînes constantinopolitaines, comme l'a établi M. Faulhaber dans le cas de la chaîne sur les Grands Prophètes de Jean Droungarios¹⁰¹ et comme l'a confirmé G. Zuntz,

⁹⁹ C'est sans doute le cas de la chaîne du *Vatopedi* 660 (X^e s), selon une suggestion de M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 15, p. 97–101.

¹⁰⁰ J. Irigoin-Guichandut, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, Paris, 1952, p. 121.

¹⁰¹ M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.* note 4 (1899), p. 190 sq.; Jean Droungarios a utilisé une chaîne plus ancienne (palestinienne?). Jean ne paraît pas autrement connu. Son véritable nom est

qui parle «des années 700»¹⁰². Ce passage d'un centre — la Palestine —, à un autre, — Constantinople —, a vraisemblablement nécessité quelques dizaines d'années, entre 630 et 700, le temps pour les nouveaux caténistes de faire leur apprentissage.

En l'absence de données externes, quels indices permettent d'affirmer qu'une chaîne est de cette seconde période productive? Tout d'abord, — et cela est évident —, la présence d'auteurs byzantins, comme Taraise, patriarche de Constantinople (784–806), ou Euthyme Zigabène (vers 1100). Mais il est plus intéressant de noter que les chaînes constantinopolitaines sont marquées par deux nouveautés essentielles: la première est l'utilisation systématique du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Théodoret, qui, souvent, inspire la mise en page des chaînes; par exemple, la disposition des versets dans la chaîne de Nicétas est pratiquement identique à celle du *Commentaire*; la seconde nouveauté est l'utilisation relativement importante du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Diodore de Tarse, chez Pierre de Laodicée, par exemple, ou d'une collection diodorienne, dans la chaîne d'Ephrem. L'on peut ainsi opposer à la première période palestinienne des chaînes une seconde période d'inspiration plus antiochienne.

Il est extrêmement difficile de donner une chronologie précise des chaînes qui voient le jour à cette époque: «im allgemeinen ist die Datierung dieser Kompilationen ausserordentlich schwierig»¹⁰³. Toutefois les deux chaînes primaires théodorétiennes de grande et de petite diffusion ont toutes chances d'avoir été composées autour des années 700, à l'époque où travaillait Jean Droungarios.

Le seul caténiste de cette époque dont la carrière soit bien connue est Nicétas d'Héraclée¹⁰⁴; il a écrit sa chaîne sur les psaumes à l'époque où il était didascale du psautier à l'Ecole patriarcale, vers 1095–1105. Pour les autres chaînes, on ne peut se fonder que sur des probabilités et proposer des dates approximatives. On peut par exemple estimer que les chaînes secondaires connues par un unique manuscrit ont quelques chances de s'identifier avec cet exemplaire; malheureusement la date de confection de ce dernier n'est pas toujours connue avec précision; le *Vat. gr.* 2057 est des années 975–1025, le *Mosqu. Mus. Hist. Bibl. Synod.* 358 et le *Vat. gr.* 752 du XI^e siècle, le *Patmensis Monast. S. Iohannis* 215 du XII^e siècle, le *Vindob. th. gr.* 299 de l'an 1234, le *Vat. Regim. gr.* 40 des années 1275–1325, le *Hierosol. Sabait. gr.* 231 de l'an 1398, le *Par. gr.* 169 du XIV^e siècle. On doit en revanche affirmer que les chaînes connues par plusieurs manuscrits sont presque

d'ailleurs plutôt Jean de la droungarie (=du commandement <de la garde>). Faut-il identifier ce Jean avec le moine «Jean Zonaras, autrefois Haut Commandant de la garde et Premier Secrétaire» (d'après le *Vat. Barber.* VI, 6, qui donne une explication des Canons de l'église, cf. M. Faulhaber, *op. cit.*, p. 56)? Cela n'est pas sûr.

¹⁰² G. Zuntz, *art. cit.* note 10, p. 582.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 574.

¹⁰⁴ R. Browning, "The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the XIIth century", *Byzantion*, 1962, p. 167–202, 1963, p. 11–40, en particulier p. 15–17.

toujours antérieures à ces exemplaires; faut-il toutefois faire remonter leur confection à une date haute, vers 700, ou proposer une date plus basse? En général, il s'agit de chaînes complexes qui présentent un nombre considérable de fragments; on peut penser qu'elles ont pu être élaborées seulement après la fin de pénurie de parchemin et surtout une fois que le métagrammatisme, qui permet de gagner à peu près deux fois plus de place, ait touché la librairie. Le VIII^e siècle et la première moitié du IX^e siècle conviennent donc mal pour l'élaboration de nos chaînes. On proposera ici, avec prudence et provisoirement, la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle et la première moitié du X^e siècle, pour les chaînes d'Ephrem, de Pierre de Laodicée, pour la chaîne voisine de celle de Pierre de Laodicée, ainsi que pour les chaînes faussement jumelles du *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* B 106 sup. et de l'*Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Th. Roe* 4. Quant à la chaîne de l'*Hierosolymitanus S. Crucis* 1, elle est nécessairement postérieure à la fin du XI^e siècle, compte-tenu de la présence des fragments d'Euthyme Zigabène.

Il ressort ainsi de cette analyse que les chaînes à auteurs multiples n'ont pas cessé d'être élaborées entre le VIII^e et le XIV^e siècles. Il semble cependant que l'on puisse distinguer trois périodes particulièrement importantes et fécondes: les années 700, les années 850–950 et les années 1100.

3. La localisation et la diffusion des chaînes

3.1. Géographie des chaînes

3.1.1. Le lieu de naissance des chaînes est sans aucun doute la Palestine, très probablement la bibliothèque de Césarée; des chaînes ont été élaborées à Gaza, d'autres, peut-être, à Jérusalem; certaines ont circulé dans les monastères, en particulier les monastères origéniens. L'existence avant 630, de chaînes secondaires qui abrègent, sélectionnent ou réécrivent les extraits des chaînes primaires, correspond à un effort de diffusion des premières chaînes; peut-être Antioche et la Syrie sont-elles atteintes, comme le suggère, par exemple, l'existence de leçons hexaplaïres d'origine antiochienne dans la chaîne, – postérieure à 630 –, théodorétienne de grande diffusion.

Les chaînes à deux auteurs ont eu la plupart comme lieu d'élaboration les monastères: ceux de Palestine (et de Syrie?) au VI^e siècle; plus tard ceux de Constantinople (chaîne Hésychius Antonelli-Théodoret), de ses dépendances, de l'Athos (chaîne du *Vatopedi* 660), et des confins de l'Empire (*Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 1*, *Parisinus graecus* 165¹⁰⁵).

¹⁰⁵ L'*Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Auct. D. 4.1* a été rapproché de manuscrits copiés dans la région de Trébizonde aux confins de l'Arménie (K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des neunten und zehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1935, p. 63). Le *Parisinus graecus* 165 est d'une région orientale de l'Empire (selon J. Irigoin, renseignements oraux).

A partir des années 700, la capitale des chaînes est Constantinople¹⁰⁶. Localiser davantage est le plus souvent difficile; la chaîne d'Ephrem a été (re)copiée dans le scriptorium d'Ephrem, la chaîne de Nicétas dans les ateliers dépendant de Sainte-Sophie; un exemplaire de la chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion, le *Lavra* Δ 70, est sorti des mains de Jean de Lavra¹⁰⁷. En revanche il ne semble pas qu'il y ait eu de création de chaînes en Italie méridionale¹⁰⁸.

Les chaînes ont beaucoup circulé à travers et hors de l'Empire. Il n'y a pratiquement pas une chaîne à auteurs multiples dont on n'ait pas la preuve qu'elle soit passée par Constantinople, à un moment ou à un autre. Les principaux monastères de l'Athos ont hérité de chaînes élaborées ailleurs: par exemple les monastères de Dionysiou, de Gregoriou, d'Iviron, de Lavra, de Vatopedi, ont possédé un exemplaire de la chaîne de Nicétas¹⁰⁹. Parmi les régions de l'Empire touchées par la diffusion des chaînes, on peut signaler Patmos (chaîne de Nicétas, chaîne palestinienne¹¹⁰) et Chypre¹¹¹. Une chaîne au moins a circulé en Italie méridionale¹¹². Plusieurs exemplaires de chaînes ont appartenu au monastère du Sinai¹¹³.

3.1.2. Y a-t-il eu des chaînes anciennes élaborées en Egypte?

La chaîne est une forme littéraire palestino-constantinopolitaine: est-elle aussi égyptienne? Selon M. Richard¹¹⁴, la chaîne qui regroupe Athanase, Cyrille, Hésychius, Jean et Sévère, a été composée en Egypte; elle est l'œuvre d'un monophysite: «seul un monophysite militant a pu avoir le zèle nécessaire pour entreprendre de grapiller dans (1') œuvre (de Sévère) toutes les allusions au psautier¹¹⁴»; par conséquent elle a dû voir le jour en Egypte, terre d'élection et de refuge du monophysisme.

Cet argument en faveur de l'existence de chaînes égyptiennes n'est pas le

¹⁰⁶ A. Heitlinger, «Der Codex Cusanus 18 die Vorlagehandschrift der Corderius-Katene zum Johannesevangelium», *Biblica*, 42, 1961, p. 443-454, appelle Constantinople «die Heimat der Katenen».

¹⁰⁷ J. Irigoin, *art. cit.* note 69, p. 196.

¹⁰⁸ R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (histoire, classement, paléographie)*, Studi e Testi n° 183, Città del Vaticano, 1955, ne signale aucune chaîne.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. les manuscrits *Dionysiou* 114, *Gregoriou* 5, *Mosquensis Mus. Hist. Bibl. Synod.* 197 (Iviron), *Taurinensis* B I 5 (Lavra), *Vatopedi* 528.

¹¹⁰ *Patmensis Monast. S. Iohannis* 420 et 215.

¹¹¹ A Chypre ont séjourné le *Par. gr.* 164, le *Par. Coisl.* 189 et le *Vat. Borg. gr.* 2-4. Cf. J. Darrouzès, «Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris», *Revue des Etudes byzantines*, 1950, p. 162-196, et «Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre», *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 1957, p. 131-168.

¹¹² Le *Vat. gr.* 2057, d'après G. Mercati, «Sull'autore del *De Titulis Psalmorum* stampata fra le opere di S. Atanasio», *Orientalia christiana Periodica*, 10, 1944, p. 19-22.

¹¹³ Ainsi les chaînes de Pierre de Laodicée et de Nicétas (*Sinait. gr.* 22, 23 et 25).

¹¹⁴ M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 12, p. 93-98.

seul auquel l'on puisse songer. Un second argument nous a été suggéré par D. Barthélemy : la Syro-hexaplaire de l'Ambrosienne¹¹⁵ porte en marge des scholies d'Athanase et d'Hésychius (grand *Commentaire* inédit), deux des auteurs de la chaîne monophysite. Or la Syro-hexaplaire a été exécutée, près d'Alexandrie, sur l'ordre d'Athanase, patriarche monophysite d'Antioche, par Paul de Tella et divers collaborateurs, entre les années 616 et 617. On pourrait ainsi songer à une chaîne Athanase-Hésychius, mise en marge de la Syro-hexaplaire¹¹⁶, utilisée (et complétée) par le caténiste de la chaîne monophysite.

Un troisième argument plaide en faveur de l'existence de chaînes égyptiennes : la chaîne copte sur les quatre Evangiles dite de Robert Curzon présente des extraits de Sévère, de Cyrille, d'Eusèbe, de Jean Chrysostome et de Tite de Bostra¹¹⁷; selon H. Achelis, cette chaîne a été traduite d'une chaîne grecque, comme le montre le littéralisme de la langue¹¹⁸; il est peu vraisemblable que cette chaîne grecque ait été originaire d'une autre région que l'Egypte.

L'argumentation d'H. Achelis a été récemment examinée par F. J. Caubet-Iturbe¹¹⁹; ce dernier a publié la chaîne arabe du début du XIII^e siècle qui a été traduite sur la chaîne copte de R. Curzon; cette traduction a été faite dans un monastère monophysite d'Egypte. F. J. Caubet-Iturbe confronte les deux chaînes copte et arabe avec les chaînes grecques connues; il lui est facile de montrer qu'elles ne correspondent pas à une chaîne grecque actuellement existante. La chaîne copte a-t-elle été traduite sur une chaîne grecque disparue? F. J. Caubet-Iturbe laisse la question ouverte, mais il signale l'avis de G. Graf¹²⁰, selon lequel la chaîne copte a utilisé, non pas une chaîne grecque, mais un florilège dogmatique monophysite. Cette idée nous paraît judicieuse pour deux raisons : ainsi que le signale F. J. Caubet-Iturbe, la chaîne est fortement antihérétique et antijuive; ce trait n'est pas attesté dans les chaînes primaires anciennes¹²¹ et relève plutôt d'une littérature de combat, celle des florilèges. La seconde raison est de l'ordre de la vraisemblance historique : on comprend mal pourquoi les monophysites égyptiens du VI^e et du VII^e siècles, sur la défensive, auraient élaboré des chaînes exégétiques, dont le genre se situe traditionnellement en dehors des querelles théologi-

¹¹⁵ Il s'agit de l'*Ambrosianus* C 313 inf., publié par A. M. Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus*, tome VII des *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan, 1874.

¹¹⁶ Cette hypothèse est suggérée par R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1116.

¹¹⁷ Elle a été publiée par P. de Lagarde, *Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt*, Göttingen, 1886.

¹¹⁸ H. Achelis, *Hippolytstudien*, T. U., 16, 4, N. F. I, 4, Leipzig, 1897, p. 163-169.

¹¹⁹ F. J. Caubet-Iturbe, *La cadena arabe del Evangelio de San Mateo, I. Testo*, Studi e Testi n° 254, Vatican, 1969, II. *Version*, Studi e Testi n° 255, Vatican, 1970.

¹²⁰ G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 1. Band, Die Uebersetzungen*, Studi e Testi n° 118, Vatican, 1945, p. 481-483.

¹²¹ R. Devreesse, *art. cit.* note 1, c. 1093-1094.

ques; en revanche on sait qu'ils ont composé des florilèges dogmatiques pour défendre leurs positions. De ces observations, nous concluons que la chaîne copte a été traduite à partir d'un florilège dogmatique monophysite.

Le deuxième argument que nous présentions plus haut ne paraît pas probant pour la raison suivante: les gloses marginales d'Athanase et d'Hésychius dans la Syro-hexaplaire sont très rares; il est difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de songer à une chaîne à deux auteurs qu'aurait utilisée la chaîne monophysite; au demeurant il serait plus exact d'inverser les choses et de voir dans la Syro-hexaplaire un emprunt à la chaîne monophysite. Mais en fait on doit plutôt penser à une utilisation indépendante des deux *Commentaires* traduits en syriaque.

Quant à l'argumentation de M. Richard, elle est de l'ordre de la vraisemblance historique; mais elle rencontre, sur le terrain même de l'histoire, plusieurs objections: la chaîne monophysite égyptienne serait l'unique exemple d'une chaîne grecque d'Égypte, où l'on n'a jamais retrouvé de chaînes, ni sous la forme du volumen de papyrus, ni sous la forme du codex¹²². M. Richard a tort de mettre en valeur comme il le fait la présence des rares fragments de Sévère d'Antioche: l'auteur fondamental, au contraire, est Hésychius de Jérusalem qui fournit à lui seul deux fois plus de textes que tous les autres auteurs réunis; il semble dès lors que l'on doive beaucoup plus songer à une origine palestinienne, — présence d'Hésychius —, ou antiochienne — la chaîne est monophysite —, de la chaîne. Cette dernière est ancienne, vers 550; Sévère n'est ajouté qu'à titre de complément. On peut songer que la chaîne a été élaborée par un monophysite, en Palestine ou dans la région d'Antioche, avant l'expulsion définitive des monophysites en Égypte, sans doute pendant l'une des périodes où les persécutions à leur encontre cessaient. Ajoutons une dernière objection contre la thèse de M. Richard: si vraiment la chaîne monophysite est d'origine égyptienne, comment expliquer qu'elle ait été fusionnée à date ancienne avec une chaîne d'origine palestinienne?

3.2. Sociologie des chaînes

Qui lisait les chaînes? Qui utilisait les chaînes?

3.2.1. Les chaînes anciennes

Faute de données et de renseignements anciens, on est réduit à des hypothèses. Le but des premiers caténistes est, sans aucun doute, de donner le maximum d'informations différentes à leur disposition. Maximum d'informations, puisqu'il s'agit de chaînes à auteurs multiples. Informations diffé-

¹²² L'exemplaire de la chaîne de Nicétas de l'*Alexandrinus Bibl. Patr.* 7 n'infirme pas, bien entendu, cette conclusion.

rentes, puisqu'il est sûr, par exemple, que la chaîne palestinienne opère des sélections parmi les *Commentaires* à sa disposition, afin d'éviter les doubles emplois; au psaume 118, par exemple, l'utilisation massive des *Tomes* d'Origène a entraîné l'élimination plus ou moins grande des *Commentaires* d'Eusèbe, de Didyme et d'Apollinaire. En outre il est certain que la chaîne palestinienne opère des coupures au sein même des *Tomes* d'Origène. Dans ces conditions, on peut penser que les chaînes étaient d'abord destinées à la formation exégétique des clercs, ceux de Césarée d'abord, puis ceux des villes où parvenaient au fur et à mesure des exemplaires caténaux : les chaînes ont pris, avec l'avantage d'un format commode, le relais des *Commentaires*. On peut ensuite songer que les chaînes étaient destinées à fournir des «dossiers» aux prédicateurs, les évêques. Sans doute des chaînes étaient-elles conservées dans les bibliothèques épiscopales, dont on connaît l'existence, mais qui ont totalement disparu.

3.2.2. *Les chaînes à deux auteurs*

Nous avons vu (2.2.) qu'elles relevaient d'une forme littéraire nouvelle, la glose continue, destinée à la méditation et à l'intelligence de l'office. On doit ici songer avant tout à un public monastique. Peut-être peut-on penser aussi à ces groupes de chrétiens pieux qui menaient une vie d'ascèse et de prière autour des lieux saints.

3.2.3. *Les chaînes constantinopolitaines*

Le public des chaînes est double. Tout d'abord les moines, comme le montrent les indications liturgiques de nombreux manuscrits, — les psaumes sont souvent divisés en *staseis*, les *kathismata* sont fréquemment indiqués —, et comme le suggèrent l'existence des ateliers monastiques, l'importance du psautier dans la vie des moines, le fait que les moines apprenaient la lecture dans les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament; les principales bibliothèques des monastères de l'Athos ont eu en leur possession des exemplaires de chaînes.

A côté de ces chaînes monastiques, il a existé des chaînes cléricales, — d'ailleurs diffusées en milieu monastique —. Ainsi Nicéas d'Héraclée a composé ses diverses chaînes, — sur les Psaumes, sur l'Apôtre, sur Luc —, pour assurer la formation exégétique et théologique des élèves de l'Ecole patriarcale, les futurs clercs. Autre exemple, un exemplaire de la chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion a été copié par un clerc de la Grande Eglise.

Il resterait à comprendre pourquoi certaines chaînes ont été diffusées à de nombreux exemplaires, tandis que d'autres n'ont connu qu'une diffusion restreinte, quasi confidentielle. Peut-être faut-il expliquer le succès des chaînes les plus lues par le rôle qu'on leur a reconnu dans la formation théologique. Mais la question reste obscure faute de renseignements de lecteurs.

4. Conclusion

Il est clair que les chaînes posent un problème général d'ordre littéraire : qu'est-ce que cette forme littéraire, apparue vers 475, qui se prolonge et se renouvelle durant tout l'Empire byzantin et qui meurt sans doute en même temps que lui¹²³ ? Comment se situe-t-elle par rapport aux formes littéraires, tant chrétiennes que païennes, de la même époque ? Quelles influences a-t-elle subies et quelles influences a-t-elle exercées ? Telles sont les questions qu'il faudrait maintenant poser et tenter de résoudre. Mais la place impartie à cette communication ne permet pas d'aller plus avant. Le problème général est d'ailleurs extrêmement complexe et nécessiterait d'amples développements : il conduirait tout droit au cœur de controverses qui sont loin d'être closes ; par exemple, est-ce la chaîne marginale qui a servi de modèle pour les manuscrits des scholies aux classiques ? Ou bien, au contraire, faut-il inverser le schéma ? G. Zuntz et N. Wilson se sont naguère affrontés sur cette question¹²⁴, dont l'enjeu n'est rien moins que l'histoire de la transmission de la culture entre le IV^e et le X^e siècles. Nous avons l'intention de revenir un jour sur ce problème important et difficile.

¹²³ Les copies italiennes du XVI^e siècle et les copies athonites des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles ne peuvent être considérées que comme des survivances d'une forme morte.

¹²⁴ G. Zuntz, *art. cit.* note 10, et *An Inquiry into the transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, 1965 ; N. G. Wilson, "A chapter in the History of Scholia", *The Classical Quarterly*, 17, 1967, p. 244–256.

La reconstitution du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe de Césarée grâce aux chaînes exégétiques grecques, en particulier la chaîne de Nicéas

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On peut être étonné que l'on revienne ici sur la reconstitution du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe de Césarée¹: la question n'a-t-elle pas été définitivement réglée par les analyses concordantes de G. Mercati², de R. Devreesse³, de M. Richard⁴ et, récemment, de C. Curti⁵? Tous ces auteurs s'accordent à dire que, là où la tradition directe du *Parisinus Coislinianus* 44 fait défaut⁶, il faut avoir recours à la «chaîne palestinienne», communément

¹ Eusèbe a composé son *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* à une date inconnue, sans doute après le Concile de Nicée, vers 330–335. Cf. G. Bardy dans son édition de l'*Histoire Ecclesiastique*, tome IV, Sources chrétiennes n° 73, p. 58–59, et C. Curti, «Il linguaggio relativo al Padre e al Figlio in alcuni passi dei *Commentarii in Psalmos* di Eusebio di Cesarea», *Augustinianum*, 13, 1973, p. 483–506, en particulier, p. 483.

² G. Mercati, «L'ultima parte perduta del *Commentario* d'Eusebio Cesariense ai Salmi», *Opere Minori*, II, Studi e Testi n° 77, 1937, p. 58–66; l'A. édite d'après le *Mediolanensis Ambrosianus* F 126 sup., -un des deux témoins de la chaîne palestinienne pour les psaumes 78 à 150-, un long prologue d'Eusèbe sur les psaumes des montées.

³ R. Devreesse a édité le commentaire d'Eusèbe sur le psaume 49 d'après le *Vaticanus graecus* 1789 dans la *Revue Biblique*, 1924, p. 78–81; le même, dans son article «Châfnes», *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, I, 1928, col. 1122–1124, a critiqué l'édition de B. de Montfaucon et montré l'intérêt de la chaîne palestinienne pour la connaissance d'Eusèbe. Il a proposé un catalogue des fragments eusébiens, surtout d'après les témoins de la chaîne palestinienne, dans *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des psaumes*, Studi e Testi n° 264, 1970, p. 89–146.

⁴ M. Richard, «Les premières chaînes sur le psautier», *Bulletin d'information de l'I. R. H. T.*, 1956, p. 87–98, a esquissé une histoire des fragments caténaux d'Eusèbe.

⁵ C. Curti, «Per una nuova edizione del *Commentarii in Psalmos* di Eusebio di Cesarea (Ms. Coislin. 44)» et «Sono di Eusebio alcuni frammenti dei *Selecta in Psalmos* attribuiti al Origene?», *Due articoli eusebiani*, 1971, p. 9–34 et 37–58, songe à la possibilité d'une nouvelle édition du *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe; le même, «Il codice Patmos Monastero S. Giovanni 215 e i *Commentarii in Psalmos* di Eusebio di Cesarea», *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, II, Catane, 1972 (tiré-à-part), a confronté la chaîne palestinienne et le *Coislin. 44*; sa conclusion rectifie une idée proposée par R. Devreesse, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 116, d'une «seconde édition partielle» du *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe; le caténiste de la chaîne palestinienne donne un texte excellent, très proche de la tradition directe, mais partiel, avec des omissions et, rarement, des résumés.

⁶ Le *Coislinianus* 44 donne le *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe aux Psaumes 51–95, 3, avec quelques lacunes. Il a été utilisé par B. de Montfaucon, *P. G.* 23, c. 76–1396, qui l'a complété par des chaînes parisiennes; A. Mai, *P. G.* 24, c. 9–76, s'est servi de cinq chaînes vaticanes; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, III, 1883, p. 369–520, a utilisé de son côté dix-sept manuscrits de chaînes vaticanes. La critique de ces travaux n'est plus à faire: des textes apparte-

datée de la fin du V^e ou du début du VI^e s⁷. Mais, en matière de chaînes exégétiques grecques, il ne faut jamais considérer les résultats comme définitivement acquis. En réalité il est vrai que la chaîne palestinienne est une excellente voie d'accès au *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe, mais il existe une source caténale de valeur parfois supérieure, la chaîne de Nicétas. Sans doute la suspicion qui pèse sur cette chaîne de date récente (vers 1100)⁸ et, plus encore, son caractère touffus, démesuré, bref décourageant, expliquent-ils que l'on ait négligé d'avoir recours à cette source de première importance.

1. Le Commentaire sur les Psaumes
d'Eusèbe de Césarée dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques,
à l'exception de la chaîne de Nicétas

Les circonstances nous ont permis de consulter à peu près l'ensemble des manuscrits de chaînes sur le psaume 118⁹; ce dernier représente un seizième environ du psautier; les conclusions que nous présentons ici ne doivent donc pas être considérées comme valables absolument, mais simplement comme des indications très probables.

1.1. Eusèbe dans les chaînes

Toutes les chaînes ne contiennent pas des fragments d'Eusèbe: aucune des neuf chaînes à deux auteurs que nous avons repérées ne fait alterner le *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe avec un second *Commentaire*. Parmi les chaînes à auteurs multiples, certaines ne donnent pas de textes d'Eusèbe, ainsi la chaîne de type XVII¹⁰ ou chaîne théodorétienne de grande diffusion¹¹. Toutes les autres chaînes, en revanche, possèdent, peu ou prou, des fragments d'Eusèbe, que le sigle de ce dernier soit présent ou non.

nant à Eusèbe n'ont pas été repérés, des fragments appartenant à d'autres auteurs ont été donnés sous le nom d'Eusèbe, des textes détériorés, résumés, abrégés, ont été édités sur le même plan que des textes originaux.

⁷ Le mérite d'avoir identifié et analysé la chaîne palestinienne revient à M. Richard, *art. cit.* note 4, dont on lira aussi «Les manuscrits de la chaîne de type VI sur les psaumes», *Revue de l'Histoire des Textes*, 1973, p. 19-38; on consultera également les indications de M. Harl, *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume 118*, Sources chrétiennes n° 189 et 190, Paris, 1972, en particulier p. 17-66, et d'E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Band I, Berlin et New-York, 1975, en particulier p. XI-XXXIII.

⁸ Par exemple R. Devreesse, *op. cit.* note 3, p. XIX, affirme que la chaîne de Nicétas «ne mérite (...) qu'une très relative confiance».

⁹ G. Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psaume 118*, 4 tomes, Paris, 1975 (thèse de 3^e cycle dactylographiée).

¹⁰ La notion de type renvoie à la classification, -commode, mais largement inexacte-, de G. Karo-I. Lietzmann, «Catenarum graecarum Catalogus», *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1902, p. 20-66.

¹¹ Athous Dionysiou 86, *Par. gr.* 163 et une quinzaine de manuscrits. A cette chaîne l'on peut joindre l'une des deux sources du *Vat. gr.* 2057, connue par le *Vat. Barber. gr.* 340 et le *Vindob. th. gr.* 297, -la chaîne théodorétienne de petite diffusion-, ainsi que la plupart des psautiers glosés, en général regroupés par G. Karo-I. Lietzmann sous le «type» XXVII.

1.2. Le sigle «Eusèbe» dans les chaînes

Il connaît les aventures habituelles aux sigles d'auteurs: — il n'est pas toujours présent devant les textes eusébiens, et cela dès la chaîne palestinienne (au psaume 118, il manque à 7 reprises); — il est absent de chaînes qui, pourtant, possèdent des textes d'Eusèbe¹²; — il est donné par erreur devant de nombreux fragments caténaux¹³, en particulier devant des textes qui, en fait, doivent être identifiés avec les *Scholies sur les Psaumes* d'Origène¹⁴; en effet ces dernières avaient peut-être été éditées par Eusèbe.

1.3. Les différents états textuels des fragments d'Eusèbe

Les chaînes qui donnent des fragments d'Eusèbe dépendent toutes, — à l'exception de la chaîne de Nicétas —, directement ou indirectement, de la chaîne palestinienne.

A date ancienne existaient deux états textuels différents: — d'une part le texte de la chaîne palestinienne, qui est proche du texte original, malgré des omissions, des coupures et quelques résumés; au psaume 118, 43 fragments sont donnés sur 176 versets, ce qui ne représente manifestement qu'une faible partie du *Commentaire*: il est à noter que l'utilisation massive des *Tomes* d'Origène par le caténiste au psaume 118 a limité, plus que dans le reste du psautier, l'introduction des textes d'Eusèbe, afin d'éviter les doubles emplois; l'état textuel de la chaîne palestinienne se retrouve, toujours plus abrégé, dans les diverses sélections de la chaîne palestinienne¹⁵; — d'autre part, la réécriture de la chaîne palestinienne: les fragments d'Eusèbe sont réécrits (et résumés)¹⁶.

Ces deux états textuels se retrouvent l'un et l'autre ou encore l'un ou l'autre dans les chaînes récentes; l'état palestinien se lit dans les types XV–XVI ou chaîne d'Ephrem¹⁷, la réécriture dans plusieurs chaînes différentes¹⁸; la juxtaposition des deux états textuels est attestée dans deux chaînes¹⁹, ce qui est une indication de la complexité de leurs sources.

¹² C'est le cas dans les *Vat. gr.* 753 et 767 (=type XXIII), le *Par. gr.* 143 et les autres exemplaires de la chaîne de Pierre de Laodicée.

¹³ Ainsi dans la sélection abrégée de la chaîne palestinienne du *Par. gr.* 139 (=type III), dans le *Vat. gr.* 2057 (=type II), dans l'*Ambros.* B 106 sup. (=type XIV), etc. . .

¹⁴ Nous avons édité cette œuvre, considérée comme perdue, dans notre thèse de 3^e cycle, d'après le *Vind. th. gr.* 8, pour le psaume 118.

¹⁵ Ces sélections sont celle du *Par. gr.* 139 (37 fragments d'Eusèbe, souvent raccourcis) et celle de l'*Athous Esphigmenou* 73 et du *Vind. th. gr.* 8 (10 fragments).

¹⁶ Ces réécritures sont celle du *Vat. gr.* 754 (14 fragments d'Eusèbe) et des manuscrits des types IV–XIII–XVIII–XIX et celle du *Vat. gr.* 2057 (14 fragments).

¹⁷ 5 fragments dans le *Par. gr.* 146 et les autres exemplaires de la chaîne d'Ephrem.

¹⁸ Ainsi dans le *Baroccianus* 223 (et les manuscrits du type X: 4 fragments), l'*Ambros.* B 106 sup. (type XIV: 4 fragments), l'*Oxon. Roe* 4.

¹⁹ Le *Reginensis gr.* 40 donne 21 fragments d'Eusèbe, dont 20 présentent l'état palestinien et 1 l'état de la réécriture. Les *Vat. gr.* 753 et 767 donnent 13 fragments d'Eusèbe, dont 1 seul est identique au texte de la réécriture.

Enfin la chaîne de Pierre de Laodicée (=type XXV), de date récente, présente une réécriture originale qui semble le fait du caténiste lui-même.

2. Le Commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Eusèbe de Césarée dans la chaîne de Nicétas

2.1. Nicétas

Nicétas était un clerc de la fin du XI^e et du début du XII^e s; il accéda aux plus hautes fonctions de l'enseignement théologique à Constantinople, avant de devenir métropolite d'Héraclée. Sa carrière et ses travaux ont naguère été précisés par R. Browning²⁰. Neveu de l'évêque de Serrès, Etienne, Nicétas, après avoir été ordonné diacre, gravit un à un tous les échelons de l'Ecole patriarcale: *proximos* à Chalkopratia vers 1080, puis maître des rhéteurs à Sainte-Sophie, il fut ensuite successivement didascale du psautier, didascale de l'Apôtre et enfin didascale de l'Evangile; cette dernière fonction se confondait avec celle de didascale oecuménique, c'est-à-dire de recteur de l'Ecole. Nicétas a composé sa chaîne sur les psaumes vers 1100; sa compilation, qui est la plus abondante de l'histoire des chaînes, est neuve et originale; elle mériterait d'être éditée; Nicétas a eu recours à de nombreuses sources en bon état, à qui il a fait subir divers traitements, entre autres la recomposition par amalgame et fusion; la chaîne est actuellement connue par plus de quinze manuscrits. Parmi les sources qu'il a retenues, Nicétas cite «l'intelligent Eusèbe», qu'il n'a pas cru bon d'omettre «puisque les très inspirés Athanase et Basile ne l'ont pas, eux non plus, cru bon: le premier n'a-t-il pas paraphrasé ses écrits, le second n'est-il pas allé jusqu'à se servir de ses phrases elles-mêmes?»²¹. On ne doit donc pas être étonné de lire le sigle «Eusèbe» de place en place dans les marges des manuscrits.

2.2. Le sigle «Eusèbe»

Au psaume 118, il apparaît à 27 reprises; dans 6 cas, il permet de confirmer ou d'améliorer la chaîne palestinienne²²; dans 8 autres cas, il est erroné; mais il suffit en général de le remonter ou de le redescendre pour le faire correspondre à un texte d'Eusèbe; dans les 13 derniers cas, il précède des fragments inédits, dont l'authenticité eusébienne ne fait pas de doute.

²⁰ R. Browning, "The patriarchal School at Constantinople in the XIIth century", *Byzantion*, 1962, p. 167-202, 1963, p. 11-40.

²¹ *Coislin*. 190, f. 259, cité par G. Karo- I. Lietzmann, *art. cit.* note 10, p. 34. L'influence d'Eusèbe sur Athanase a été récemment signalée de nouveau par M.-J. Rondeau, «Une nouvelle preuve de l'influence d'Eusèbe de Césarée sur Athanase: l'interprétation des psaumes», *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 56, 1968, p. 385-434.

²² Au psaume 118, confirmation de la chaîne palestinienne aux versets 29 (= 29 c Harl) et 122 (= 122 b Harl). Amélioration aux versets 45 (= 45 a 11-13 Harl), 133 (= 133 a Harl), 153 (= 153 a 11-17 Harl), 170 b (= 170 b a' Harl).

2.3. *Les rencontres entre la chaîne de Nicéas et la chaîne palestinienne*

Les rencontres entre les deux chaînes ne se limitent pas aux 6 cas signalés. Il y en a une trentaine d'autres. Nicéas présente à peu près 80% des textes eusébiens de la chaîne palestinienne. Dans 17 cas, la chaîne palestinienne donne des fragments plus complets que ceux de Nicéas²³; en revanche, dans 13 cas, les textes de Nicéas sont plus complets que ceux de la chaîne palestinienne²⁴. Les cas de rencontre entre les deux chaînes font apparaître un résultat d'ensemble massif: aucun fragment commun n'est absolument identique; souvent les fragments sont séparés par de petites variantes, et il est difficile de choisir entre les deux traditions textuelles²⁵; dans d'autres cas, Nicéas se livre à un travail d'abrégement; inversement le caténiste de la chaîne palestinienne a fait subir à certains fragments un traitement similaire d'excerptation; il est donc difficile de choisir entre les deux états du texte d'Eusèbe; chaque cas est particulier²⁶. Signalons enfin que, rarement, Nicéas a réécrit le texte d'Eusèbe.

On peut conclure de ces remarques que la chaîne de Nicéas, — pas plus que la chaîne palestinienne —, ne donne le texte original d'Eusèbe; elle livre un texte tantôt à peine modifié, tantôt abrégé, tantôt réécrit. Peut-on préciser l'écart qui sépare le texte de Nicéas du *Commentaire* original?

2.4. *La chaîne de Nicéas et la tradition directe du Coislinianus 44*

Au psaume 84, le sigle «Eusèbe» se lit en marge du *Coislinianus* 190, un des témoins de la chaîne de Nicéas, à 5 reprises; il est omis à 12 reprises, tant devant des fragments d'excellente qualité textuelle que devant des fragments réécrits. On constate que seul le fragment sur le verset 8 n'a pas de correspondant dans la chaîne de Nicéas. Tous les autres fragments sont présents, soit intégralement, soit abrégés, soit réécrits. Les deux tiers du texte du *Coislinianus* 44, la tradition directe du *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe, se lisent dans le *Coislinianus* 190. Nicéas a fait subir à la tradition directe, — si l'on admet que le *Coislinianus* 44 la représente correctement —, cinq types de traitement: — textes donnés intégralement, mais avec des variantes très petites;

²³ Ce sont les fragments sur les versets 9, 13, 19, 23–24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 70, 77, 91, 100, 121, 133, 154, 170b.

²⁴ Ce sont les fragments sur les versets 2, 28, 29, 30, 33, 43, 73–74, 108, 137–138, 164, 170b, 172 et 173.

²⁵ Il semble cependant que, là où la variante concerne le début ou la fin d'un fragment, l'on doive préférer le texte de la chaîne palestinienne, compte tenu des habitudes d'écriture de Nicéas.

²⁶ Par exemple, au verset 173, Nicéas donne les l. 1–5 de 173 f, avec une ou deux variantes, puis les l. 5–6, qu'il abrège: ici, c'est le texte de la chaîne palestinienne qui doit être préféré. Aux versets 106, 107 et 108, en revanche, la chaîne palestinienne, pour abréger, a télescopé les commentaires successifs d'Eusèbe en un seul fragment (108 b); Nicéas, lui, donne les trois commentaires.

textes abrégés; l'ensemble formé par ces deux catégories constitue plus de la moitié des fragments d'Eusèbe; – textes réécrits (et résumés); – textes successivement littéraires et réécrits; – enfin emprunts au commentaire sur un verset d'une phrase adjointe au commentaire sur un verset suivant.

Notre conclusion, dès lors, est que Nicétas ne donne pas le texte original d'Eusèbe, mais un texte qui s'en sépare plus ou moins. Tel qu'il est, il donne accès de manière satisfaisante au texte ancien et, faute de posséder la tradition directe du *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe pour l'ensemble du psautier, il faut se résoudre à repérer et éditer les fragments eusébiens de la chaîne de Nicétas, en particulier chaque fois qu'ils sont plus nombreux ou plus longs que ceux de la chaîne palestinienne.

2.5. Les fragments du Commentaire dans la chaîne de Nicétas

Une étude minutieuse de la chaîne de Nicétas au psaume 118 permet de repérer, avec plus ou moins de certitude, 96 fragments nouveaux, qui s'ajoutent aux 43 fragments de la chaîne palestinienne²⁷. Ces fragments sont le plus souvent difficiles à isoler : ils sont rarement précédés du sigle d'auteur; ils sont coordonnés aux fragments qu'ils précèdent ou qu'ils suivent sans qu'aucun signe de séparation ne soit indiqué; Nicétas s'est livré à un véritable travail de reconstitution qui exige un patient démontage²⁸.

2.6. L'origine des fragments d'Eusèbe cités par la chaîne de Nicétas

Il est tout à fait probable que Nicétas lisait, à la fin du XI^es, le *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe en tradition directe. En effet le *Coislinianus* 44, qui débute au psaume 51 et s'interrompt aujourd'hui au psaume 95, 3, s'achevait originellement au psaume 100²⁹; on peut donc considérer que le *Coislinianus* est probablement le seul tome survivant d'une édition byzantine en trois tomes, – *Psaumes* 1–50, 51–100, 101–150 –, du *Commentaire* d'Eusèbe; l'on sait par ailleurs qu'à une date relativement récente, l'Iviron du Mont-Athos possédait très probablement un exemplaire complet des *Hypomnèmata*

²⁷ Ces 96 fragments sont édités par G. Dorival, *op. cit.* note 9, p. 416–542.

²⁸ 36 fragments sont liés aux textes qui les précèdent par des conjonctions de coordination à valeur additive (*δέ, καί, καίγε, τε*), 12 autres sont coordonnés au moyen de conjonctions à valeur conclusive (*μέντοι, οὖν, τοίνυν*), 7 autres au moyen de conjonctions à valeur explicative (*γάρ, ὅτι*), 6 autres au moyen de conjonctions à valeur adversative (*ἀλλά*). Autres modes de liaison: la conjonction de subordination (à 2 reprises), le relatif ou le démonstratif (à 4 reprises). Dans 5 cas, la liaison est de type caténal (*ἤ*). Enfin, dans 4 cas, il y a simple juxtaposition.

²⁹ R. Devreesse, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 116 note 26.

d'Eusèbe³⁰. On peut dès lors envisager avec vraisemblance que Nicétas ait pu consulter et utiliser, dans la bibliothèque de l'Ecole patriarcale ou dans une bibliothèque de la Capitale, le texte intégral d'Eusèbe.

Conclusion

Au terme de cette analyse, deux points méritent d'être soulignés :

1. Le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe de Césarée doit être reconstitué, là où la tradition directe fait défaut, en dehors des *Psaumes* 51 à 95, 3, à l'aide de la chaîne palestinienne et surtout de la chaîne de Nicétas ; cette dernière donne bon nombre des fragments de la chaîne palestinienne, mais elle ne les donne pas tous, ce qui exige que l'on continue à recourir à la chaîne palestinienne ; elle apporte, — et c'est là sa valeur irremplaçable —, de nombreux nouveaux fragments, ignorés du reste de la tradition caténale.

2. Ces nouveaux fragments sont difficiles à repérer et leur état textuel est difficile à apprécier. Aussi la future édition du *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* d'Eusèbe implique-t-elle presque nécessairement une édition préalable de la chaîne de Nicétas sur les Psaumes. On se rendra ainsi compte que cette chaîne est d'une qualité telle qu'elle mérite de constituer pour Nicétas, selon sa propre expression, « un remède à l'oubli et un passeport pour le souvenir »³¹.

³⁰ G. Mercati, *Opere Minori*, II, Rome, 1937, p. 58 note 2.

³¹ Note finale donnée par le *Coislinianus* 190, f. 259.

Variazioni esegetiche sulla parabola del Buon Samaritano: dal “presbitero” di Origene ai dualisti medievali

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Nel II libro dell'*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses* Moneta da Cremona, dopo aver esposto le credenze dei catari mitigati relative a Dio, alla creazione del mondo e dell'uomo¹, riferisce l'esegesi dualistica della parabola del Buon Samaritano². Conformemente alla dottrina catara secondo la quale Dio ha inviato nel livello inferiore un angelo per osservare l'operato del diavolo, l'*homo quidam* del testo evangelico è identificato allo *spiritus Adae* che, nel discendere *de caelesti Hierusalem in mundum*, si imbatté nei briganti. Costoro sono gli astri, considerati spiriti malvagi *qui etiam despoliaverunt eum luce, quam habebat* per adornarsene; quindi, *plagis impositis abierunt semivivo relicto*. Le ferite inferte dai predoni per l'esegeta cataro sono i peccati, mentre la condizione di “semivivo” è intesa in senso triplice: *vel quia morti comparabilis erat ejus carnalis vita, vel quia adhuc restituendus, vel quia ei fidem non abstulerunt, licet in alia peccata eum precipitassent*.

L'impostazione dualistica del commento emerge chiaramente dalla condanna della condizione corporea, considerata simile alla morte in quanto, frutto dell'azione violenta di un demiurgo malvagio nei confronti della creatura angelica, è destinata a perpetuare la prigionia di questa attraverso la generazione. Il sacerdote e il levita di *Lc. 10, 31–32* sono identificati rispettivamente a Melchisedech ed Aronne, i quali *descendentes eadem via, idest per eadem peccata, eum juvare non potuerunt*³. *Sed Samaritanus, id est Christus iter faciens de caelo in terram per misericordiam suam appropians ei, id est carnem assumens alligavit vulnera eius, id est concupiscentiam compescuit, vel peccata dimisit*.

Come è noto, la cristologia catara è fondamentalmente di tipo “angelico” e Gesù di solito è considerato un inviato del Dio buono per recuperare gli

¹ Th. A. Ricchini, *Monetae Cremonensis Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, Roma 1743, II, 1 p. 109 sg.; cfr. *Praefatio* p. 5 sg. Sulle varie correnti del catarismo italiano cfr. A. Dondaine, *La hiérarchie cathare en Italie* in “Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum” (AFP), XIX (1949), pp. 280–312; XX (1950), pp. 234–324.

² Un accenno all'uso cataro della parabola è già presente nella *Manifestatio* del Bonacorso, risalente agli anni compresi tra il 1176 e il 1190 (Ilarino da Milano in “Aevum” XII, 1938, pp. 281–333). Cfr. il testo in R. Manselli, *Per la storia dell'eresia nel sec. XII. Studi minori* in “BISI” LXVII (1955), p. 207; *P. L.* CCIV, col. 775 B.

³ Sull'atteggiamento dei catari nei confronti dell'A. T. si veda A. Borst, *Die Katharer*, Stuttgart 1953, tr. fr. Paris 1974, pp. 135–140.

angeli decaduti all'inizio della vicenda cosmica⁴. In rapporto a questa nozione, l'esegesi della parabola contempla l'identificazione Samaritano-Cristo, mentre l'avvicinarsi del personaggio al ferito è interpretato nel senso della assunzione della carne da parte dell'inviato celeste; più oltre, il motivo dell'animale da soma è parimenti inteso come figura del corpo mediante il quale Cristo salva l'uomo⁵. Il vino e l'olio effusi sulle ferite sono la "penitenza e lo Spirito Santo"; per i catari infatti, qualunque fosse l'ordo di appartenenza e al di là delle divergenze in materia dottrinale, l'unica via di salvezza consisteva nel *facere poenitentiam*, ossia nell'osservare i rigorosi precetti astensionistici della morale dualistica e nel ricevere, nel rito del *consolamentum*, l'effusione dello Spirito⁶. Lo *stabulum* cui il Samaritano conduce l'uomo dopo averne medicato le ferite è l'*Ecclesia*; *et altera die id est post suam resurrectionem protulit duos denarios, id est Evangelium et donum Spiritus Sancti, et dedit stabulario, id est Praepositis Ecclesiae*.

La menzione della *Ecclesia* rimanda ad una nozione centrale del catarismo che, nella sua opposizione decisa alla Chiesa di Roma, si proclama unico erede legittimo dell'insegnamento di Cristo consegnato agli Apostoli⁷. Il commento si conclude con la notazione sul *quodcumque supererogaveris* riferito all'attività di Paolo, mentre il *cum rediero* della parabola rimanda alla prospettiva escatologica della seconda venuta di Cristo nel giudizio.

L'esegesi allegorica di Lc. 10, 30-35 non scaturisce soltanto dall'applicazione al testo evangelico di un mito cataro preesistente, sebbene essa esprima efficacemente la visione dell'uomo e della storia della salvezza tipica dei dualisti medievali; l'esegeta cataro in realtà si inserisce in una linea interpretativa tradizionale, modificandola nel senso dei propri postulati dualistici. Di fatto Moneta, mentre respinge totalmente come *falsum et somnium* le altre interpretazioni scritturistiche proposte dai catari, venuto alla parabola *de illo, qui incidit in latrones* non ne contesta l'impianto esegetico ma soltanto la "lettura" in senso dualistico. A questa egli contrappone un commento "ortodosso", il quale contempla un analogo schema interpretativo della parabola, considerata espressione paradigmatica della vicenda di decadimento dell'umanità e del suo riscatto attraverso la passione di Cristo⁸. Sotto

⁴ Cfr. H. Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathares*, Uppsala 1949, pp. 177-208; A. Borst, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-145.

⁵ *Adv. Catharos* II, I, 1 p. 110 sg. ed. Ricchini.

⁶ Cfr. Th. Kaeppli, *Une somme contre les hérétiques de S. Pierre Martyr (?)* in "AFP" XVIII (1947), p. 330.

⁷ Atti dell'Inquisizione di Carcassona in I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. II, München 1890, p. 5: ... *dicunt ipsos esse bonos Christianos ... et quod tenent locum Apostolorum*; *ib.*, p. 17: *Et dicebant, quod ipsi erant ecclesia Dei*.

⁸ "Ille homo — dichiara Moneta — figurabat Adam, qui descendit, non localiter a patria caelesti, sed spiritualiter, idest ab amore ejus ad amorem rei mutabilis supra Deum" (II, I, 4 p. 114 ed. Ricchini). Il seguito del commento conferma l'analogia generale delle due interpretazioni: i briganti sono i demoni, i quali privarono Adamo della "veste dell'innocenza"; il sacerdote è la Legge, il levita sono i Profeti. *Samaritanus autem ille Christum designat, qui appropinquavit, quoniam carnem nostram assumpsit, et infudit vinum et oleum, idest gratiam*

questo profilo l'autore cattolico e il commentatore cataro sono sostanzialmente concordi e appaiono entrambi, sia pure a diverso titolo, inseriti in una medesima tradizione esegetica⁹. Nel XII sec., infatti, commentari estesi della parabola ovvero allusioni più o meno ampie ai temi principali di essa appaiono in vari scrittori, da Riccardo di S. Vittore¹⁰ all'autore delle *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum*¹¹, da Gilberto¹² al *Sermo VIII in adventu Domini* di Idelberto¹³, da Pietro Lombardo¹⁴ a Pietro di Poitiers¹⁵, Isacco de Stella¹⁶ e *Honorius Augustudunensis*¹⁷. Infine, il carattere tradizionale della interpretazione della parabola come espressione esemplare della vicenda umana di decadimento e del piano salvifico di Dio è confermato dalla sua presenza nella *Glossa ordinaria* che cita Agostino come fonte dell'esegesi, della quale riferisce alcuni elementi essenziali¹⁸.

Tale menzione mette in luce uno dei canali attraverso i quali è pervenuto fino al basso Medioevo lo schema esegetico della parabola; ma il vescovo di Ippona è a sua volta il portatore di una tradizione più antica, di cui i primi dati sono offerti da Ireneo¹⁹ e da Clemente Alessandrino²⁰ e che si delinea

suam. L'albergo è la Chiesa. *Altera autem die, idest post Resurrectionem suam stabulario idest Choro Apostolorum dedit duos denarios, idest duorum Testamentorum scientiam, in quibus Testatoris nomen, et imago Regis aeterni exprimitur*. Infine, Paolo è colui che *supererogat* e la seconda *parousia* di Cristo è prefigurata nella promesse di ritorno del Samaritano.

⁹ L'esegesi allegorica di Lc. 10, 30–35 è nota nel XIV sec. anche all'interno della chiesa bosniaca in cui, a partire dal XII sec., appare una forte presenza di eretici dualisti. Cfr. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge 1946, tr. fr. Paris 1972², pp. 91–105; A. Solovjev, *La doctrine de l'Église de Bosnie* in "Acad. R. de Belgique, Bull. Cl. des Lettres", 5e S., XXXIV (1948), pp. 481–534; A. Schmaus, *Der Neumanichäismus auf dem Balkan* in "Saeculum" II, 2 (1951), pp. 283–296; F. Šanjek, *Les "chrétiens bosniaques" et le mouvement cathare au Moyen Age* in "RHR" CLXXXII, 2 (1972), pp. 131–181.

¹⁰ *Sermo XX in die Pentecostes*, P. L. CLXXVII, coll. 1119 C-1123 B.

¹¹ *Lib. IV, XII*, P. L. CLXXVIII, coll. 814 A-815 D.

¹² *In Cantica Sermo VII*, 5 P. L. CLXXXIV, coll. 42 C-47 D.

¹³ P. L. CLXXI, col. 373 B.

¹⁴ *Sent. Lib. II*, 25, P. L. CXCII, coll. 1053 A-1054 A.

¹⁵ *Sent. Lib. IV*, Prologo, P. L. CCXI, col. 1137 A. Cfr. anche la glossa pubblicata da A. Landgraf in "RechThAM" IX (1937), p. 197.

¹⁶ *Sermo VI in festo omnium SS.*, P. L. CXCIV, coll. 1708 D-1713 A. Cfr. A. Hoste-G. Salet [SC 130], pp. 162–179.

¹⁷ *Speculum Eccl., Dom. XIII post Pentecosten*, P. L. CLXXII, coll. 1059 B-1061 A.

¹⁸ P. L. CXIV, coll. 286 D-287 B. Per la storia dettagliata dell'esegesi della nostra parabola si veda W. Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter*, Tübingen 1967. Per una discussione della tesi di questo studioso, che fa risalire a Marcione l'interpretazione cristologica ed allegorica di Lc. 10, 30–35, ci permettiamo di rimandare ad un nostro più ampio lavoro su questo argomento in *Studi in onore di A. Ardigzone*, Roma 1978.

¹⁹ *Adv. haer. III*, 17, 3 ed. A. Rousseau-L. Doutreleau [SC 211], pp. 336 sg. (= III, 18, 2 ed. W. W. Harvey, vol. II, p. 93). Il Daniélou ha rivendicato la legittimità dell'esegesi tradizionale che vede nella parabola non un semplice apologo morale bensì "une révélation des secrets du royaume" (*Le Bon Samaritain* in "Melanges A. Robert", Tournai, s. d., pp. 457–465). Egli ritiene di poter risalire, attraverso Ireneo ed Origene, alla primitiva comunità giudeo-cristiana ovvero ad una di quelle spiegazioni delle parabole date da Gesù ai discepoli, che costoro, al dire di Origene (*Comm. in Matth.* XIV, 12, P. G. XIII, coll.

chiaramente, con ampiezza di dettagli, in Origene al quale si deve la formulazione completa dell'esegesi allegorica della parabola e la consacrazione definitiva di essa come paradigma della storia della salvezza²¹.

Prima di venire alla sua interpretazione del testo, Origene si appella all'autorità di un "presbitero"²² in cui verisimilmente, più che un membro della primitiva comunità giudeo-cristiana²³, è da vedere uno di quegli "anziani maestri" di origine giudaica al cui insegnamento orale altrove egli dichiara di ispirarsi²⁴. Comunque, rispetto alle fonti più antiche, l'interpretazione del "presbitero" offre un primo elemento nuovo nel riferimento esplicito ad Adamo e alla vicenda del Genesi, quale momento iniziale del racconto, e nella conseguente identificazione Gerusalemme-paradiso, Gerico-mondo. Nella esegesi origeniana, poi, la Gerusalemme-paradiso riceve una specifica connotazione "celeste"²⁵, sicchè l'opposizione paradiso-mondo assume il carattere di una distinzione di livelli sul piano cosmologico, oltre che sotto il profilo del valore e della dignità.

Il commento di Origene²⁶, mentre mantiene alcune identificazioni che

1212 C—1213 A), avrebbero tenuto nascoste (art. cit., p. 459, 462 sgg.; *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux II^e et III^e siècles*, Tournai 1961, p. 455; *Les traditions secrètes des Apôtres* in "Eranos-Jahrbuch" XXXI, 1962, p. 200; cfr. già *Sacramentum Futuri*, Paris 1950, p. 246 sg.).

²⁰ *Liber Quis dives salvetur*, 28—29 ed. O. Stählin [GCS 17, *Clemens Alex.* III], p. 178 sg.

²¹ *Hom. XXXIV in Lucam* ed. M. Rauer [GCS, Origenes IX], Berlin 1959², pp. 188, 2—195, 15. Cfr. ed. H. Crouzel et alii [SC 87], pp. 400—411.

²² "Aiebat quidam de presbyteris, volens parabolam interpretari, hominem, qui descenderit, esse Adam, Hierusalem paradisum, Hiericho mundum, latrones contrarias fortitudines, sacerdotem legem, levitem prophetas, Samaritanen Christum, vulnera vero inoboedientiam, animal corpus Domini, pandochium, id est stabulum, quod universos volentes introire suscipiat, ecclesiam interpretari; porro duos denarios Patrem et Filium intellegi, stabularium ecclesiae praesidem, cui dispensatio credita sit. De eo vero, quod Samaritanen reversurum se esse promittit, secundum Salvatoris figurabat adventum" (ed. Rauer, pp. 190, 14—191, 10).

²³ Cfr. sopra n. 19.

²⁴ Cfr. *Hom. in Jos. XVI*, 5 ed. A. Jaubert [SC 71], p. 368 sg.; *Hom. in Num. XIII*, 5 tr. di A. Méhat [SC 29], p. 270 sg.

²⁵ Nella Omelia XXXIV su Luca Origene non elabora questa tematica; tuttavia da un passo delle Omelie su Giosué (VI, 4 ed. Jaubert, p. 188; cfr. *Comm. in Matth. XVI*, 9 P. G. XIII, coll. 1401 C-1404 A) risulta che egli ha fatto propria l'esegesi del "presbitero", inserendola nel contesto della propria dottrina sul Paradiso "celeste" (cfr. *Hom. in Num. XXVI*, 5 tr. Méhat p. 506). Ciò trova conferma nello scolio greco all'*Hom. XXXIV in Lucam* che corrisponde sostanzialmente al testo della traduzione latina, ma vi aggiunge altri interessanti particolari (fr. 168 ed. Rauer p. 296; fr. 71 ed. Crouzel et alii, p. 520). Per le concezioni tardo-giudaiche e cristiane sul Paradiso cfr. W. Bousset-H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1923³, pp. 282—286; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen 1951, pp. 161—191). Per la complessa simbologia paradisiaca nella tradizione patristica cfr. J. Daniélou, *Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l'Église* in "Eranos-Jahrbuch" XXII (1953), pp. 433—472.

²⁶ Di esso rimane traccia in una catena esegetica tarda (J. A. Cramer, *Catenae graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. II, Oxonii 1841, pp. 87, 17—89, 27; testo edito parzialmente anche in Rauer, fr. 169 p. 297).

rimarranno fondamentali nell'esegesi posteriore²⁷, propone delle variazioni a proposito di alcune corrispondenze tipologiche²⁸ ovvero introduce elementi nuovi. Tra questi ultimi²⁹ è soprattutto notevole l'insistenza sul tema della "spoliazione" del ferito³⁰ che rimanda alla tematica tardogiudaica e poi cristiana e gnostica della perdita, da parte di Adamo, della "gloria" o della "veste di luce" posseduta nella dimora paradisiaca prima del peccato³¹. Infine, si stabilisce la corrispondenza etimologica *Samaritanus-custos*³².

In Oriente lo schema esegetico della parabola elaborato da Origene è presente in Gregorio il Taumaturgo che la utilizza in senso traslato³³ mentre Gregorio di Nissa riconosce nella parabola *πᾶσαν τὴν φιλόθρῳπον οἰκονομίαν* poichè narra "la discesa dall'alto dell'uomo, l'insidia dei briganti, la perdita della veste incorruttibile, le ferite dei peccati, la penetrazione della morte fino alla metà della natura, poichè l'anima rimane immortale, l'inutile passaggio della Legge"³⁴.

La tradizione esegetica in esame trova il suo spazio anche nella chiesa siriana, dove se ne riscontra un breve cenno in Efrem³⁵; più tardi Balai mostra di conoscerne i simboli fondamentali³⁶ che parimenti ricorrono nella

²⁷ Oltre il parallelismo uomo-Adamo, Gerusalemme-Paradiso, Gerico-mondo, si mantiene l'identificazione sacerdote-Legge, levita-Profeti, animale da soma-corpo di Cristo e il riferimento alla seconda *parousia*.

²⁸ I predoni divengono i falsi maestri che hanno preceduto Cristo ovvero i demoni; le ferite sono anche *vitia atque peccata*. Il simbolismo dei due denari assume uno sviluppo particolare: essi "rappresentano . . . la conoscenza del Padre e del Figlio e la conoscenza di questo mistero: il Padre è nel Figlio e il Figlio nel Padre". Il frammento greco propone altre due identificazioni alternative, con i due Testamenti ovvero con l'amore verso Dio e il prossimo (*fr.* 168 Rauer p. 296, 16-18; *cf.* *fr.* 169 p. 297, 15 sg.; *Comm. in Epist. ad Rom.* IX, 31 *P. G.* XIV, col. 1231 D-1232 A).

²⁹ Origene insiste sulla simbologia dei medicamenti usati dal Samaritano (*Hom.* XXXIV ed. Rauer p. 193, 2-17; *fr.* 168 p. 296, 12-14; *fr.* 169 p. 297, 8-10; *cf.* *Hom. in Gen.* XVII, 9 *P. G.* XII, col. 261 C e *Contra Celsum* III, 61 ed. M. Borret [SC 136], p. 142 sg.).

³⁰ *Hom.* XXXIV ed. Rauer p. 191, 21-192, 4; *cf.* *fr.* 168 p. 296, 7 sg.; *Catena* ed. Cramer p. 87, 24 sgg.

³¹ *Cfr.* L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. I, Philadelphia 1937¹², pp. 74-79; vol. V, 1955⁷, p. 97 n. 69, p. 102 sgg., nn. 87 e 93. Il tema del "vestito" paradisiaco è svolto soprattutto nella letteratura apocrifia su Adamo. *Cfr.* J.-B. Frey, *Adam in Dict. de la Bible*, Suppl. I, Paris 1928, coll. 101-134; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, Leiden 1970, pp. 3-14.

³² *Cfr.* anche *Comm. in Joh.* XX, 28. Una rassegna degli autori in cui ricorre l'esegesi origeniana in H. De Lubac, *Catholicisme*, Paris 1947⁴, p. 168 sg.; J. Piro, *Paraboles et allégories évangéliques*, Paris 1949, p. 176 sg.

³³ *In Origenem Oratio Panegyrica* XVI-XVII, *P. G.* X, coll. 1100 C-1101 A.

³⁴ *In Cant. Cant. Hom.* XIV *P. G.* XLIV, col. 1085 B.

³⁵ *Commento al Diatesaron*, XVI, IX, 23-24 tr. di L. Leloir [SC 121], pp. 295-297.

³⁶ K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der religiösen Dichtung Balai's*, Leipzig 1902, p. LX e p. 49. G. Widengren ha creduto di trovare nell'inno di Balai la sopravvivenza del pattern mitico dell'Uomo primordiale manicheo (*Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1946, p. 62 sg.). *Cfr.* anche H. Söderberg, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

Omelia 89 di Severo di Antiochia³⁷. La tradizione greca sbocca negli *Scholia vetera in Lucam* in cui è conservata l'intera struttura interpretativa della parabola, con le sue più significative corrispondenze tipologiche³⁸, le quali tornano, sostanzialmente invariate, nella *Enarratio in Evangelium Lucae* di Teofilatto³⁹.

Ma fusoprattutto in Occidente che l'esegesi allegorica della parabola del Buon Samaritano, nello schema definitivo tracciato da Origene sulla base della tradizione anteriore, ha ottenuto un'accoglienza assai ampia, sia per influsso diretto dell'opera origeniana⁴⁰, sia per la mediazione di Ambrogio e di Agostino.

Nel VII libro della *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* Ambrogio riflette, nelle sue linee essenziali, l'interpretazione di Origene⁴¹ e in altre opere utilizza il testo di *Lc.* 10, 30–35 in relazione alle proprie argomentazioni; ma è in Agostino che questo passo evangelico appare al centro di una meditazione costante, della quale è possibile tracciare lo svolgimento lungo tutto il suo iter spirituale⁴².

Ricevuta verisimilmente dalla viva voce di Ambrogio l'interpretazione della parabola come espressione esemplare dell'amore misericordioso di Cristo⁴³, Agostino ritorna frequentemente su questo insegnamento fondamentale⁴⁴, ma conosce parimenti le molteplici corrispondenze tipologiche del racconto evangelico che egli accoglie, mantenendo peraltro una certa libertà nei confronti della tradizione. Nelle *Quaestiones evangeliorum* II, 19 l'uomo che "discendeva da Gerusalemme a Gerico" è Adamo, inteso come collettivo per l'intero genere umano⁴⁵, Gerusalemme è *civitas pacis illa coelestis, a cuius beatitudine lapsus est*⁴⁶ mentre Gerico è figura della luna che con le sue fasi

³⁷ M. Brière, *Les Homélies cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, P. O. XXIII, pp. 100–119. F. Nau, *Quelques nouveaux textes grecs de Sévère d'Antioche* in "Rev. Or. Chr.", S. III, VII (1929), pp. 11–20.

³⁸ P. G. CVI, coll. 1196 C-1197 A.

³⁹ P. G. CXXIII, coll. 848–852 B.

⁴⁰ Cfr. H. De Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, vol. I, Paris 1959, pp. 212 sgg., 221–238.

⁴¹ *Lib.* VII, 71–84 ed. G. Tissot [SC 52], pp. 32–36. Cfr. anche *De paenit.* I, 11, 51 sg. ed. O. Faller [CSEL LXXIII], p. 144 sg.; *Expl. Ps.* XII ed. M. Petschenig [CSEL LXIV], p. 250, 26–251, 3; *De bono mortis* XII, 53 ed. Schenke [CSEL XXXII] p. 748, 9–11. Lo schema esegetico della parabola era già noto a Zenone da Verona (*Tract.* XIII, 3 P. L. XI, col. 431 B).

⁴² Cfr. D. Sanchis, *Samaritanus ille. L'exégèse augustinienne de la parabole du Bon Samaritain* in "RechSR" XLIX (1961), pp. 406–425.

⁴³ Sanchis, *art. cit.*, p. 407 e n. 5; P. Rollero, *L'influsso della "Expositio in Lucam" di Ambrogio nell'esegesi agostiniana in Augustinus Magister*, vol. I, Paris 1954, pp. 211–220.

⁴⁴ *De doct. christ.* I, XXX, 33 P. L. XXXIV, col. 31 sg.; in *Joh. Ev.* XLIII, VIII, 2 P. L. XXXV, col. 1707; *Enar. in Ps. LXVIII*, 11 P. L. XXXVI, col. 861 sg.; *Enar. in Ps. CXVIII*, *Sermo* XV, 6 P. L. XXXVII, col. 1543; in *Ps. CXXV*, 15 *ib.*, col. 1667; in *Ps. CXXXVI*, 7 *ib.*, col. 1765; *Sermo CLXXI*, 2 P. L. XXXVIII, col. 933 sg.

⁴⁵ P. L. XXXV, col. 1340 sg. Cfr. anche *Sermo CLXXI*, 2 P. L. XXXVIII, col. 933; *Enar. in Ps. CXXV*, 15 P. L. XXXVII, col. 1666; in *Ps. CXXXVI*, 7 *ib.*, col. 1765.

⁴⁶ Cfr. *De Gen. contra Manich.* II, 10, 13 P. L. XXXIV, col. 203; *Enar. in Ps. CXVIII*, *Sermo* XV, 6 P. L. XXXVII, col. 1542; in *Ps. CXXI*, 7 *ib.*, col. 1623.

esprime la mutabilità della condizione terrestre *et significat mortalitatem nostram*⁴⁷. Il sacerdote e il levita, sul cui significato allegorico Ambrogio non si era soffermato, *sacerdotium et ministerium Veteris Testamenti significant, quae non poterant prodesse ad salutem*⁴⁸. Dopo la notazione etimologica *Samaritanus-custos*, si ha una elaborazione allegorica sui medicamenti da lui usati, il parallelismo cavalcatura-corpo del Signore e quella consueta *stabulum-ecclesia* mentre nei due denari Agostino vede *vel duo praecepta charitatis, quam per spiritum sanctum acceperunt Apostoli ad evangelizandum caeteris; vel promissio vitae praesentis et futurae*⁴⁹.

Dal IV al IX sec. l'esegesi della parabola è attestata da numerosi autori: da Optato di Milevi, che vede nello *stabularius* l'apostolo Paolo e nei due denari l'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento⁵⁰, allo pseudo-Agostino del *Sermo CCCLXVI*⁵¹, da Arnobio il Giovane che svolge un breve ma completo commento⁵² all'autore della *Expositio quatuor Evangeliorum*⁵³, dallo pseudo-Fulgenzio del *Sermo LXI*⁵⁴ fino a Isidoro di Siviglia⁵⁵ e a S. Eligio⁵⁶, ritornano con maggiore o minore frequenza i simboli più significativi, rimanendo peraltro invariato lo schema tradizionale che vede esemplificati nel racconto evangelico i momenti decisivi della storia della salvezza. Con Beda questo schema risulta fissato attraverso l'utilizzazione pressochè letterale dell'esegesi agostiniana⁵⁷; il suo testo passa poi come un blocco compatto nei commentari di Rabano Mauro⁵⁸ e dell'abate Smargardus⁵⁹ mentre Brunone de Signis, sulla base degli elementi tradizionali, elabora un'interpretazione più sciolta e personale, mostrando di conoscere, oltre l'esegesi di Agostino, alcuni elementi attestati da altre fonti⁶⁰.

In conclusione, dopo la prima formulazione nell'ambito delle generazioni cristiane ancora legate all'ambiente dei "presbiteri", l'esegesi della parabola del Buon Samaritano si configura nei suoi elementi essenziali alla luce dei moduli interpretativi della scuola di Alessandria; con poche modifiche e qualche variazione essa trova favore nella cristianità orientale, che ne conosce

⁴⁷ Cf. *Enar. in Ps. LX*, 8 P. L. XXXVI, 728.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Enar. in Ps. CXXV*, 15 P. L. XXXVII, col. 1666.

⁴⁹ Tale sviluppo esegetico, ignoto ad Ambrogio, almeno per la prima affermazione si collega all'interpretazione origeniana (fr. 168 Rauer p. 296, 17 sg.). Cf. Sanchis, *art. cit.*, p. 407 n. 7.

⁵⁰ *De schism. Donat. lib. sextus*, P. L. XI, col. 1073.

⁵¹ P. L. XXXIX, col. 1646 sg.

⁵² *Expos. in Evangelium apud* Rauer, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁵³ P. L. XXX, col. 573 A-B.

⁵⁴ P. L. LXV, coll. 931 D-932 D.

⁵⁵ *Alleg. ex Novo Test.*, 204-206 P. L. LXXXIII, col. 124 C.

⁵⁶ *Hom. IX* P. L. LXXXVII, coll. 627 A-628 C.

⁵⁷ In *Luc. Evang. Expositio*, lib. III P. L. XCII, coll. 468 C-470 B. Alcuni elementi, tuttavia, provengono direttamente da Ambrogio.

⁵⁸ *Hom. in Epist. et Evang.*, P. L. CX, coll. 449 B-450 D.

⁵⁹ *Collect. in Epist. et Evang.*, P. L. CII, coll. 446 D-448 D.

⁶⁰ *Comm. in Lucam*, Pars I, cap. X, 21 P. L. CLXV, coll. 387 A-390 B.

una tradizione molto omogenea. Attraverso Ambrogio e Agostino, oltre che per diretto influsso origeniano, lo schema in esame viene consegnato all'Occidente dove, senza trascurare i riferimenti etico-pratici della parabola, esso è accolto come modulo esegetico privilegiato di questa, intesa quale paradigma della storia umana e dell'amore misericordioso di Dio, mentre le molteplici corrispondenze tipologiche subiscono talora delle modifiche da parte dei singoli interpreti. Attratta nell'ambito della spiritualità anticosmica ed antisomatica dei catari, l'esegesi tradizionale, rimanendo pressochè invariata nella sua struttura e nei suoi simboli, esemplifica la vicenda dualistica di un'entità angelica catturata in un mondo estraneo ed ontologicamente negativo, alla quale reca salvezza un "inviato dall'alto" che la riconduce al suo primitivo e naturale *status* celeste.

L'esegesi tropologica presso i padri e le bibliche figure di Abele e di Caino in Ambrogio ed Agostino

V. MESSANA, Caltanissetta

La catechesi ambrosiana ed agostiniana¹, come tutta l'antica paideia cristiana, si svolse secondo schemi esegetici biblici volti all'insegnamento morale². A mo' di sondaggio ne studio in questa comunicazione una filologica e teologica motivazione, limitandomi dapprima a fare il punto sul concetto di esegesi tropologica in genere e a metterne poi in evidenza il fondamentale contenuto etico nell'esegesi di Ambrogio e di Agostino circa le bibliche figure di Abele e di Caino. I due figli di Adamo infatti per i due grandi Padri occidentali non furono soltanto tipi storici ed universali realizzantisi nel tempo, ma anche e soprattutto istanze etiche e metafisiche lievitanti l'umano comportamento³.

L'esegesi morale i medievali chiamarono specificamente tropologica. Di essa il De Lubac — come è noto — ha messo in evidenza i tratti caratteristici⁴ e recentemente alcuni studiosi hanno suggerito degli elementi storicamente o filologicamente interessanti. L'Autore dell'*editio princeps* di Goffredo d'Auxerre, per esempio, ne ha segnalato la perenne continuità dalla tradizione patristica a quella medievale, facedone notare il tramite in Agostino e nelle regole ticoniane da lui seguite⁵. E G. Lomiento ne ha additato le scaturigini in una sempre presente accezione etimologica di *τροπολογία* in Origene⁶. Tali approfondimenti mi sembra possano illuminare non soltanto il concetto problematico di tropologia presso i Padri, ma anche gli ipotetici rapporti di dipendenza metodologica delle esegesi patristiche.

Il fatto però che gli scrittori medievali identifichino il senso tropologico con quello morale pone il problema delle tappe che il termine *τροπολογία* ha successivamente segnate nella storia dell'evoluzione semantica: dall'accezione generica che ne faceva un sinonimo di allegoria⁷ a quella specifica che distinse il significato morale (*τροπολογία*) da quello allegorico ed anagogico.

¹ Citerò d'ordinario Ambrogio secondo l'edizione del CSEL, Agostino secondo quella della BA.

² Cfr. A. Quacquarelli, I luoghi comuni contro la ret. in Cl. A., Rassegna di Scienze Filosofiche 1956, 457—476.

³ A tale metodo esegetico si rifanno Ambrogio nel De Cain et A. e Agostino nel De C. Dei.

⁴ Exégèse médiévale, Paris 1959, I(2), 549—620.

⁵ F. Gastaldelli, L'esegesi b. s. Goffredo d'A., Salesianum 1975, 219—250.

⁶ Vetera Christianorum 1969, 222 e 224; 1972, 36; 1973, 251.

⁷ Cfr. J. Pépin, Mythe et allégorie, Paris 1958, 87—89 e passim.

Mi sembra peraltro da ridimensionare l'affermazione che presso i classici ed i cristiani tropologia fosse assolutamente sinonimo di allegoria, anagogia, ecc., in quanto almeno presso i cristiani della prima e seconda scuola alessandrina il termine *τροπολογία* fu sentito prevalentemente nella sua accezione etimologica: non soltanto di espressione per *τρόπος* o figura, ma anche di espressione del *τρόπος* come dinamica etico-metafisica dell'essere parziale⁸. Questa che al De Lubac è sembrata una forzatura⁹ al Lomiento invece è apparsa la chiave di volta per la comprensione dell'origeniana *τροπολογία* come *λόγος περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, sermo de moribus*. Tale accezione del termine *τροπολογία* fu filologicamente recepita da Girolamo, ma non parimenti riferita (quanto al termine greco) dagli altri due grandi geni coevi Ambrogio ed Agostino¹⁰, benché entrambi abbiano dato un posto preminente all'esegesi morale, in quanto fondata metafisicamente sulla dinamica interna al *λόγος* — νόμος. Sicché quello che fu sentito come *τρόπος* etico-metafisico dall'esegesi alessandrina, fu sentito da quella posteriore come istanza prevalentemente deontologica. Per cui ovviamente si può parlare di esegesi tropologica in Ambrogio ed Agostino non soltanto in riferimento all'accezione medievale, ma anche in relazione ai loro comuni precedenti culturali (alessandrini e cappadoci).

Le prove di questa affermazione potrebbero essere molte; ma io nella seconda parte di questa comunicazione mi limiterò, per quel che riguarda i Padri, ad Ambrogio ed Agostino; per quel che concerne la loro esegesi dei testi biblici, alle figure particolarmente significative di Abele e di Caino.

L'accezione di *τροπολογία* come *λόγος περὶ τοῦ τρόπου* in senso etico-metafisico, di recente sottolineata da G. Lomiento, è in fondo accolta anche come un dato pacifico dal *Thesaurus linguae latinae*¹¹. Che *τρόπος* (= ἐπιστροφή, *conversio*) indicasse la spirale metafisica ed etica dell'attività logico-esistenziale, era concezione diffusa già in ambiente classico. Eccone qualche esempio: *κατὰ τρόπον* (Pl. *Plt.* 310 C) = *recta ratione, eo quo decet modo, recte, probe, rite* (cfr. Stephanus s.v.); *πρὸς τρόπον* (Pl. *Lg.* 9) = *convenienter* (cfr. Stephanus s.v.); *ἀπὸ τρόπου* (Pl. *Cra.* 421 D; *Phd.* 278 D; *Tht.* 143 C; *Sph.* 225 A; *Phlb.* 34 A) = *perperam, inepte, inconvenienter, absurde* (cfr. Stephanus s.v.); *Ὅσοι πολιτειῶν τρόποι, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ψυχῆς τρόποι* (Pl. *R.* 445 C); *μεταβολὴ ἐν τρόποις ψυχῶν* (Pl. *Lg.* 797 E); *τὰ τῶν βίων σχήματα . . . κατὰ τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν* (Pl. *Lg.* 803 A); *ἦδη τε καὶ τρόποι* (Pl. *Lg.* 924 D); *οἱ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τρόποι* (Arist. *HA* 588 20); *τρόπῳ φρενός* (Aesch. *Ch.* 754).¹²

In Filone il termine *τρόπος* ricorre in una accezione che non rifiuterà Ambrogio nell'esegesi delle figure di Caino e di Abele come espressioni delle

⁸ Sul fondamento della tradizione biblica e profana.

⁹ Cit., 552.

¹⁰ Cfr. tuttavia De doctr. chr. III 29, 40; 30, 41; 35, 50; 37, 56; IV 7, 15; ecc.

¹¹ Vol. VIII, s. v. *moralis*. Cfr. pure l'espressione di Esichio riferita dal lessico di Fozio (Naber, 229): "*trópos* = *êthos*". Piuttosto generico il De Lubac, *Histoire et esprit*, Paris 1950, 141, *Exégèse cit.*, 418-419.

¹² Cfr. Stephanus s. v.

due contrapposte dinamiche (τρόποι) dell'umanità. Valga un esempio. Nel *De sacrificiis* l'esegeta giudaico riferendosi all' *ἡδονή* (istanza della perversione umana), coabitante assieme all' *ἀρετή* (istanza della *conversio ad Deum*), icasticamente descrive l'incasso della voluttà quasi di sfacciata squaldrina che batte il marciapiede, *πόρνης καὶ χαμαιτύπης τὸν τρόπον τεθρυμμένη*¹³. E' significativo il fatto che Ambrogio pur formato al linguaggio della scuola non renda l'espressione filoniana *πόρνης τρόπον* con l'equivalente latino *meretricio modo*, come ci aspetteremmo da un dotto assuefatto alla retorica, ma con l'espressione *meretricio motu*, che del *τρόπος* sembra cogliere l'accezione etimologica più che quella retorica¹⁴. Del resto anche per Paolo il *τρόπος* è *ἦθος*¹⁵. Anche quando *τρόπος* è usato secondo il suo prevalente impiego letterario, forse non ha mai cessato di conservare l'originaria accezione etimologica, perché qui sotto l'involucro del significante sensibile i Greci pare abbiano sempre sentito la dinamica metafisica della *res significata*¹⁶: il *τρόπος τοῦ λόγου* come espressione del *τρόπος τῆς διανοίας*; l'uno e l'altro epifanie di una dinamica metafisica. Non per nulla affermano i Padri che la dinamica metafisica dell'essere va guardata alla luce della *θεωρία*¹⁷; e Proclo identifica, secondo questo approfondimento mentalistico della realtà, *τρόπος τῶς λόγων* e *διάνοια*¹⁸.

Ma secondo lo pseudo-Eraclito per definizione, *ἐπονώμως*, il *τρόπος* è il passaggio mentale da una realtà significativa ad una realtà significata ed in questo senso *τρόπος* è sinonimo di allegoria¹⁹: *fabula*, *μύθος*, *figmentum*, *τύπος*, *figura*, *μύθενμα*, *fictio*, *πλάσμα*, *similitudo*, *μίμημα*, ecc. La figura retorica dovette prendere il nome di *τρόπος* in quanto la dinamica semantica dell'espressione ne rifletteva un'altra metafisica, *μυστικῶς τρόπῳ συμβολικῶς*²⁰, in modo mistico simbolicamente, per un preminente interesse che l'esegesi antica ebbe per un'interpretazione etica fondata sulla metafisica e sulla fisica. Armonico nella sua coerenza interiore, *εἰτροπος*, l'io però nel dialogo esteriore ed interiore diventa *πολύτροπος*²¹, dalle diverse *tournures* semantiche e metafisiche: dai molteplici rapporti con le persone e con le cose, dai molteplici atteggiamenti (*εἶδη*, *modi*) rispetto al modello da imitare.

Tale accezione del sostantivo *τρόπος* pare abbiano sentito i Padri nei termini composti: Clemente Alessandrino, ad esempio, nel sostantivo *τροπολογία*²² ed Origene nel verbo *τροπολογεῖν*²³. Sia l'uno che l'altro sembra

¹³ Ed. Méasson, 80. Cfr. pure l'Index verborum del Leisegang (II, 784).

¹⁴ Cfr. De Cain et A. I, 4, 14. Nessun codice consultato dall'editore del CSEL porta la lectio faciliior "modo".

¹⁵ Hebr. 13, 5.

¹⁶ Soprattutto per il mentalismo platonico.

¹⁷ Cfr. l'accezione del termine "dialogé" come sinonimo di "theoria" in Epifanio, *De mens. et pond.* 126, PG 43/238 A.

¹⁸ Cfr. A. J. Festugière, *Modes de composition des Comm. de Proclus*, Museum Helveticum 1963, 77-100.

¹⁹ J. Pépin cit., 88 ss.

²⁰ Ib., 96.

²¹ Ib., 108-109.

²² Ecl. pr. 35, 1.

persino abbiano voluto negare la dignità del termine *τρόπος* alle figure mitologiche. Così si spiega l'apparente contraddizione dell'atteggiamento origeniano nel negare a Celso il diritto di servirsi della tropologia per spiegare i miti pagani, e nell'attribuire ai soli credenti il diritto di interpretare il *τρόπος* biblico come ricco di contenuti divino-umani. Origene di tale "incapacità giuridica" pagana a spiegare secondo l'interpretazione fisica e morale i miti dà la spiegazione. Noi non vogliamo usare dei nomi — egli dice — che implicitamente rivelerebbero la nostra adesione di fede a Zeus come al dio supremo, ad Apollo come alla divinità solare e ad Artemide come a quella lunare . . . , poiché siamo così penetrati di riverenza verso il Dio supremo creatore e le cose stesse da Lui create, che ci sembrerebbe di bestemmia anche se solo a parole dessimo autorevolezza a tali miti corruttori sotto il pretesto di una espressione tropologica, *προφάσει τροπολογίας* (Cels. IV, 48). Tali figure mitologiche, non contenendo dei *τρόποι* reali o comunque storicamente sussistiti, sono vuote di significato e quindi non suscettibili di quell'esegesi tropologica che può derivare soltanto da un contenuto semantico, riposto (*κατ' ἐπίκρουσιν λόγος*²⁴) ma alla base del rapporto tra significante e significato. In tal senso Giustino aveva esortato ad essere *τροπολογίας ἐμπειροί*²⁵ e già prima lo stesso Platone aveva identificato il giusto con il *κατὰ τρόπον* o *πρὸς τρόπον* e l'ingiusto con l'*ἀπὸ τρόπου*.

Ma quale il punto obiettivo di riferimento per l'azione virtuosa o viziosa, cioè di ogni *τρόπος* come *ἥθος*? La risposta teologica a tale questione filosofica venne data da alcuni Padri del IV secolo, che sembra abbiano considerato come punto obiettivo di riferimento l'Assoluto nella perfezione delle sue tre Persone, *τρόποι* interni alla natura divina e punti di riferimento per la moralità dell'atto umano²⁶. Fra i *τρόποι* creati alcuni sono per sé indifferenti in quanto non finalizzati dallo spirito libero. L'essenza della moralità comunque, soprattutto per il platonismo cristiano, sta nel volgersi a Dio. E tale dinamica si svolge (*τρέπεται*) nell'interno della natura creata come *τρόπος* etico-metafisico, o logico-estetico. Così pure il fatto eucologico può essere considerato secondo Origene o come *τρόπος* etico-metafisico o come *τόπος* retorico-letterario²⁷.

In tal senso infatti mi sembra che i *τύποι vitali* della preghiera²⁸ costituissero il nucleo dell'*eruditio moralis*, intesa da Origene come dottrina di vita, secondo la norma "per quam mos vivendi honestus aptatur . . ." ²⁹. Ma al di sopra di ogni altro senso genericamente allegorico Origene giustamente pose

²³ Cfr. Eusebio HE VI, 19, 4-8.

²⁴ Gregorio di Naz., Orat. IV, 118, PG 35/657 BC.

²⁵ Dial. 57, 2.

²⁶ Cfr. Lampe s. v.

²⁷ Cfr. C. Riggi, Tipi di precetti liturgiche e struttura eucologica nel tr. or. "Sulla preghiera", Ephemerides Liturgicae 1974, 370-278.

²⁸ Ib., 377.

²⁹ In Cantic. prol., PG 13/73 C (Bachrens 75, 17).

il significato morale: la scienza morale a fondamento di quella *physica*³⁰ ed *inspectiva*³¹.

Quando perciò i Padri usano il termine *τροπολογία*, anche in accezione generica di allegoria, possono non aver dimenticato il rapporto della figura retorica con il suo fondamento etico-metafisico. Valga come esempio la nota esegesi tipologica e nel tempo stesso etica di *Gen.* 2, 22. Per i Padri il fatto della creazione di Eva dalla costola di Adamo, *ᾠκοδόμησεν . . . τὴν πλευράν . . . εἰς γυναῖκα*, è tipologia della creazione della Chiesa dal fianco squarciato del Crocifisso, ed è anche tropologia in senso strettamente etico quando propone ai singoli credenti il modello di mistica unione con Dio. In tal senso allegorico-tipologico ed etico-tropologico, *ἰδίᾳ . . . ἐν τροπολογίᾳ*³², intende Origene il passo profetico che preannunzia i patimenti del Cristo ed esorta alla sopportazione sofferente il cristiano³³.

Vero è però che spesso *ἀνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τροπολογίαν* significa soprattutto sollevarsi alla comprensione del senso storico-tipologico³⁴, che ha bisogno *μακροτέρας καὶ βαθύτερας τῆς κατὰ τροπολογίαν . . . ἐρμηνείας*³⁵. Ma la *θεωρία κατὰ μόνην τροπολογίαν* anche in questo caso deve essere attuata nella visione più ampia che lo spirito ha dettato agli scrittori biblici: *πρὸς νονθεσίαν ἡμῶν, ad nostram admonitionem*³⁶. Tali i propositi esegetici del Nisseno nel *Proemio al Commentario della Cantica*. Sicché talora uno stesso testo profetico può indicare o l'avveramento storico-tipologico o un'istanza etico-tropologica. Perciò l'acqua di Siloe (*Is.* 8, 5—8) per Eusebio può persino indicare opposte realtà tipologiche o tropologiche: l'avvento della Sapienza incarnata e la conseguente catechesi cristiana, oppure la tirannide, prima assira poi romana, e la più vera tirannide di Mammona, il principe di questo secolo³⁷.

Tutta la Scrittura è un messaggio di santità che talora non affiora — dice il Nisseno — dalla semplice lettera, e che quindi ha bisogno di una esegesi superiore, la cui fondamentale esigenza è l'insegnamento morale, la tropologia in senso stretto³⁸. Spiegare *iuxta tropologiam*, quindi, per Girolamo è interpretare *iuxta morem* . . .³⁹, *secundum litteram intelligere, facientes in ethica quaecumque praecepta sunt*⁴⁰.

L'accezione geronimiana mi pare ispirata a quella alessandrina e a sua volta ispiratrice di quella medievale. La collazione XIV di Cassiano, in-

³⁰ Ib., PG 13/75 D — 76 A (Baehrens 78, 12—13).

³¹ Ib., PG 13/76 A (Baehrens 78, 17). Cfr. K. Rahner, *Le début d'une doct. des cinq sens spir. chez Or.*, *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 1932, 113—145.

³² C. Cels. II, 37.

³³ Ib. II, 38.

³⁴ Ib. IV, 44.

³⁵ Eusebio, DE VI, 20.

³⁶ I Cor. 10, 11.

³⁷ DE VII, 1.

³⁸ C. in Cantic. C. prol. (Langerbeck, 5 ss.).

³⁹ Ep. ad Hedibiam, q. 12 (Labourt, 162).

⁴⁰ In Amos II, 4, 4—6 (CCh LXXVI, 261—262).

fatti, mette il medesimo discorso di Girolamo sulla bocca di un tal Nesteros, di cultura prevalentemente alessandrina⁴¹. Per la tradizione esegetica forse origeniana la tropologia seguita dall'abate suddetto era univocamente esegesi morale⁴².

In quest'orbita dell'esegesi alessandrina si innesta quella prevalentemente morale di Ambrogio e di Agostino, benché i due Padri non adoperino la traslitterazione del termine greco, ma facciano uso della volgata traduzione *moralis*.

Ambrogio, per es., chiama il discorso biblico del salmo CXVIII (I, 2) *ethicus sermo*, del genere suasorio, che corregge i costumi ed esercita alla *vitae militia*; anzi afferma che per comprendere il significato riposto della Scrittura, sola maestra di vita, bisogna prima essersi esercitato nella *disciplina vivendi* di Abele, poiché *prima . . . sunt moralia, secundum mystica . . . in illis vita, in his cognitio*. Quest'ultima espressione sembra essere quasi l'aforisma pastorale dell'esegesi ambrosiana. Anche se egli non ha scritto un trattato specifico sulla tropologia, le sue opere costituiscono un veicolo all'accezione medievale di detto termine.

Quanto ad Agostino, nel *De doctrina christiana* egli contempera l'ambrosiana esegesi prevalentemente tropologica con quella ticoniana prevalentemente tipologica, dandoci così la *magna charta* della cultura esegetica anteriore e posteriore.

Primaria preoccupazione di Agostino è riferire il senso spirituale delle Scritture *ad sanctos mores*⁴³, cogliere nella chiarezza della lettera i *praecepta vivendi*, i *mores vivendi*⁴⁴: ciò che è espresso *figurate* deve anch'esso riferirsi *ad mores bonos*⁴⁵.

Ed ecco come l'esegesi tropologica di entrambi i Padri si attua negli *exempla* biblici da me scelti, per un rapido sondaggio.

Per l'esegesi alessandrina le figure di Caino e di Abele furono considerate come *τρόποι* letterari, personificanti rispettivamente le istanze del male e del bene coesistenti nell'umana natura decaduta. La vicenda narrata dal Genesi è in particolare analizzata da Ambrogio nel *De Cain et Abel* e da Agostino nel XV libro del *De Civitate Dei*. Tra i passi riferentisi a Caino ed Abele in entrambi i Padri citerò quelli che mi sembrano più sostanziali, in quanto istanze etico-metafisiche del *τρόπος* umano.

La comune interpretazione del nome Caino, *acquisitio*⁴⁶, *possessio*⁴⁷, introduce ad una comune esegesi più che di genere storico-tipologico, di natura etico-tropologica: il maggiore dei fratelli rappresenta l'umanità pecca-

⁴¹ Coll. XIV, 8 (Pichery, 189 ss.).

⁴² Di tono stoico.

⁴³ De cat. rud. 26, 50.

⁴⁴ De doctr. chr. II, 9, 14.

⁴⁵ C. Faustum XXII, 95.

⁴⁶ De Cain et A. I, 1, 3.

⁴⁷ De C. Dei XV, 17, 94.

trice, che riporta a sé tutto ciò che dovrebbe invece volgere (*τρέπειν*) a Dio; Abele al contrario rappresenta l'istanza del *κατὰ τρόπον*, cioè della dinamica etico-metafisica verso il Creatore da parte della creatura che a Lui protende le mani con un gesto che risponde all'anelito del cuore: "Non intendit Deus ad manus; sed in corde vidit"⁴⁸; "... Abel, qui omnia referret ad Deum pia devotus mentis adtentione"⁴⁹.

Le due figure bibliche sempre più sfumate nella loro realtà storica assumono quindi il preciso significato di due concrete istanze morali, che corrispondono a due atteggiamenti dello spirito. Così, tali figure esistono per Ambrogio ed Agostino in ciascuno di noi, e rappresentano il processo involutivo od evolutivo dell'umana sapienza⁵⁰ quale emerge tra le vicende del male e del bene. Anche nell'esegesi storico-tipologica delle medesime figure entrambi i Padri sottolineano il valore tropologico dei due personaggi invariatisi nella sinagoga o nella Chiesa, nel popolo giudaico o in quello cristiano, nella città terrena o in quella celeste⁵¹. Sia nelle realizzazioni che si concretizzano nella storia dell'umanità, sia in quelle che si rivelano nel processo psicologico di ogni individuo, Caino precede il fratello nel tempo, in quanto l'uomo decaduto storicamente precede la redenzione, e la malizia quindi in ciascuno di noi precede l'innocenza. Abele, secondogenito, precede invece il fratello per la *disciplina vivendi*⁵². I moti dell'adolescenza infatti, congeniti all'uomo decaduto, si placano infine in Abele più giovane ma contrassegnato dalle virtù della serena vecchiaia, *venerabilis moribus*⁵³, ovvero della pienezza dei tempi attuata dall'Avvento.

Il profilo morale di ogni uomo emerge, per i Padri, soprattutto dalla virtù della religione, intesa come estetica teologica e liturgia cosmica che tutto rivolge a Dio. Vertice della *religio* è il sacrificio, sintesi di tutti i *τύποι* e *τόποι* eucologici, di tutti gli atteggiamenti dello spirito (*τρόποι*), che al creato danno la voce di lode.

Ma due sono gli atteggiamenti del sacrificio e di ogni rapporto morale. Per conseguenza i sacrifici di Caino e di Abele hanno invero un tratto comune esteriore che Ambrogio ed Agostino dicono ispirato a rettitudine, *recte*⁵⁴, in quanto conforme alla Legge; ma possono convergere soltanto per la materialità dell'atto umano e per una disciplina soltanto esteriore, legale. Di fatto nel loro significato profondo e più vero i due sacrifici si contrappongono. Mentre quello di Caino è espressione d'insincerità e d'invidia, il sacrificio di Abele, modello eucologico dell'umanità in Cristo sacerdote e vittima, è segno supremo di autentica devozione e di ineffabile carità⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ In ep. Jo. ad Parthos V, 3, 8 (lectio difficilior).

⁴⁹ De Cain et A. I, 1, 3.

⁵⁰ Ib. I, 3, 10.

⁵¹ Ib. I, 2, 5; De C. Dei XV, passim.

⁵² De Cain et A. I, 3, 11.

⁵³ Ib.

⁵⁴ De Cain et A. II, 6, 23; De C. Dei XV, 7, 68.

⁵⁵ Cfr. e. g. In ep. Jo. ad Parthos V, 3, 8.

Abele è il tipo dell'uomo ad immagine, del Cristo e del cristiano; egli perciò — dice Ambrogio — rifugge dall'egoismo disgregatore, proteso all'amore di Dio e del prossimo, al *commune commodum*, non *suum*⁵⁶, assumendo l'atteggiamento dell'uomo interiore che in sé ordina a Dio tutte le creature. Chi invece come Caino prevarica dalla legge dell'amore universale si pone al di là dell'ordine della vita, pur presumendo *carnaliter*⁵⁷ di osservare alla maniera giudaica la forma e la legalità.

Tanto per Ambrogio quanto per Agostino fondamentale discriminante etico-metafisica tra il buono e il mal costume è la *divisio*⁵⁸, lievitante il sacrificio di Abele e assente da quello di Caino; in quanto il fratello buono seppe distinguere la scala dei valori alla luce del Verbo, e quello cattivo non seppe distinguere la dinamica esistenziale in maniera molteplice ordinata al Creatore; si tratta di due sacrifici contrapposti perché animati da due *τρόποι* antitetici, quello di Abele dalla dinamica ascensionale verso il Creatore, l'altro di Caino dalla dinamica discendente alla commistione con Satana omicida fin dall'inizio⁵⁹.

Dividere vuol dire distinguere tra il bene e il male, tra ciò che è il meglio e il meno buono; ma in tale concetto di *divisio* non è impegnata soltanto la mente, bensì tutto lo spirito, l'uomo. Quindi, secondo l'esegesi tropologica di Ambrogio e di Agostino, Abele e Caino sono rispettivamente figure di tutti gli atteggiamenti virtuosi o viziosi degli uomini, che procedono da quella attuata o mancata realizzazione del discernimento⁶⁰. Ottemperando alla *divisio* si esce dalla *confusio*, Babilonia⁶¹.

L'ammonimento, poi, rivolto a Caino, *quiesce*, qui interpretato dai due Padri con esegesi soprattutto tropologica⁶², significherebbe l'invito a recedere dal male, a non ostinarsi nel peccato e a confessare non soltanto la propria colpa, ma la lode a Dio. Caino, invece, *invidens fratri* e *non confitens Deo* rimase *servus peccati*, anzi *dux criminis*⁶³.

Tropologica pure nei due Padri l'esegesi riguardante il tratto di *Gen.* 4, 9-10: „Ubi est Abel . . . ? . . . Quid fecisti?“. Questa interrogazione, infatti, rivolta da Dio al primo fratricida non sarebbe che un *τρόπος* retorico equivalente ad un drastico monito per una seria riflessione sul *τρόπος* etico-metafisico integrantesi nel *τρόπος* giuridico-teologico, un severo invito a meditare sui gravi effetti del peccato per l'immane intervento dell'infallibile Remuneratore.

Agostino nel sopra citato *Contra Faustum*, trattando la medesima tematica

⁵⁶ Enarr. in ps. XXXV, 7.

⁵⁷ C. Faustum XII, 11.

⁵⁸ De Cain et A. II, 6, 21; De C. Dei XV, 7, 68.

⁵⁹ Per tale concetto comune nei Padri cfr. Metodiod, Symp. VI, 1; Epifanio, Haer. LXVI, 69.

⁶⁰ Cfr. De C. Dei XV, 7, 68-69.

⁶¹ Agostino, Enarr. in ps. LXIV, 2.

⁶² De Cain et A. II, 7, 24; De C. Dei XV, 7, 69-70.

⁶³ De Cain et A. II, 7, 25; C. Faustum XII, 9.

esegetica, svolgerà ancora lo stesso ammaestramento, interpretando l'interrogazione biblica fatta a Caino come il precetto rivolto a tutti gli uomini di meditare la legge di Dio nel suo santo timore perché possano custodire, nel medesimo timore, interiormente ed esteriormente la sua legge. Anche per Ambrogio l'interrogazione rivolta da Dio a Caino dove fosse Abele è propria di Colui che è giudice dei colpevoli⁶⁴.

Per il platonismo dei Padri il movimento autocinetico dell'atto umano non si svolge secondo una dinamica circolare interna all'atto stesso, in autonomia indipendente da Dio, ma secondo una dinamica a spirale, i cui due fuochi permangono sempre l'io e Dio: tale la natura metafisica ed etica del *τρόπος*. Perciò Ambrogio ed Agostino considerano la forma interrogativa di *Gen.* 4, 9-10 come, di fatto, indicativa di una realtà sinergicamente condizionata dal benigno richiamo di Dio e dal libero assenso umano e, nel piano della misericordia, esortativa alla meditazione dei severi castighi per poterli adeguatamente evitare.

Ciò non toglie però — dicono entrambi i Padri — che il peccato sia per se stesso anche punizione. Per Ambrogio il vivere nel peccato costituisce la punizione di Caino, che fu *remissus sine praescripto poenae*⁶⁵. Agostino similmente afferma che Dio volle Caino lasciato al suo comportamento fratricida, *relinqui carnificem vitam*, a punizione della sua stessa empietà⁶⁶. Ma in che cosa consiste questa pena che scaturisce dalla stessa vita peccaminosa? Quali i vincoli che si trascina il peccatore, dopo esserseli costruiti con le sue mani⁶⁷? La risposta dei due Padri è concorde e, in ultima analisi, fondata sulla concezione sopra accennata dell'atto umano come realtà sinergicamente condizionata: l'uomo infatti che si autodetermina per un falso bene e non per Dio perde il suo connaturale punto di riferimento, trema per l'incertezza del futuro, ha paura che gli venga fatto *quod ipse fecerat fratri*⁶⁸; perciò vive una vita che non è vita, *miser tremens et timens*⁶⁹; *gemit et tremat*⁷⁰ perché frustrato nell'obiettivo del suo anelito di vivere. Questo deficitario timore di Dio, trasformatosi in bestiale paura, è per entrambi i Padri il segno di Caino. In tal senso — soggiunge Agostino — la vita che vive il peccatore si svolge nella terra di Naid⁷¹, cioè nella terra della commozione carnale.

Il *milieu* platonico-africano di Agostino e quello più direttamente cristiano-alessandrino di Ambrogio non si contrapponevano quanto all'esegesi storico-salvifica ed etico-tropologica; ché anzi entrambi costituirono un comune sottofondo culturale. Considero Milano e Cassiciaco come punti

⁶⁴ C. Faustum XII, 10; De Cain et A. II, 9, 27 ss.

⁶⁵ De Par. 14, 71.

⁶⁶ C. litt. Pet. II, 86, 191.

⁶⁷ Ambrogio, Enarr. in ps. XXXV, 8.

⁶⁸ Op. imp. c. Jul. VI, 23.

⁶⁹ Ambrogio, Enarr. in ps. XXV, 7.

⁷⁰ C. Faustum XII, 12.

⁷¹ Ib. XII, 13.

di convergenza dei due grandi genî occidentali⁷². Poiché Agostino, il grande discepolo di Ambrogio, non dovette – secondo il Bardy – aspettare il 396 (*terminus post quem* dell' incontro con Ticonio) per apprendere la metodologia esegetica secondo cui il *corpus* testuale biblico è lettera ambivalente per significare il *corpus* mistico, storico e antropologico: soprattutto egli dovette vivere già prima la „regula de Domini corpore bipertito“, corpo ricapitolato in Cristo, ma suscettibile ancora di partecipare „de diabolo et eius corpore“⁷³.

Da tale matrice esegetica comune ai due Padri l'ambrosiano *De Cain et Abel* e l'agostiniano *De Civitate Dei* assunsero la concezione di Caino e di Abele come di un popolo bipartito: „parricidialis“ l'uno, „adhaerens Deo“ l'altro⁷⁴, e soprattutto quindi di due istanze „compugnantes invicem...“⁷⁵, *mysterium duorum populorum*⁷⁶.

Si tratta infatti in entrambe le esegesi di un punto di vista più antropologico che storico, poiché i due *exempla*, deterrente dal vizio l'uno e protrettico alla virtù l'altro, contengono più che la tematica catechetico-biblica „de promissis“ e „de temporibus“, quella „de Domini“ e „de diaboli corpore“⁷⁷. Dice infatti Ambrogio: „Ex quodam fonte utrumque demanat“⁷⁸. E nel medesimo contesto spiega Agostino: „In uno quippe homine *caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem*“ (*Gal.* 5, 17)⁷⁹.

Già da tempo i due fratelli dovettero essere interpretati come *τρόποι*, ἥθη, contrapposti come *exempla fugienda et sequenda* dalla stessa verità rivelata, e da essa desunti per venir trasferiti nella comune fondamentale cristiana *didaché*.

Per entrambi i Padri infatti qui la lettera biblica „carnis usui non quadrat“⁸⁰, ma va compresa alla luce della „plenitudo temporis“ sicché l'„institutio vincat naturam“⁸¹, e cioè in modo che il *τρόπος* del linguaggio catechetico si modelli non su quello fisico contingente, ma su quello del Verbo incarnato, dall' A. T. tipologicamente e tropologicamente preannunziato. In questo senso la primogenitura fisica non è per sé santità, „Cain primogenitus, sed non sanctus“⁸², ma non è neanche per sé peccato; poiché sia Caino che Abele sono *τρόποι* del „Domini corpus bipertitum“ la cui dinamica etico-metafisica quaggiù è ambivalente, deontologicamente protesa a divenire

⁷² Cfr. J. R. Palanque, S. Ambr. et l'empire romain, Paris 1933.

⁷³ Liber reg. Tyconii (Burkitt, 1–85). Cfr. l'introduzione generale del Bardy al De C. Dei, BA 33, 62–65.

⁷⁴ De Cain et A. I, 2, 5.

⁷⁵ Ib. I, 1, 4.

⁷⁶ Ib. I, 1, 5. Simmetrico andamento discorsivo in De C. Dei XV, 1, 58.

⁷⁷ Liber reg. cit.

⁷⁸ De Cain et A. I, 1, 4.

⁷⁹ De C. Dei XV, 5, 65.

⁸⁰ De Cain et A. I, 10, 47.

⁸¹ Ib. II, 1, 3.

⁸² Ib. II, 2, 7.

il "Domini corpus", ma purtroppo, di fatto, suscettibile di divenire il "diaboli corpus".

Perciò appunto l'ἡθος fu considerato dai Padri come la discriminante metafisica dell'*Ecclesia bipertita*; e l'esegesi biblica corrispettiva, ricostituendo o interpretando, allegorizzando od anagogizzando i testi, non perse mai di vista il valore preminente del messaggio etico.

Vero è, quindi, che passando attraverso la sofistica e la retorica il termine *τροπολογία* giunse a significare anche allegoria, anagogia, ecc., ma altrettanto vero è che esegesi tropologica nei biblici commentari, omilie, scoli rimase sempre a significare, almeno indirettamente, aderenza all'accezione primitiva di interpretazione morale; né è azzardato ritenere che del termine composito *τροπολογία* i Padri abbiano sempre sentito viva l'accezione della componente di significato etico *τρόπος*.

Non per nulla il Medio Evo ricevette in eredità dalla Patristica tale accezione specifica di esegesi morale, di dottrina cui l'uomo ad immagine deve modellare la sua attività:

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia⁸³.

⁸³ Versi attribuiti al domenicano Agostino di Dacia.

The Metaphrase on Ecclesiastes of Gregory Thaumaturgus

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The aim of this paper is to contest and correct the description given in the *Patrologies* of Gregory Thaumaturgus' *Metaphrase on Ecclesiastes*¹. Altaner describes it as "a short paraphrase", Quasten as "nothing more than a paraphrase of the Septuagint text", Cross as "hardly more than a paraphrase of the Septuagintal text".

The work is, however, no mere paraphrase; Gregory understands *Ecclesiastes* as a prophetic work addressed to the whole Church of God (1.1). Podechard in his commentary on *Ecclesiastes*² rightly notes that Gregory gives "une explication toute morale. Salomon y reçoit le titre de prophète, et on nous apprend qu'il s'est proposé dans ce livre de nous convaincre de la vanité des choses créées, et d'élever notre âme à la contemplation des choses célestes. Les textes qui cadrent mal avec ce dessein reçoivent un correctif; on les présente soit comme exprimant une manière de voir ancienne que l'auteur abandonnée par la suite, soit encore comme reproduisant les opinions des insensés" (p. 26).

The ambiguities and the scepticism of the original are eliminated in Gregory's version. Solomon is portrayed as a man who has experimented with the various pleasures of the world but who has now awoken and recovered his sight because the real good which is set before men has showed itself to him – namely, the knowledge of wisdom and the possession of fortitude (ch. 2). Once he had thought that the chief good consisted in eating and drinking but learned that the man who gives himself to these pursuits can never find the real good (8. 15–17). The assertion that both the righteous and fools come to the same end receives the codicil, "But now I know that these are the reflections of fools and errors and deceits" (9. 1–3). Men of vanity encourage others to enjoy the material goods of the present for there are no other goods, they say (9. 4–10). The advice to young men to enjoy themselves while they may is put into the mouth of a pleasure lover (11. 9), and is controverted by Solomon in the next verse.

By such devices and by a very free recasting of the text Gregory transforms

¹ PG 10 cols. 987–1018. Numbering of the sections of the *Metaphrase* follows that of the Latin translation in Migne, in which the verses of the *Metaphrase* are numbered according to the verses of *Ecclesiastes* to which they relate.

² *Etudes bibliques*, Paris 1912.

Ecclesiastes. It becomes a moralising tract, an exhortation to follow wisdom and not folly. Thus, Gregory cannot accept that wisdom can have anything to do with rejoicing in earthly possessions, and Ecclesiastes 2. 9, "So I was great and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem; also my wisdom stood with me" becomes "And thus it happened that the interests of wisdom declined with me, while the claims of evil desire increased". Also he cannot accept that the wise man and the fool come to the same end; thus Ecclesiastes 2. 16 which expresses this view is controverted by Gregory who writes, "Moreover there is nothing in common to the wise man and the fool, neither as regards the memory of man, nor as regards the recompense of God" and "the wise man is never partaker of the same end with the foolish".

In Gregory's transformation of Ecclesiastes the good life is contrasted with its opposite. From this Metaphrase we can supplement the account of ascetic theology learned from Origen given in the Panegyric (chs. IX–XII)³. By word and action Origen attempted to lead his pupils to become lovers of virtue, righteous, prudent, temperate, courageous, patient and pious. He strove to bring them to a state of calm and equilibrium, in which the impulses of the soul are under control. "He wanted to make us free from sorrow, impassible in the face of every ill, disciplined, balanced, god like and blessed" (Panegyric IX. 116). From concern with the affairs of the world, Origen's disciples were drawn to the nobler vocation of self knowledge.

In his Metaphrase Gregory makes it plain that man can choose virtue or wickedness; "he who chooses virtue is like one who sees all things plainly, and looks upward and who holds his ways in the time of clearest light, but he, on the other hand, who has involved himself in wickedness is like a man who wanders helplessly about on a moonless night, as one who is blind and deprived of the sight of things by his darkness" (2. 14). The man who chooses evil is unstable; he who neglects the real good, namely knowledge of wisdom and possession of fortitude, "and is inflamed with passion for other things, chooses evil instead of good and goes after what is bad instead of what is excellent, and after trouble instead of peace" (2. 19); his life is one of constant agitation, "he is distracted by every disturbance, and is burdened with continual anxieties night and day, with oppressive labours of body as well as with ceaseless cares of mind – his heart moving in constant agitation by reason of the strange and senseless affairs that occupy him" (2. 19). Such a man is distracted by objects which appeal to the senses, such as wealth and honour (6. 2); "the sight of curious eyes deranges many, inflaming their mind and drawing them on to vain pursuits by the empty desire of show" (6.9)⁴.

³ Origen's teaching on the moral and ascetic life as reported by Gregory in the Panegyric is well summarised by H. Crouzel on pp. 59 ff. of his *Sources Chrétiennes* edition of the Panegyric (Paris, 1969).

⁴ With these descriptions of wrongly directed life cf. Pan. VI. 76–77: many are wilfully blind to what is truly good and turn to illusory goods such as riches, renown, public acclaim and bodily well-being.

The foolish man's life is directed by irrational impulses (*ὁρμαῖς ἀλόγοις*) (5. 16; cf. 2. 18)⁵. It is interesting to note that these impulses and their control had been an important subject in Origen's ascetic instruction; Gregory writes in the Panegyric IX. 118 that Origen steered our impulses making us contemplate and observe the impulses and passions of our souls. The virtues reduce the impulses of the soul to a state of calm and equilibrium (IX. 115)⁶.

The wise man presents a great contrast to the fool. The fool is proved above all things by his finding no satisfaction in any lust (*ἐπιθυμίας*), but the discreet man is not held captive by these passions (*πάθεισιν*) (6. 7f.). The wise man's conduct is rightly based, since he knows that "the life of man has its excellence not in the acquisition of perishable riches but in wisdom" (7. 13), whereas the life of the fool is earthbound, since he is "in servitude to what is transient and undesirous of considering anything heavenly with the noble eye of the soul" (1. 3). The wise man directs his life towards God; "for men who lie on earth there is but one salvation, that their souls acknowledge and wing their way to Him by whom they have been made" (12. 7) and "it is the greatest of all good to take hold of God and by abiding in Him to sin in nothing" (7. 19). This flight of men's souls to God and their abiding in Him as the end of life recalls the words of the Panegyric "And the end of all I consider to be nothing but this; by the pure mind make yourself like to God, that you may draw near to Him, and abide in Him" (XII. 149).

The Origenist ideal of equilibrium is the mark of the wise man. Freed from disorderly impulses and passions, the good man lives an ordered, stable life; his reasoning is straight (*ὀρθῶ λογισμῶ*, 2. 11), his heart is well balanced (*εὐσταθούςη καρδίᾳ*, 5. 1; the ideal of *εὐσταθία* is prominent in the Panegyric, see IX. 115 and 116; XII. 148). What is moderate (*μέτριον*) ought to approve itself to the mind, not what is swollen and inflated (*μετεωριζόμενον καὶ τετυφωμένον*) (7. 9). The wise man measures out his life by good deeds (5. 19).

In the Panegyric Origen is described by Gregory as friend and advocate of the virtues (XII. 147) and considerable attention is paid to the master's teaching about the acquisition of virtues. In Gregory's description of the good life in the Metaphrase a number of these virtues recur. In view of the subject matter of Ecclesiastes it is not surprising that wisdom, mentioned only cursorily amongst the virtues in the Panegyric (XII. 148), receives frequent mention; knowledge of wisdom and possession of fortitude constitute man's real good (2. 19). Wisdom is a gift from God (2. 22); Solomon re-

⁵ 5. 16 καταναλώσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον σύμπαντα, ἐν τε ἐπιθυμίαις ἀνοσιωτάταις, καὶ ἐν ὁρμαῖς ἀλόγοις, ἔτι δὲ λύπαις καὶ ἀρρωστίαις.

2. 18 Ὡς γὰρ συνελόντι φάναι, πάντα μοι λυπηρῶς ἐκμεμύχθηται ὁρμῆς ἀλογίστου γενόμενα ποιήματα.

⁶ IX. 118 διεκυβερνᾶτο παρ' ἡμῶν τὰς ὁρμάς, αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ὁρμῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς θεωρίᾳ καὶ κατανοήσει.

IX. 115 . . . τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς τὰς περὶ ἡθος, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀτάραχος καὶ εὐσταθὴς τῶν ὁρμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κατάστασις γίνεται.

ceived this divine gift and then lost it (7. 24ff.). The good man is temperate (*σώφρων*, 6. 8, cf. Pan. IX. 122; IX. 124; XI. 143), and is characterised by fortitude (*ἀνδρεία*, 2. 19; 5. 9 2, cf. Pan. IX. 122; XI. 144), prudence and righteousness (*φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, 9. 11, cf. Pan. IX. 122).

It is hoped that sufficient illustration has been given of the character of the Metaphrase to show that it is more than a mere paraphrase. The Preacher has become the mouthpiece of Origenist teaching on what is man's real good and how it can be attained.

Gregory was not the first Christian interpreter of Ecclesiastes, having been preceded by Hippolytus whose work is mentioned by Jerome (*de viris illustribus* 61). However, only a small fragment of this work survives (GCS 2 (1897) p. 179) and so Gregory takes first place in a distinguished line of Christian interpreters of Ecclesiastes⁷.

⁷ It is noteworthy that Jerome thought it useful to cite a small passage from Gregory's Metaphrase in his commentary on Ecclesiastes (iv, 198–207, *Corpus Christianorum* 72 p. 289, quoting Metaphrase 4. 14ff.)

Some Influences of the Diatessaron of Tatian on the Gospel Text of Hilary of Poitiers

J. VAN AMERSFOORT, De Bilt

The Gospel text of Hilary of Poitiers has been studied several times. In 1906 there appeared the study of Bonnassieux, who investigated especially the use of the Synoptic Gospels by the Gallic bishop¹. After having compared the Gospel quotations with the manuscript tradition of the *Vetus Latina*, he concludes that the Gospel text of Hilary is of the Irish type, of which the Usserianus is the most important representative. This opinion has never been refuted, and is, in my opinion, also right, although some modifications are required. A. Feder has criticized Bonnassieux in his "Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers", because he has not reckoned sufficiently with the possibility that Hilary used a different Bible text in his different works, in his Commentary on Matthew another than the one that after his exile he used in his Commentary on the Psalms². Feder has also remarked that Hilary sometimes assimilated the Latin Gospel text to the original Greek text of the New Testament.

In this communication it is my purpose to show that another source may have influenced the Gospel text of Hilary, namely the Diatessaron of Tatian. This Gospel harmony, which was originally written in Syriac³, has only been preserved in different translations, e. g. the Arabic, the Persian and the Latin versions. In addition, the Commentary of Ephrem exists, of which only the Armenian version is complete⁴. The most important manuscript of the Latin version is the Codex Fuldensis of Victor of Capua⁵. As this Gospel harmony was very popular in the Western part of the Church,

¹ F. J. Bonnassieux, *Les évangiles synoptiques de St. Hilaire de Poitiers*, Lyon 1906.

² A. Feder, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers III*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse 169, 1913, 113–115.

³ The question, whether the Diatessaron was originally written in Greek or in Syriac, is treated by C. Peters in *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, Rome 1939, 195–213.

⁴ The quotations are borrowed from the following editions of the Eastern versions of the Diatessaron: A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, Beyrouth 1935 (Arabic); G. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano*, *Biblica et Orientalia* 14, Rome 1951 (Persian); as to the Commentary of Ephrem, see Louis Leloir, *Saint Ephrem Commentaire de l'Evangile Concordant*, version arménienne, CSCO 137; 145, Leuven 1953–54; idem, *Saint Ephrem Commentaire de l'Evangile Concordant*, *texte syriac* (Manuscript Chester Beatty 709), *Chester Beatty Monographs* 8, Dublin 1963.

⁵ E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis, Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*, Marburg 1868.

it has been translated into several vernaculars e. g. into Italian, English and Dutch⁶. Now, it is a remarkable fact, that the text of these translations deviates in some respects from the Latin Fuldensis. Different explanations of these deviations are possible. Bonifatius Fischer is of the opinion that the text of the *Vetus Latina*, which has influenced the Western translations, is the source of the deviating readings⁷. And, in fact, it is very remarkable that we often find the same variant readings in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts, as well as in the translations in the vernaculars. But it is also possible, and even very probable that Victor, while translating the Diatessaron into Latin, eliminated the variant readings, which he found in his text, because they were not in accordance with the Vulgate. The translations in the vernaculars, however, have preserved these readings, because the 'Grundlage' of these Diatessarons is not the Codex Fuldensis, but another Latin Codex, the text of which has been less influenced by the Vulgate⁸. So G. Quispel is of the opinion that the 'Grundlage' of the Dutch Diatessaron was a Latin Codex, which Liudger had taken, along with him from Italy⁹. The last explanation seems to me more acceptable than the first. For in several cases the same variant is to be found in the Eastern as well as in the Western tradition of the Diatessaron. In this case it is plausible to assume that this reading belongs to the original Diatessaron, and is not a corruption by the *Vetus Latina*.

Now, some examples will show how the Diatessaron influenced the *Vetus Latina* text, from which Hilary quoted.

In the Commentary on the Psalms (122, 5; p. 582, 24), Luke 9: 62 has been quoted in this way: "*nemo retro respiciens et aratrum tenens aptus est regno caelorum*"¹⁰. This quotation has the variant *regno caelorum*

⁶ The editions of the Western versions of the Diatessaron are: V. Todesco, A. Vaccari, M. Vattasso, *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, Studi e Testi 81, Città del Vaticano 1938; M. Goates, *The Papyrus Gospel Harmony*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 157, London 1922; D. Plooy, A. Phillips and A. H. A. Bakker, *The Liège Diatessaron*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks 31, Amsterdam 1929–1970; J. Bergsma, *De levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlands*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandse Letterkunde 54, Leiden 1895 (the Stuttgart manuscript); C. C. de Bruin, *Diatessaron Haarense*, Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi, series minor, tom. 1, vol. 2, Leiden 1970; idem, *Diatessaron Cantabrigiense*, series idem, 1/3, Leiden 1970; C. Gerhardt, *Diatessaron Theodiscum*, series idem, 1/4, Leiden 1970.

⁷ B. Fischer, *Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache*, in K. Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, Berlin 1972, 1–92. In his opinion the Codex Fuldensis is the 'Grundlage' of all the Western Diatessarons (see p. 47, and Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters, in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo X*, Spoleto 1963).

⁸ Influence of the Diatessaron on the *Vetus Latina* has been supposed by H. J. Vogels and D. Plooy; H. J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen XII, 2, Münster 1926; D. Plooy, *A primitive text of the Diatessaron*, Leiden 1923.

⁹ See G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, Leiden 1975, 26–68.

¹⁰ A. Zingerle, *Hilarius, Tractatus super Psalmos* (CSEL 22), Vienna 1891.

instead of *regno dei*, the reading of the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. We also find the same reading in the Liège manuscript of the Middle Dutch version: "die en es nit wert *hemelrijks*" (Plooy, p. 112, 3). Hilary, however, is not the only one who has this variant; for this reading is attested by other Latin authors, e. g. Ambrose, Augustine, the translation of Origen by Rufinus and the Latin translation of Irenaeus¹¹. Because we find this variant only in one Western version of the Diatessaron, the possibility is not to be excluded that the Dutch Diatessaron has been influenced by the *Vetus Latina*.

In the same commentary (51, 5; p. 100, 11) there is an allusion to John 8 : 56 : "*vel rursum cum Abraham diem domini desideravit*". Here *desideravit* deviates from the *Vetus Latina*, where *exultavit* or *laetabatur* is the direct translation of the Greek *ἡγαλλιάσατο*. The fact that other Latin authors have this or a cognate variant in a literal quotation proves that it is not an inexact reflexion of the Gospel text which caused this variant¹². One can indicate an obvious parallel in the Armenian version of the Commentary of Ephrem (Leloir, p. 135, 16: "*desideravit*"), while the Syriac version of this work confirms this reading. The Arabic Diatessaron here reads "désirait ardemment" (Marmardji, p. 343), and the Persian "fu ansioso" (Messina, p. 181, 5). In the West this variant is attested in all the manuscripts of the Dutch Diatessaron, which, deviating from the Codex Fuldensis, have the rendering "begeerde"¹³. It is very probable that for Hilary the source of this allusion is a *Vetus Latina* text, which has been influenced by the Diatessaron tradition. This Latin text, which has not been preserved in any manuscript, appears to be known to many Latin authors.

In the Commentary on Matthew (9, 4; PL 9, 963 B) we find an allusion to Luke 5 : 36 : "*pannum rudem vestimento veteri non adsui*". The variant reading *pannum rudem* is remarkable, as the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts have at this place *commissuram a vestimento novo*, and in the parallel text Matthew 9 : 16 *commissuram panni rudis*¹⁴. A quotation in the work of Filastrius of Brescia (CSEL 38, 23) proves that this reading belongs to the *Vetus Latina*: "*nemo pannum rudem mittet in vestimentum vetus*".

¹¹ Ambrose, In Lucam 8, 43 (CC 14, 312); Augustine, Contra Faustum 22, 41 (CSEL 25, 634); Origen, In Jesu Nave 16, 1 (GCS 30, 395); Irenaeus, Adv. haer. I 8, 3 (Harvey I, 71). I am grateful to the *Vetus Latina* Institute in Beuron, which permitted me to look into the files.

¹² We find the same variant in a quotation in the translation of Origen by Rufinus, In Genesim Hom. 10, 1 (GCS 29, 93): "*Abraham pater vester desideravit*". Quotations with the cognate readings *cupivit* and *concupivit* are found in the works of Augustine, e. g. Contra Faustum 33, 5 (CSEL 25, 790) and Cassiodorus, e. g. Exp. Psalmorum 118, 82 (CC 98, 1093): "*Abraham concupivit videre diem meum*".

¹³ Liège manuscript: Abraham u vader begerde minen dach te sine (Plooy, 511, 4); cf. Stuttgart manuscript (Bergsma, 182) and Haaren manuscript (De Bruin, 79).

¹⁴ ad Luke 5 : 36 : aur bff² l q e; ad Matthew 9 : 16 : a aur c ff¹ g¹ h l q k. See A. Jülicher, W. Matzkow, K. Aland, Itala, das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung, I (Matthäus), Berlin² 1972; III (Lucas), Berlin 1954. Only the minuscule 157 has the same reading: *καὶ τὸν ἐπιβλημα*.

In the Capitula of the Commentary on Matthew we find the same allusion: "*de assuto panno rudi*" (PL 9, 915 D). This is an important fact, because it is often precisely in the Capitula of a work that original readings have been preserved, as is the case in the Capitula of the Codex Fuldensis¹⁵. The origin of this variant is probably the Diatessaron again, for in the Western as well as in the Eastern branch this variant is attested. The Persian version has only a small deviation here: "*pezze nuove*" (Messina, 53, 30), which reading has also penetrated into the Syriac version of the Gospels. In the Western branch the Tuscan Diatessaron has the reading "*panno nuovo*" (Vaccari, 240, 21), the Liège manuscript of the Dutch Diatessaron "*niwe scroeden*" (Plooy, 125, 5), the manuscripts of Stuttgart and Haaren both "*nieuwe grouve scroeden*"¹⁶. Probably the 'Grundlage' of these Western Diatessarons was a Latin Diatessaron with the reading *pannus novus*. This reading penetrated into the text of the *Vetus Latina*, from which the Latin authors took the quotation *pannus novus*, or in some cases *pannus rudis*. The last reading is an assimilation to the Greek text.

In the Commentary on the Psalms (125, 7; p. 610, 3) John 14 : 16 is quoted as a word of the Lord in this way: "*mittet vobis et alium consolatorem*". All manuscripts have here according to the Greek text *dabit* instead of *mittet*. Now, in the parallel texts John 15 : 26 and John 16 : 17 the verb *mittere* is used too. Therefore, it may be that Hilary, quoting from memory and remembering these texts, altered this word. But this is not very probable, because several Latin authors quote this word in the same deviating form, e. g. Augustine¹⁷. The same form is to be found in the Diatessaron too, where the Arabic version reads: "*et il vous transmettra*" (Marmardji, 435) and the Persian harmony: "*e manderò a voi un altro spirito*" (Messina 321, 22). It is remarkable that the Persian version says that Jesus and not the Father sends the Spirit. The same is the case in the Armenian version of the Commentary of Ephrem (Leloir, 197, 27) and in the Syriac *Liber Graduum*¹⁸; but, in the Western branch of the Diatessaron, only the first variant is attested, as in the Venetian version: "*ello ve mandarà Spirito Sancto*"

¹⁵ See Vogels, Beiträge, 10–15. He discovered Old Latin and Diatessaron readings in the Capitula of the Codex Fuldensis, which are lacking in the text of this codex.

¹⁶ Bergama, 70; De Bruin, 29, 3.

¹⁷ Augustine, Contra Epist. Fund. 6 (CSEL 25, 199): *et alium paracletum mittam vobis*. We also find this reading in the liturgical tradition, Liber Responsalis 797 (PL 78, 781 C): *et alium paracletum mittet vobis*.

¹⁸ Liber Graduum 3, 11; Kmosko (PS 3), 69. We find the second variant especially in the polemics against the heretics, e.g. the Manichees. See the above quotation in Contra Epistulam Fundamenti of Augustine and Ps.-Hegemonius, Acta Archelai 31, 9 (GCS 16, 44): *vado ad patrem meum et mitto vobis paracletum*. The combination of the verb *vado* with *mitto*, which we also find in Adamantius, De recta fide 1, 26 and in Jerome, Ep. 120, 9, is remarkable. Quispel is of the opinion that this reading has a Manichean origin; see his *Mani et la tradition évangélique des judéo-chrétiens, in Judéo Christianisme, recherches hisotriques et théologiques offertes en hommage au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (extraits des Recherches de Science Religieuse 60, 1972, 1–320), Paris 1972, 143–150.

(Vaccari, 137, 32). The quotations of the Latin authors also have only the first variant in the most cases.

Hilary also has quotations which deviate from the Greek text and only the majority of the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. When we find this variant in the Diatessaron and in only one or two *Vetus Latina* manuscripts, we may assume, that here the *Vetus Latina* text also has been influenced by the Diatessaron. I shall give an example to illustrate this. In the Commentary on the Psalms (14, 4; p. 86, 16), the prophetess Anna was said to have served God day and night (*die ac nocte*; Luke 2 : 37). In the *Vetus Latina* only the Usserianus has this order, while the other manuscripts, according to the Greek text, have the inverse order *nocte ac die*. This variant we find in almost the whole Diatessaron tradition and in the Syriac Gospel translations¹⁹. In the West the Old Saxon epic the *Heliand*, which depends mostly on the Diatessaron, also has this reading (vitte 515: "dages endi nahtes")²⁰.

A remarkable variant is found in the *Tractatus de Mysteriis* (2, 6; Brisson, 150), where Matthew 10 : 34 is quoted: "*non veni pacem mittere, sed divisionem*". In the *Vetus Latina* there is the reading *gladium* instead of *divisionem*. Bonnassieux was of the opinion that the context has caused the change from *gladius* into *divisio*, and Feder saw in this reading a harmonisation of Matthew 10 : 34 and Luke 12 : 51 by Hilary himself.²¹ It is, however an open question, whether this harmonisation is the work of Hilary, because exactly the same harmonisation is attested by the Arabic harmony, where we read: "je ne suis pas venu pour jeter la paix, mais pour jeter la dissension" (Marmardji, 125), and by the Syrus Curetonianus²². The text of the Persian Diatessaron shows a very clear harmonisation of Matthew and Luke: "non venni per questo, ma per mettere discordia e guerra" (Messina, 209, 2). Although this variant is not attested in one of the Western Diatessarons, it still cannot be excluded that this harmonisation is not a slip of the pen of Hilary, but an original reading of Tatian.

From these examples, we perceive how a work, which has its origin in the East, has influenced the Gospel text of the West. This becomes more apparent, when we look at the last example, a variant of which we find no parallel in the Diatessaron, but of which the origin must yet be sought in

¹⁹ The following versions of the Diatessaron have this word order: Persian: i giorni e le notti sue (Messina, 23, 12–13); Dutch (Stuttgart): dach ende nacht (Bergsma, 20); Venetian: die e note (30, 2); Tuscan: di e notte (212, 15–16); Latin: die ac nocte (Sangallensis; ed. Sievers, 27, 7).

²⁰ O. Behagel, *Heliand und Genesis*, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 4, Tübingen 1958, 21. The relation of the *Heliand* to the Diatessaron has been studied by J. F. Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, Studia Germanica 5, Assen 1965.

²¹ Bonnassieux, *Op. cit.*, 37. The quotation in the Commentary on the Psalms 59, 6 is preceded by the words: "*divisa ergo Samaria est vel iudicio, vel fide secundum illud*"; Feder, *Op. cit.*, 130.

²² Syr^c: I have not come to lay tranquillity in the earth, but division of minds and a sword (translation of F. C. Burkitt).

the Eastern part of the early Church. In the Commentary on the Psalms (118 heth 18; p. 433, 20), the beginning of Matthew 5 : 45 is quoted in a very remarkable form: "*estote boni, sicut pater vester, qui est in caelis*", instead of the *Vetus Latina* reading: "*ut sitis fili patris vestri, qui in caelis est*". In *Contra Adimantum* of Augustine we find a similar reading: "*estote benigni*"²³. In the East Epiphanius has exactly the same reading as Hilary, when he wrote: *γίνεσθε ἀγαθοί*²⁴. This text has been quoted in a similar way in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*: "*γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες*" and by Justin: "*γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες*"²⁵. The only difference here is the addition *οἰκτίρμονες*, which can be explained, if we assume the influence of Luke 6 : 36. From all these quotations, it appears that the reading *γίνεσθε ἀγαθοί* (*estote boni*), which is not attested by the Gospel text, has been handed down to us in the early Christian literature as a word of Jesus, so that we may probably suppose here an extracanonical tradition. It is a remarkable fact that this tradition has not been confined to the Eastern Church, but has also been living in the West, as Hilary demonstrates.

From the examples I have given, it becomes apparent that Hilary knew the tradition of the Diatessaron. That he took his quotations directly from the Diatessaron is difficult to prove. It is more probable that Hilary borrowed from a *Vetus Latina* text, which had been influenced by the Diatessaron, because in almost all these examples his variants are shared with other Latin authors, and sometimes with *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. The thesis of Bonnassieux that the Gospel text of Hilary belongs to the Irish type, may be supplemented in this way, that his Gospel text has been more influenced by the Diatessaron than the text of the Usserianus.

²³ *Contra Adimantum* 7, 1 (CSEL 25, 127).

²⁴ *Panarion* 66, 22, 4 (GCS 37, 50).

²⁵ *Ps.-Clementine Homilies* 3, 57 (Rehm, 77); cf. *Recognitiones* 5, 13, 2 (Rehm, 171, 20): *estote boni et misericordes*; Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 96, 3 (E. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, Göttingen 1914, 211), cf. *Apology* I, 15. The Syrian mystic Macarius has also this reading, but he has harmonised it with Luke 6 : 36 b; *Homilies* I, 19, 2 (Dörries, 183): "*γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ χρηστοί, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.*"

V. Historica

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**Pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis (De Unitate, 4):
the longevity of a Cyprianic phrase**

M. BÉVENOT S. J.†

We speak of the longevity of the patriarchs, among whom Methuselah beat the rest, and we imply our surprise, in comparison with our own poor three score years and ten. In other contexts 'longevity' may imply not only surprise but even annoyance: "He (or it) should not have survived that long."

The present text, which seems to affirm the equality of all the apostles and therefore of all the bishops thereafter, can produce opposite reactions. If you believe in the superiority of the pope over the other bishops, then you will be surprised at the longevity of the text which apparently denies that superiority. If on the other hand you regard the papacy as an abuse, an unwarranted usurpation of authority, then the persistence, the longevity of this text becomes the proof of something which has survived through the centuries of Christianity, in spite of the long *de facto* domination of the papacy in the Church. In this case the longevity of the text causes no surprise, but is a sign of the vitality of the truth which it contains. What will then cause surprise is the longevity of the papacy.

How then did this text fare in history? Only a few instances can be quoted here. It was first quietly but firmly repudiated by Pope Leo the Great who, without mentioning Cyprian, wrote:

inter beatissimos apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quaedam *discretio* potestatis (ep. 14. 11).

The apostles all enjoyed the same apostolic dignity, but that did not exclude a certain *difference* in the authority given them. (We shall meet 'discretio' again). Leo spelt out quite clearly in his sermons and letters his conception of his own authority in the Church.

But other popes quoted our text without qualifying it as Leo had done. So Pelagius I and Pelagius II in the sixth century, when dealing with schismatic moves among some of the bishops: — but Pelagius II could qualify it easily because he was using the version which included 'Sed primatus Petro datur', and which he doubtless understood as a real papal primacy.

In the early seventh century Isidore of Seville, that indefatigable collector of texts, secured for this one a permanent place in the collections of canons of the middle ages, for his presentation of it was reproduced in the *False Decretals* (Anacletus, ch. 24) in the ninth century, and thence by Gratian in his *Decretum* in the twelfth (c. 2 D 22). It reads as follows:

But in the New Testament, following on Christ, the episcopal order took its origin from Peter. For it was to him in the first place that ruling authority (*pontificatus*) in the Church of Christ was given: "Thou art Peter, etc.": not but what the rest of the apostles were endowed, along with Peter, with a like share of dignity and authority (*pari consortio honoris et potestatis*. *De eccl. off.* II 5. 5, PL 83, 781-2).

Isidore then goes on to describe the bishops in their sees as the successors of the apostles.

In the next century, here in England, Bede, who was so much more than an historian of the English people, similarly emphasizes the equality of the apostles. Even if Peter was specially given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i.e. the power to forgive sins, the other apostles received this too (*Hom.* I 20 - CCCXXII lines 165 ff.). And in the next homily he quotes Cyprian's first version verbally, and with great understanding puts the emphasis not on Peter, but on the *common accord* with which the apostles shepherded the Church, as did the bishops of his own day, their successors (*Hom.* II 22 - *ibid.* lines 204 ff.).

We thus have two main positions by the eighth century: that of Isidore and Bede which recognizes the equality of the bishops, and that of Leo and others (but not only popes) which qualifies Cyprian's original statement. Thereafter many names could be quoted, but by far the most important contribution was made by the enigmatic author of the *False Decretals* in the ninth century who incorporated both the *pari consortio* and the *discretio potestatis* in the decretal which he concocted for Pope Anacletus.

The first passage reproduces Isidore's use of Cyprian, but with a slight addition: The other apostles indeed received '*pari consortio honorem et dignitatem*' but, it is added, the apostles *wanted* Peter to be their chief, '*ipsumque principem eorum esse voluerunt*' (Anacletus, c. 24 - Hinschius p. 79). The second passage contains the same idea but it begins with Leo's qualification of 'a certain difference' (*discretio*) among the apostles and then explains: 'afterwards, though they were all apostles, it was granted to Peter by the Lord (in accordance with what they wanted themselves) that he should be in charge of all the other apostles (*praesset*) and that he should hold the Cephas, i.e. the headship and initiative of the apostolic body' (*ibid.* c. 33, Hinschius p. 83). One would like to know where the request of the apostles came from, and also who first connected 'Cephas' with *κεφαλὴ*.

For the rest of the middle ages these decretals were accepted unquestioningly as genuine, and so our two passages came to be incorporated in Gratian's huge *Decretum* (c. 1140) which, next to the Bible, was the school text-book for centuries along with Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (c. 2 D XXI and c. 2 D XXII). They came, so Gratian thought, from one of the very earliest popes, and he later included Cyprian's full text, pretty accurately from other canonists before him (c. 18, C 24 q 1), blissfully ignorant that this had provided the basic material for the two passages which he took from the *False Decretals*.

I have only been able to give the barest outline of the history of the text we started from. But Père Congar, to whom we owe so much, has more than once deplored the fact that no full study has yet been made of the history of Cyprian's influence on the life and development of the Church through the centuries. Perhaps these few soundings, inadequately treated as they are, may contribute something to such a study. As for ourselves, we have not even answered the question we started with: Is longevity to be ascribed to the papacy, or to Cyprian's statement of the parity among the apostles? Or perhaps to both?

The "Epistola Clementis" – a Petrine infusion at Rome c. A. D. 385

E. C. BROOKS, Somerleyton

In the development of the Petrine-Clementine tradition, there is an interesting conflation of three evidential items c. A.D. 380 onwards: a) the building of the Basilica of San Clemente on the site of the Domesticum of Clement's private house. – b) the appearance in Rome about this time, or earlier, of the completed text of the 'Epistola Clementis' – the Letter of Clement to James of Jerusalem – possibly brought by a Eustathian from Antioch. – c) there were radical changes in papal thinking from the time of Siricius to Leo – with the fulchrum in the reign of Damasus.

Archeology

Since 1857, through the work of Mullooly¹, the site plans of Lanciani (1889)², and the researches of L. Nolan (1925)³, E. Junyent (1932)⁴ and Emile Mâle (1930)⁵, a wealth of information has become available on the site of San Clemente, half-way between the Colisseum and the St. John Lateran – revealing extensive building c. 380 onwards on the site of the original Domesticum of Clement, the 'house-church' linked by a narrow passage to a Mithraeum. The rival religions were neighbours as at the Vatican at Peter's tomb. After the damage to associated sites in the times of Valerian (257) and Diocletian (303), the site was confirmed by Marcellus (308–310) in his creation of 25 titular churches within the city, many centred on the 'memoriae' i.e. reconstructions on the sites of martyrs' houses. The Titulars were mentioned by Prudentius (c. 405) and Paulinus (d. 431). The Latin Liturgy of Clement was probably produced c. A.D. 407 or earlier, and though it can have no claim to antiquity, its very production does indicate the importance of the developments at San Clemente during the previous 25

¹ Joseph Mullooly, O. P., Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome (Rome, 1869).

² Rudolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893–1901), Fasc. 4, sheet 29. The Cambridge University Library copy reference is 'Fasc. 3. plate 30, incorrectly numbered 29'.

³ Louis Nolan, O. P., *The Basilica of San Clemente*, Rome (ed. 3, Grottaferrata, 1925).

⁴ E. Junyent, *Il Titolo di San Clemente* (Rome, 1932).

⁵ E. Mâle, *The Early Churches of Rome*, tr. by David Buxton (London, 1960).

years, which were the result of a popular Clement-cult, with the strong supporting idea that the bishop of Rome was the true successor of Peter through Clement.

After the triumph of the Church, the euphoric emergence of confident Christianity extended the Titulus Clementis by adding an apse, which now encroached on the Mithraeum, long since deserted by its devotees. Jerome⁶ refers to the 4th century Basilica, and Zosimus⁷, writing to the African bishops, says that the Synod of Rome met in San Clemente, i.e. the new Basilica, for the condemnation of the Pelagian Celestius.

Antioch — the original matrix of the Letter

Conditions were favourable for the transfer of the Petrine tradition from Antioch to Rome — we now have the works of the Orator Libanius (d. 393) and the works of a succession of scholars eg. Reiske, Sievers, Seeck, Pack, Petit, and Norman, which open up a store of information on the condition of Antioch A.D. 360–390, with the Sermons of John Chrysostom and the Chronicles of John Malalas. Rome was now emerging as a religious and moral force which Antioch had failed to realise, and the Greek-bound Libanius with his loaded invectives, and the Sophists with their Syriac-bound culture, could only doom Antioch, culturally, as a one-time great city. By a cultured parochialism, Antioch surrendered to the new post-Constantine order.

To say the least, if not a contributor, the Epistola Clementis was symptomatic of changes at Rome — it caught the imagination and mood of the period A.D. 380–410, and there was a prismatical concentration of old claims and attitudes, with new ideas, which proved the matrix of papal theory for the next 1200 years and continues to do so. Episcopal succession lists with their tedious chronology now gave way to the new Petrine impetus — and a Eustathian from Antioch probably between A.D. 370 and 382, disillusioned with Antioch as the Chair of Peter (a written tradition established there since the days of Theophilus c. A.D. 180)⁸ but proud of Rome's alignment with Eustathius, now took the Primary document to Rome, to be worked on by a Clementine-party Scriptorium, possibly the same Scriptorium which produced the Liturgy of Clement 30 years later.

Perhaps the strong Theodosian Caesaropapism in the East had now proved counter-productive, and produced sufficient reaction for the Epistola Clementis to go West. Imperial coercion may be effective but the Clementine-Petrine theory was more attractive and more theologically attuned. Was there an "x" factor within the Roman succession, explicable ex post facto as Petrinitas, a Petrine succession through Clement, a truly Apostolic man —

⁶ Jerome, Cat. de Script. Eccles.

⁷ P. L. 20. 642–685.

⁸ Eusebius, H. E. 4. 20; cp. Recognitions X. 71 (c. A. D. 211–231).

rendering the succession lists non-starters when it came to the thought of universality? This was the imperial age when men strove for the stability of a monolithic structure with a single directive centre. The interweaving of the two strands into a unitive centre, obedient to the analogy of faith, generated a plethora of Petrine texts and their use, which the silence of the Fathers and of the early councils did not cancel. There was a new Peter-awareness.

The *Epistola Clementis* contains ministerial separation though the crew did not contain bishops. In the terse Latin of his sermons Leo (440–461) worked out what may be called the first systematic exposition of the great Petrine texts, and was boldly followed by Felix III, Gelasius I, and Symmachus. The *Epistola Clementis* was central to this development – for its theme was the ordination of Clement by Peter to special responsibilities. The Petrine romance stood as something in its own right in a changing world-situation – from foundation-texts to foundation-function, and a vital leap forward took place at Rome from 380 onwards, when the Petrine texts only come to be exhausted by the thesis of continuity. A new spirit is breathed into the situation if we put Mt. 18. 18 alongside Mt. 16. 18 and realise that the three great Petrine texts⁹ are accompanied by three failures.

The Text

With its early matrix in Antioch, the *Epistola Clementis* was now to hand to act as the title deed for the first juristic product of the Petrine theory, viz. the Decretal of Siricius c. 385. Professor Walter Ullmann¹⁰ has already drawn our attention to the interesting preservation of Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* 3. 3. 2 in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* V. 6 – with a verbal graduation – here, the *ἐνεχέρισαν* (handing over the office of overseer) of Linus, gives way to the *διαδέχεται* (followed) of Anenclitus, but when we come to Clement, the word *κληροῦται* (inherits) is used, the same word as appears in the *Epistola Clementis*, which contains a great difference in meaning and significance, since it creates the 'heir'.

That the idea of the distinctive position of Clement was beginning to gain ground may be seen in Tertullian's reference¹¹ to the Apostolic Churches tracing their origins – at Smyrna, Polycarp was placed there by John, and Clement was *in like manner ordained* by Peter. Since a case may be made out for Tertullian personalising Theophilus' Triad in his doctrine of the Trinity,

⁹ Mt. 16. 18 with Mt. 18. 18; Luke 22. 32 with Luke 22. 34; John 21. 15 with John 21. 20.

¹⁰ Walter Ullmann, *J. T. S., New Series*, Vol. XI (1960), pp. 295 ff. The effect of this argument is blurred by the fact that Eusebius, H. E. 3. 2 uses the word *κληροῦται* of Linus. It may be said, however, that here Eusebius is speaking of the episcopate. Other references in Eusebius are H. E. 3. 13: 'Linus transmitted (*παράδιδωσι*) the ministry he had held for 12 years to Anenclitus', and H. E. 3. 15: 'Clement succeeded (*διαδέχεται*) Anenclitus in the ministry (*ἐπισκοπεύσαντα*) he had held for 12 years'.

¹¹ Tertullian, *De Praescript. Haer.* 14. 32.

Tertullian may have known more about Antiochene theology than is generally recognised. The writer of the Apostolic Constitutions regarded the Roman Clement as the channel of communication between the Apostles and the Church.

The Influence of the Epistola Clementis

When we come to Jerome, the position is very different – the Clementine Scriptorium has by now made itself felt. For though the Roman Synod of A.D. 369 makes no reference to any Petrine succession, Jerome as secretary to Damasus highlights the Petrine Cathedra, the theme of the *Epistola Clementis*. In his 15th Letter from Syria c. A.D. 376 to Damasus, Jerome is almost euphoric in his expressions – "the East tears in pieces the Lord's coat – by me is the Chair of Peter to be consulted in that faith which is praised by the Apostle's mouth – I speak of the successors of the Fisherman"; here there is no hint of John 21, of Peter the Shepherd, an irrelevant synonym for a highly sophisticated empire – the Persian Emperors might boast of their lowly shepherd origins in poverty and privation – but here is Peter the Fisherman, not a solitary figure on a mountain side looking after some silly sheep – but rather the Fisherman, steering the Ark of Christ into the home waters of the Tiber – a new Aeneas, whom Vergil made land at the Navalia in the Tiber, where Procopius tells us that the ancient 'bark of Aeneas' was piously preserved, linking Trojan Legend with that of Romulus. Peter is captain of the Lord's crew – that is the theme of the central part of the *Epistola Clementis*: The picture is highly emotive. Of course Jerome was writing as an adolescentulus at 29 years of age (!) and still a layman with a capacity for exaggeration, changing sides with a strong anxiety complex, and after 393 he lost much of his papalising attitude engendered during his catechumenate – but his words should be taken within the general backcloth of the development. By A.D. 393 we hear more, not less, of this conciliatory document, the *Epistola Clementis* – conciliatory because the Peter-Paul syndrome now becomes centred on the Domesticum of Clement, the new building of the San Clemente. The *Prima Clementis* showed how well Clement had brought together Peter-Paul when he writes to the Corinthians. Jerome¹² states the ordinary Latin opinion that Clement was the second bishop of Rome, following Peter – echoes of the *Epistola Clementis* – and in his *Adversus Jovinian* 1 and in his 14th Book on Isaiah 52. 13, he also names Clement the successor of Peter, omitting Linus and Anencletus. Rufinus also set aside the succession lists and records the prevailing opinion at Rome in the same manner – by the end of the 4th century, the *Epistola Clementis* was important enough for Rufinus to produce his Latin translation, or rather version, of the Greek MS.

¹² Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 15 (P. L. 23. 601–720).

Analysis

There is a remarkable similarity between Siricius's 15th Letter and the *Epistola Clementis* in its sections 2 and 10 – in section 2 and Siricius's Letter, both state that Peter's ordination of Clement guarded against those trying to snatch at superior offices to increase their own sphere of honours and influence, if not to get rich quickly. Section 10 and Siricius's Letter both state that presbyters should not sit in judgement in strifes and contentions of a civil nature – Siricius states that those using the 'ius saeculi' should not be admitted to the ministry of the altar, a strong view also stated in the *Epistola Clementis*. The ship theme of Section 14 occurs in Chrysostom's Letter to Innocent in 406, and there are verbal affinities with the Apostolic Constitutions eg. the use of the Ionic genitive in Section 14 *ῥηί* and the use of *ναυτολόγος, τοίχαρχοι, ἐπιβάτης*.¹³

The Clementine succession at Rome was not of itself a cancellation of the Petrine succession at Antioch coming through Euodius – it was the use of the *Epistola Clementis* at Rome in that particular climate, impregnated with historical circumstances, that brought about the exclusive use at Rome of this ordination document.

The other sections 6–15, the inner sections, reflect mid-4th century developments, under the aegis of the Clementine Scriptorium, activated by the arrival of the *Epistola Clementis* in Rome after A.D. 360. Originally the document had belonged to that same Syriac provenance which produced the redaction of the Apostolic Constitutions, with which it had verbal affinities.

Whereas the Epistle of *Peter* to James (a later production than the *Epistola Clementis*) emerged from a Scriptorium with outdated and discredited heterodox ideas, the scriptorium of the *Epistola Clementis* lacks this defect, and is fully pastoral in tone, progressive in Church order, and breathes a thoroughly apostolic awareness of contemporary dangers.

¹³ Apostolic Const. 2. 57. 2; 2. 57. 10; 2. 57. 4; 2. 57. 2; 2. 2. 6.

Early Christian Banking

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Private banks in antiquity had much simpler functions than their modern counterparts. They were content to change money, accept deposits (and pay interest on them), extend credit (charging a *higher* rate of interest) and provide a few other services. During the third century of our era they went into a state of decline. They had always suffered from inadequate liquidity, but the currency problems of the late Roman emperors made people lose confidence in cash not in hand, *a fortiori* in banks. Such are the conclusions of R. Bogaert in his important *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques* (Leiden, 1968).¹

It is interesting that the period just before the banks started to slip provides our earliest evidence for Christian bankers. The Adoptianist heresy at Rome, toward the end of the second century, was financed and led by a certain Theodotus the banker – so successfully that the Adoptianist bishop could be criticised as getting a regular salary for heresy (150 denarii a month, as it happened)².

Bogaert does not mention the slave Callistus, later bishop of Rome and finally a martyr, buried in the catacomb of Calepodius on the Via Aurelia.³ The main points of his career in finance can be summarized briefly. His master Carpophorus was a Christian of Caesar's household at Rome. He started Callistus in the banking business and indeed became his first depositor, in the expectation of a good profit. The bank opened in the Piscina Publica, a street or district near where Caracalla would later build his baths.⁴ It attracted many additional deposits from Christian "widows and brothers" influenced by the example of Carpophorus. Unfortunately Calli-

¹ See also the study, still valuable, by W. L. Westermann, "Warehousing and Treasuries in Antiquity," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 3 (1930–1931), 30–54.

² Eusebius, *H. E.* V 28, 9–10.

³ A. Nestori, "La catacomba di Calepodio al III miglio dell' Aurelia Vetusta e i sepolcri dei papi Callisto e Giulio I," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 47 (1971), 169–278 (184–218). On the bank, S. Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World* (New York, 1966), 150–52; H. Gölzow, *Christentum und Sklaverei in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Bonn, 1969), 152–58. On the story, K. Beyschlag, "Callist und Hippolyt," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 20 (1964), 103–24 (103–12).

⁴ K. Schneider in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* XX (1950), 1789–90.

stus then went bankrupt. As his master was on the verge of demanding an accounting, Callistus took ship at Portus but was apprehended and sent to work in the public bakery. Later on he let it be known that he might still collect some of his loans and Carpophorus got him freed. Unfortunately the unpaid loans were nonexistent. Callistus decided to suffer as a Christian martyr and headed for a synagogue, first on the pretext of collecting debts, then starting a riot so as to be arrested as a Christian. We need not follow his career further at this point.

Karl Beyschlag has noted apparent echoes from parables of Jesus. Carpophorus is like the king of Matthew 18 who wanted to get an accounting from his slaves. Callistus is the debtor who tried to choke others and was therefore imprisoned. Or he is like the two-talent slave of Matthew 25 who should have banked the money in order to get interest on it. Or he is like the unjust steward of Luke 16. It is not clear that all these parallels are really parallel. In the first place, there are too many of them. In the second place, many of Jesus' parables are rather realistic. Presumably similar situations evoke similar terms. How many ways can one describe bankruptcy? It is a more serious objection that Callistus is being depicted in a "hymn of hate" by Hippolytus. What we have, as in much history modern as well as ancient, is based on gossip. I fear there is no remedy for this.

Let us boldly look at some features of the story, then. First, there are Christians who hope for profit from banking, some like Callistus as managers, some like Carpophorus and the widows as depositors. The profit of the latter class is ordinarily called "interest." Here we encounter a difficulty. The early Christians apparently held divergent views concerning the rightness of taking interest on loans. Some, following Old Testament precedents, insisted that one could not take advantage of the distress of a compatriot.⁵ Clement of Alexandria simply transcribes lines from Philo on this point.⁶ The key New Testament verses are Luke 6 : 34-35: "If you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what credit is it to you? Sinners too lend to sinners in order to take back as much again. But . . . lend expecting nothing in return."⁷ It is not clear whether the Christian is supposed to lose interest or principal as well. In either case, banking would hardly provide an advisable career. On the other hand, the parable of the Talents clearly commends lending at interest, and through a bank. The unproductive slave who hid his money in the ground or in a napkin is rebuked. He should have put it in the bank so that the master could have received it back with interest (Matt. 25 : 27; Luke 19 : 23). We have just seen that Clement of Alexandria opposed interest-bearing loans. It is no surprise to find that in citing Mat-

⁵ J. B. Pearson, *On the Theories on Usury* (Cambridge, 1876), 6-12; cf. R. P. Maloney, "The Teaching of the Fathers on Usury," *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973), 241-65.

⁶ Str. II 84, 4-5; Philo, *Virt.* 82-84.

⁷ Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* IV 17, 1-4. A true prophet would not lend money at interest (Apollonius in Eusebius, *H. E.* V 18, 11).

thew 25 : 27 he leaves out the words "with interest."⁸ Either an intensification of the no-interest view or a compromise between no interest and interest occurs in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (16 [31]), where those who take *compound* interest are punished in hell.⁹

Conceivably the special merit of Callistus' banking plan lay in the character of its clients for loans. The bank made loans, at least according to the story, not to Christians but to Jews. Callistus thus anticipated, in reverse, the role of Jewish bankers in the middle ages, though he lacked their competence.

Mazzarino has suggested that Callistus was not incompetent. He was simply a scapegoat for Carpophorus, and he failed because of economic circumstances. Such a claim is often made when banks or other businesses fail, and it deserves no credit or credence in this case. Mazzarino speculates that the borrowers could not pay the high interest rate needed by charitable institutions (like Carpophorus and the other Christians). An examination of the interest rates obtained by Roman charities shows, however, that they were low, not high¹⁰, and the hypothesis vanishes. We do not know precisely why Callistus failed. His business reputation with the bishops of Rome remained sound; they paid him a pension and eventually put him in charge of the principal real estate holdings of the church.

Beyond Callistus, we may find a reference to Christian banking in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the late second century or early third (PSI XIV 1412). This contains a letter from Sarapammon, possibly a professional athlete, to his family. He is apparently on his way to Antioch and has been a pretty consistent winner in games of some sort. He has been sending home his winnings, as he says. "We sent you through Sotas the *Chresian* two talents and through Ion [elsewhere "the brother Ion"] fifty gold pieces. If you wish, then, you may get it from him [presumably Ion] either in wheat or wine, for he will give it <to you>; for thus I contracted with him. I sent you . . . for these . . ." Thus the letter breaks off. If, as the editors of later Oxyrhynchus papyri (vol. XLII) have conjectured, "*Chresian*" means "Christian" we have an example of a Christian – and a Christian "brother"? – performing the other function of ancient bankers, i.e. acting as a depository, presumably for a modest fee. Early Christians were, or wanted to be, well known for returning deposits placed with them. Pliny's famous letter tells how their baptismal oath included a promise not to renege on a deposit. The virtue of repayment is stressed in apologetic writings of the second and third centuries¹¹, as well as in Origen's homilies on Leviticus.¹² Such literary references are, of course, ambiguous. They show that paying back deposits was a virtue; they also show that it had to be encouraged. Perhaps

⁸ Str. I 3, 2; 90, 4. Origen (Matt. comm. XIV 8) retains the words, however.

⁹ Cyprian denounces bishops who take compound interest (De lapsis 6).

¹⁰ A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1968).

¹¹ Pliny, Ep. X 96; Aristides, Apol. 15, 4; Tertullian, Ad Scap. 4 and 32.

¹² Origen, Lev. hom. IV 1 (p. 317 Baehrens).

Sotas the Chresian and Ion transmitted the funds entrusted to them. No evidence is available.

From the third century comes the difficult Amherst papyrus (I 3 [a]) with its mention of bishop Maximus of Alexandria and of Theonas, perhaps his successor.¹³ There are many problems. How many letters are there? What is the underlying business situation? And so on. For our purposes we need discuss only the barest outlines. A promise has been made that money will be delivered to a certain Primitinus at Alexandria. Now there are Christians bringing linen from Arsinoë. They are to sell it at Alexandria, deliver the proceeds to either Primitinus or bishop ("papa") Maximus and obtain a receipt. They are also to sell bread and deliver the proceeds to Theonas; the author of the letter will get them at Alexandria for his expenses. Evidently both writer and recipients of the letter are Christian businessmen; they are employing the services of Maximus and Theonas as bankers of deposit.¹⁴ The Church of Alexandria had reached a state of tranquillity in which the apocryphal saying "Be approved bankers" could be taken literally.¹⁵

The evidence we have considered is not very extensive and it does not prove that all third-century Christians were businessmen or bankers. What it does prove is that not all of them were theologians. As we begin to write intelligible modern histories of early Christianity we owe it to the ancients to recognize the distortions which literary historians have inevitably produced and try to redress the balance by moving on to consider social, political and economic forces and situations and the Christians, and others, who were concerned with them. After all, the treatise *De officiis* of Ambrose reveals that by the end of the fourth century bishops and Churches were handling trust accounts not only for widows and minor orphans but for Christians in general.¹⁶

¹³ Also printed as Wilcken, Chrest. 126; SB 9557; Naldini 6; discussion by H. A. Musurillo, "Early Christian Economy," *Chronique d'Egypte* 31 (1956), 124-34. Appropriately, the papyrus is in the Morgan Library, New York.

¹⁴ Letters of recommendation addressed to Maximus and sent by Theonas (Naldini, nos. 19 and 20) can reflect business dealings as well as travel.

¹⁵ A. Resch, *Agrapha* (Leipzig, 1906), no. 87.

¹⁶ *De off.* II 144-51 (PL 16, 150-52); cf. F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford, 1935), 119-20.

The Decline and Fall of the Confessor-Presbyter

E. R. HARDY†

In mediaeval and modern times when a man is ordained to the order of presbyters the first thought that occurs is that now he will be able to celebrate the Eucharist. This was already true in the fourth century when that sturdy presbyter St. Jerome contrasts deacons as "servers of tables" with those "at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ are produced" – *ad quorum preces corpus Christi sanguisque conficitur*¹. But two centuries earlier Hippolytus of Rome, who was equally anxious to keep deacons in their place, drew a different distinction. He indeed observes that a deacon, the Bishop's assistant, is not ordained to the priesthood. But his main emphasis is that the deacon does not take part in the council of the clergy, nor has he received the spirit of the presbyterate. This is presumably the gift of wisdom in government which is the special endowment prayed for in the presbyter's ordination prayer. One can see why it was not so startling to Hippolytus as it is to us that a confessor should automatically take his place among the presbyters.² If we live, as St. Augustine was to put it early in the fifth century, in the age in which the saints reign with Christ³, who among us can more naturally occupy this position than those who have had the grace to confess Christ to the end, and only by accident as it were are still alive on earth? Hippolytus reasonably limits the privilege of the confessor-presbyter, which had perhaps been too widely claimed, to those who had been in chains and prison, the usual prelude to martyrdom. They had achieved a kind of martyrdom of desire, parallel to the baptism of blood which Hippolytus recognizes for the martyr-catechumen.⁴ Such a man deserved to be highly honoured, to take his place in church with the Bishop and other elders on the *synthronos* and to share in their deliberations. One of my teachers used to observe that the chief qualification for a presbyter in the second century was to look well on a platform.⁵ This exaggerates a bit, but certainly the presbyter's main function in the church was not to preach or administer the sacraments, but to be a worthy member of the *presidium*.⁶

¹ Epistle 146.

² *Apostolic Tradition* 9–10 (Dix), 8–9 (Botte).

³ *De Civitate Dei* XX, 9, *init.*

⁴ *Apostolic Tradition*, 19.

⁵ the late Professor Burton Scott Easton.

⁶ cf. the recently reprinted papers by Gregory Dix, *Jurisdiction in the Early Church*

Why indeed deprive these all-but martyrs, destined for heaven, of the highest rank in the church on earth? One should note that Hippolytus' main emphasis is not on the fact that the confessor is a presbyter, but on the limitation that he is not a Bishop. Had such a potentially disruptive claim ever been made? There seems to be an often neglected case in Eusebius who tells us that the followers of Theodotus the banker hired a simple-minded confessor named Natalius to be the bishop of their sect. Warned in dreams and scourged by angels, whatever that may mean, he fell down in penitence before Bishop Zephyrinus with the clergy and laity and was received back into communion.⁷ This episode may well have been in Hippolytus' mind, since he was himself one of Zephyrinus' presbyters and may indeed have been present on this occasion. Whether there were other such cases we do not know; but the possibility of schism under confessor-bishops could have been a special danger at Rome, where there seem from the beginning to have been several groups of Christians as there were a number of Jewish congregations in the metropolitan city. One should also remember that to the second-century ear *episkopos* would carry its etymological meaning of a director or leader of the church. It was not yet quite the technical term which it became later, especially when carried over from Greek into other languages.

It seems impossible to point to a recorded case of a confessor-presbyter, though it has been suggested that Hippolytus' *bête noire*, Callistus, may have held this rank when he returned from the Sardinian mines, from which few came back alive. But the respect for confessors evidently continued. It gave birth to new problems when the Decian persecution produced numbers of apostates and numerous confessors, not all of them gifted with wisdom and discretion. Dionysius of Alexandria appeals to their authority as against the rigorist position which denied reconciliation to apostates. They are "the divine martyrs among us, who are now assessors of Christ and sharers of his kingdom and participants in his judgment and pass sentence with him." The Alexandrian confessors had espoused the cause of penitent apostates and welcomed them to their prayers and feasts; should the Bishop follow their decision by what a later Greek Orthodox prelate could have called a wise economy of the means of grace?⁸ As a kind soul Dionysius rather implies that he should. The text seems ambiguous as to whether the confessors had admitted penitents to communion in some Alexandrian congregations or, more probably, done everything but that while expecting the Bishop to complete their rehabilitation.

Cyprian of Carthage had, like Dionysius, thought it best to guide his

(1938), London, 1975; John Chrysostom as late as 390 speaks of presbyters primarily as those who sit in council — *Baptismal Instructions*, tr. Paul W. Harkins (*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 31) London, 1963, XI, 31 (p. 171).

⁷ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 28, 2 (GCS IX, 1, pp. 502–504); Eusebius's somewhat later source naturally only says that Natalius was "called" Bishop of this heresy.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI 42, 5–6 (GCS IX, 1, pp. 610–612).

flock from exile, even at the cost of damage to his personal prestige. His troubles with a party of Carthaginian confessors are well known. More cantankerous than their Alexandrian brethren, they did not function as members of the presbytery but as a pressure group who felt able to give orders to the hierarchy, until the Bishop brought the situation under control by first limiting the power of confessors to recommendation, and then as the situation developed dispensing with special reference to them altogether. While in retirement Cyprian had proceeded to an ordination, already approved by his presbytery, in which he made Saturus a reader and the confessor Optatus a subdeacon.⁹ Perhaps this occasion led him to realize that there could be no clearer way of denying that a confessor is a presbyter than by ordaining him to a lower rank. The point is made with some vigour when he ordains two confessors as readers, adding that he will hope when peace is restored to advance them to the presbyterate with the consent of the church. Yet even in the letters announcing these ordinations there is a hint of the confessors' special position. Aurelius and Celerinus have been marked out as suited for the ministry by their heroic confession. In the case of Celerinus this was confirmed by visions of the night which removed his hesitation; Cyprian himself like other African Christians welcomed such charismatic guidance. What more suitable, he goes on to say, than that those who had witnessed to the power of the Gospel before the persecutors should proclaim it as they read the Gospel from the ambo in church, a function which still belonged to readers rather than to deacons, as a recent Anglican revision again allows?¹⁰

Yet Cyprian seems to have had more than a lingering feeling that the confessorship which as yet he lacked was a suitable qualification for the highest position in the church. The presbyter Numidicus, who had been left for dead among the martyrs, but rescued by his daughter, was welcomed into the presbytery of Carthage with the prospect that he could later be promoted *ad ampliorem locum*, presumably to the episcopate in his own town.¹¹ Again in writing to Pope Lucius Cyprian pulls out his rhetorical stops in congratulating the Roman Church on receiving a confessor for its Bishop after the martyr Cornelius.¹² Cyprian may to the end have felt some embarrassment at his own *fuga in persecutione*, and with some relief have welcomed the approach of the martyr's crown as he answered *Deo gratias* to the Proconsul's sentence.

In later Church Orders the presbyterate of confessors gradually disappears. Some of the documents derived from Hippolytus retain it, the Ethiopic

⁹ Epistle 29 (CSEL III, 2, pp. 547–8).

¹⁰ Epistles 38–39 (CSEL III, 2, pp. 579–583); cf. *An Order for Holy Communion, Series 3*, London, 1973, p. 8.

¹¹ Epistle 40 (CSEL III, 2, pp. 585–6).

¹² Epistle 61 (CSEL III, 2, pp. 695–698); cf. preference for a confessor as Bishop noted in Tertullian, *Contra Valentinianos*, 4.

offering the curious compromise that the confessor may rank as a deacon. But I suspect this was merely a literary reminiscence in an age which would have been as startled as later times at the thought of an unordained man exercising priestly functions.¹³ However the *Apostolic Constitutions* say that a confessor is deserving of great honour, but must be disciplined if he assumes any clerical rank without being ordained to it.¹⁴ This reads as if it referred to a real situation in mid-fourth century Syria. There were few survivors of the great persecutions, but the title could still be won by those who suffered under Julian the Apostate, or perhaps under heretical Emperors. In the 380's when the pilgrim Egeria distinguished certain Bishops as monks and confessors she may have had this possibility in mind, or be following the practice by which the title could be given to a notable ascetic.¹⁵

For the monk or hermit succeeded in general esteem to the position of the confessor as the perfect witness who had given up all for the name of Christ. He sometimes receives the title, as in the later Latin usage of "confessor" for saints who are not martyrs but have displayed heroic virtues. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* the Abbot Pambo is reported to have said to four visitors who came to him with different vocations that if they persevered to the end they would deserve to be called *ὁμολογητοί*.¹⁶ The holy monk might also be endowed with charismatic gifts which made it more natural to turn to him for spiritual guidance than to those who were becoming in every sense, good and bad, the secular clergy. He may thus be a confessor in another sense, which in a way succeeds to the appeal of penitents to the confessors of the persecutions. In what are I suppose almost our oldest actual monastic documents, the letters addressed to the mid-fourth century hermit Paphnouthios of which the originals are in the British Museum, correspondents ask for the holy man's prayers for forgiveness of sins as well as for healing of body.¹⁷ Consultations with those to whom wisdom and holiness have given the ability to be physicians of souls have always continued in the church. To jump a thousand years, one may think of the ministry exercised by the Lady Julian of Norwich in 15th-century England. In ancient monastic communities, to refer to the best-known examples, Basil recommends confession of sins to those able to heal diseases of the soul, again referred to, with a reference to the saints, as those to whom are entrusted the stewardship of the mysteries of God, a term which probably includes the clergy without excluding others¹⁸, and Benedict directs frank confession of public offences in the chapter of faults, and of secret sins to the Abbot or, perhaps and, to

¹³ cf. apparatus in Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, new ed., London, 1968, p. 18.

¹⁴ *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 25, 2 (ed. F. X. Funk, 1905, pp. 526–528).

¹⁵ the Bishops of Batania, Edessa, and Carrhae in Mesopotamia, *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, 19–20 (cf. discussion in John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, London 1971, pp. 237–8).

¹⁶ *Apophthegmata*, Pambo, PG 65, 369 B.

¹⁷ P. Lond. 1923–1929, in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London, 1924, pp. 103–120.

“spiritual seniors”. In the conditions envisaged by his *Rule* these were not normally in Holy Orders.¹⁹ Later Greek practice is referred to in the final Canon of the Quinisext Council which speaks in general terms of “those to whom God has entrusted the power of binding and loosing”.²⁰ Absolution by unordained monks is the subject of Karl Holl’s well-known *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt*, with special reference to a letter of the 11th-century Simeon the New Theologian on this subject²¹, and as I understand still not unknown in Eastern monasteries.²² If the devout Orthodox believer turns for the ministry of reconciliation to a holy priest-monk it need not be defined which is the primary capacity involved; and in the more formal Western Christian world when a penitent asks, in terms familiar to Anglo-Catholics, for “counsel, penance, and absolution” the third of these calls for sacerdotal authority and the second for a certain exercise of jurisdiction, but the first for spiritual gifts.

¹⁸ Basil, *Shorter Rules*, 229 and 288.

¹⁹ Benedict, *Regula* 46 (cf. 4, line 60, and 7, 5th degree of humility).

²⁰ Canon 102 (Mansi, *Concilia*, XI, cols. 987–8).

²¹ K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum*, Leipzig, 1898.

²² as noted by John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology, Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1974, p. 196.

Chrétiens et païens au temps de la persécution de Dioclétien: le cas d'Abthugni

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La controverse donatiste a permis la conservation de documents d'un grand intérêt pour l'étude des rapports des chrétiens et de leurs voisins païens en Afrique romaine au temps de la persécution de Dioclétien: des extraits de procès-verbaux d'actes officiels relatifs au jour de la *Traditio*, c'est à dire à l'application du premier édit de persécution, émis le 23 février 303 et ordonnant aux autorités municipales de confisquer et de détruire les églises, les livres saints et le mobilier liturgique¹. Parfois, nous sommes en présence des scènes violentes et héroïques, habituelles dans les actes des martyrs: des magistrats intransigeants livrent des chrétiens qui refusent de renier leur foi au tribunal du gouverneur provincial qui prononce des condamnations à mort. Ce fut ainsi le cas à Abitinæ ou à Thibiuca². Il n'en fut pas de même partout, comme le montrent trois textes qui eussent disparu s'ils n'avaient été utilisés par les catholiques pour les besoins de la polémique contre les donatistes. Il s'agit des extraits, cités par saint Augustin, des actes du concile de Cirta en 305³, concernant l'attitude peu glorieuse de certains évêques numides; des *Gesta apud Zenophilum*⁴, sur la *traditio* accomplie par l'évêque et le clergé de Cirta; enfin, des *Acta purgationis Felicis*⁵, sur ce qui advint dans la petite ville d'Abthugni.

Ces documents d'archives sont fort précieux pour un historien, car ils mettent en scène, ce qui est fort rare, des gens très ordinaires. Ce ne sont pas d'importants responsables politiques ou administratifs, de prestigieux chefs

¹ Sur la persécution de Dioclétien en Afrique, il convient de se reporter à l'*Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* de Paul Monceaux, t. III (1905), p. 21-40 et 93-161, ainsi qu'à l'ouvrage de M. W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and persecution in the early Church*, (Oxford, 1965), p. 499-503.

² Martyrs d'Abitinæ: Studi e Testi, 65, Rome, 1935, p. 49-71 (Franchi de' Cavalieri); P. L., VIII, 689-703; ce document est en partie d'un auteur donatiste. Thibiuca: *Passio s. Felicis episcopi Thibiensis*, B. H. L., 2894-5; P. L., VIII, 679-683 et 686-688.

³ Augustin, *Contra Cresconium*, III, 27 (30), B. A., 30, p. 324-327; cf. Optat, I, 13-14.

⁴ *Gesta apud Zenophilum consularem*, éd. Ziwsa, C. S. E. L., 26, p. 185-197. Il s'agit des actes du procès qui se déroula en 320 devant le gouverneur de Numidie et où l'évêque donatiste de Constantine, Silvanus, fut accusé d'avoir été *traditor* en 303. On lut à l'audience le procès-verbal de la perquisition faite en 303 dans l'église de Cirta par l'autorité municipale.

⁵ Ed. Ziwsa, C. S. E. L., 26, p. 197-204. Comme le précédent, ce texte fait partie du *Dossier du donatisme*, collection de documents publiée en appendice au livre d'Optat de Milev.

d'église, des intellectuels, des martyrs, des saints. On rencontre des clercs sans héroïsme, des magistrats municipaux sans fanatisme; des membres des classes moyennes, sans grand relief, sans originalité: de bons représentants du plus grand nombre, c'est à dire de ceux qui, surtout pour l'Antiquité, laissent peu de traces dans l'histoire.

Ces textes permettent de constater que la «petite paix de l'Eglise», les quarante ans de paix religieuse qui suivirent l'édit de tolérance de Gallien, avaient permis, en bien des cas, un apaisement du conflit à la base⁶. Les chrétiens étaient de moins en moins enclins, une minorité mise à part, à considérer la cité humaine comme la grande Babylone, vouée au feu du ciel. Des responsables païens de plus en plus nombreux avaient, de leur côté, cessé de voir dans les chrétiens «les ennemis du genre humain». Les conditions d'une conciliation commençaient à se réunir, ce qui fait que la persécution de Dioclétien, ordonnée d'en haut, paraît anachronique.

Les autorités municipales durent donc, en 303, intervenir contre les chrétiens. Fut chargé de l'opération soit l'un des duumvirs, soit, le plus souvent, le *curator rei publicae* qui, dès cette époque, était en général issu de la curie locale⁷. Dans les cas les mieux connus — à Cirta et à Abthugni — on doit constater chez ces magistrats l'absence de tout enthousiasme païen, de toute hargne anti-chrétienne particulière. A Cirta, le curateur accomplit sa mission de perquisition, d'inventaire, d'interrogatoire, de confiscation avec précision et conscience, mais sans violence superflue⁸. Parfois, il y a plus: des magistrats semblent fermer les yeux sur des supercheries et manifester une réelle complaisance. Des évêques, des clercs, dissimulent les livres saints et remettent aux autorités n'importe quoi. A Carthage, l'évêque Mensurius livre une collection d'écrits hérétiques⁹; à Calama, ce sont des livres de médecine que l'évêque Donatus laisse confisquer¹⁰; à Aquae Thibiltanae, on remet des archives¹¹. Les magistrats et leurs auxiliaires semblaient fort inattentifs ou

⁶ Sur le tournant décisif que représente cette période, voir Eusèbe de Césarée, *Hist. Eccl.*, VIII, 1. Des auteurs récents ont beaucoup insisté sur ce point: M. Frend appelle *The Triumph of Christianity, 260-303*, le chapitre correspondant de son ouvrage *Martyrdom and Persecution in the early Church* (*op. cit.*, p. 441-476); M. R. A. Markus utilise la formule, également fort caractéristique, *Towards Respectability (Christianity in the Roman World)*, London, 1974, p. 70-86).

⁷ Sur les *curatores* et la manière dont ils cessèrent, sous Dioclétien et Constantin, d'être des délégués du pouvoir impérial imposés de l'extérieur, pour devenir des maires désignés sur place, voir Ch. Lucas, *Notes on the curatores rei publicae of Roman Africa*, *J. R. S.*, XXX, 1940, p. 56-57.

⁸ *Loc. cit. supra*, n. 4. Dans son commentaire de ce document, Paul Monceaux (*op. cit.*, III, p. 93-96) souligne l'attitude peu malveillante du flamine perpétuel et curateur Munatius Felix. On doit cependant constater que cette perquisition n'a pas été exempte d'une certaine brutalité policière (*cf. loc. cit.*, p. 187, 1. 18; 188, 1. 2-3).

⁹ Augustin, *Brevis Collat.*, III, 13, 25.

¹⁰ Augustin, *Contra Cresconium*, III, 27, 30 (extrait des actes du concile de Cirta en 305).

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

plutôt complaisants. Ces subterfuges ne passaient pas toujours inaperçus : à Carthage, des décurions allèrent dénoncer l'astuce de l'évêque au proconsul Anullinus, qui décida de passer outre. Augustin, qui rapporte cette anecdote, présente la démarche de ces décurions comme individuelle¹² : il semble donc que, dans la curie de Carthage, les partisans d'une véritable réaction païenne étaient en minorité.

Nous connaissons particulièrement bien ce qui se passa à Abthugni, petite ville sise à 75 kilomètres au sud-ouest de Carthage¹³. Les donatistes, on le sait, accusèrent son évêque Félix d'avoir été *traditor*. Il fut l'un des consécrateurs de Cécilien de Carthage en 312 : cela suffisait, à leurs yeux, pour entacher de nullité cette ordination épiscopale¹⁴. Un procès eut lieu, en 314 et 315¹⁵, sur l'ordre de Constantin, devant le proconsul Aelianus, pour faire la lumière sur cette affaire. Furent convoqués comme témoins les principaux acteurs des événements de 303 à Abthugni, et particulièrement le duumvir Alfius Caecilianus, qui avait dirigé la procédure anti-chrétienne. Tout était suspendu à son témoignage.

Les actes du procès ont été en partie conservés dans le dossier du donatisme, rassemblé par les catholiques pour les besoins de la controverse et publié en annexe au livre d'Optat de Milev¹⁶. Le duumvir Alfius Caecilianus témoigna à deux reprises, d'abord à l'audience initiale présidée par un duumvir de Carthage, puis au tribunal proconsulaire¹⁷. Ses dépositions, si on les examine avec attention, sont très caractéristiques de l'état d'esprit défini plus haut. Ce magistrat était un homme fort simple, un artisan tisserand. Il raconta au tribunal que, lorsque le scribe Ingentius était venu le trouver pour lui arracher un document compromettant pour l'évêque Félix, il déjeunait avec ses

¹² Augustin, *Brevic. Collat.*, III, 13, 25 : *Verumtamen quosdam Carthaginienensis ordinis viros*...

¹³ Le manuscrit unique et fort corrompu des *Acta purgationis Felicis* déforme le nom de la ville en *Autumni*. Le nom authentique est connu par une inscription (*C. I. L.*, VIII, 23085 = *I. L. S.*, 6815).

¹⁴ On peut lire le récit de ces événements dans P. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 17-25.

¹⁵ L'audience préliminaire à la curie de Carthage est datée du 19 août 314 (Volusianus et Annianus étant consuls, le 14 des calendes de septembre). L'audience proconsulaire eut lieu ensuite, vraisemblablement dans le courant de l'année 315 (*cf.* A. H. M. Jones *et alii*, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, art. Aelianus 2, p. 17).

¹⁶ Ces documents ont été étudiés et leur authenticité montrée par Louis Duchesne (*Le dossier du donatisme. Mél. Ec. Fr. de R.*, X, 1890, p. 589-650).

¹⁷ Les *Acta purgationis Felicis* (éd. Ziwsa, *C. S. E. L.*, 26, p. 197-204) comprennent des extraits de trois procès-verbaux : celui de la convocation des témoins à la curie d'Abthugni (*loc. cit.*, p. 197-198) ; celui de l'audience préliminaire devant le duumvir de Carthage (*ibidem*, p. 198-200) ; celui de l'audience proconsulaire (p. 198, l. 10-18 ; p. 200, à partir de la ligne 14, jusqu'à la fin du document, p. 204). L'audience préliminaire devant le duumvir de Carthage semble avoir eu un double but : d'une part, examiner en première instance la plainte des donatistes contre Cécilien de Carthage et Félix d'Abthugni ; d'autre part, instruire *in iure* le procès devant être jugé par le proconsul au nom de l'empereur (*uice sacra*) et sur son ordre.

ouvriers¹⁸. Durant l'année de son duumvirat, il n'avait pas négligé son travail professionnel : il était en voyage dans la ville de Zama pour s'y procurer du fil quand le premier édit de persécution était parvenu en Afrique¹⁹. A. H. M. Jones le considère comme illettré car il dit avoir dicté une lettre à un scribe²⁰. En fait, il savait lire, car il reconnut ce document comme celui qu'il avait dicté quand on le lui présenta au procès²¹. Toutefois, ce n'était nullement un homme instruit et son latin, transmis par la sténographie du débat, est fort incorrect grammaticalement. Il était païen, et il manifesta une surprise indignée devant les intrigues de certains chrétiens : *Haec est fides christianorum?* « C'est cela, la bonne foi des chrétiens ? »²². Homme honnête et perspicace, il sut détecter, à l'audience proconsulaire, le passage interpolé compromettant pour l'évêque Félix que le scribe Ingentius, dévoué aux donatistes, avait ajouté à la lettre anodine qu'il avait dictée : c'est ce témoignage qui permit l'acquittement de Félix²³.

En 303, son voyage d'affaires lui avait permis de constater que, dans les villes voisines, on confisquait les livres saints des chrétiens et on détruisait leurs lieux de culte²⁴. De retour à Abthugni, il vit venir au *praetorium*, la salle d'audience duumvirale, des concitoyens chrétiens qui lui demandèrent des nouvelles. Il leur dit ce qu'il avait vu et les avisa qu'ils devaient lui remettre les livres sacrés qui étaient en leur possession.²⁵

Sur son ordre, dans l'église, on détruisit le siège épiscopal, des documents divers et les portes²⁶. Ce dernier détail est significatif. A Zama et à Furnos Maius, Alfius Caecilianus avait vu détruire les basiliques ; il se contenta, à Abthugni, de désaffecter l'église en l'ouvrant à tout vent : le duumvir

¹⁸ *Acta*, loc. cit., p. 201, l. 25-26 : *Caecilianus respondit: Domi ad me uenit, prandebam cum operarios* (sic).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 199, l. 7-8 : *Alfius Caecilianus dixit: Zama ieram, propter lineas comparandas*...

²⁰ A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1964, p. 737 ; 860. S'il prenait ses repas avec ses ouvriers, il était cependant, pour Jones (loc. cit., p. 860) un artisan riche (« a prosperous craftsman »).

²¹ *Acta*, loc. cit., p. 199, l. 22-23 : *Maximus dixit: Praesens est; eadem epistola ei offeratur, ut eandem recognoscat. Respondit: Ipsa est.*

²² *Ibidem*, p. 202, l. 2 et 31.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 200, l. 14-17 ; p. 202, l. 29-33 ; p. 203, l. 1-2 et 27-34 ; p. 204, l. 1-3.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 199, l. 11-12 : ... *et Zama et Furnis, dirui basilicas et uri scripturas uidi.*

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 199, l. 9-14. Le duumvir n'avait pas reçu l'édit de persécution, mais il en avait vu des exemplaires dans les cités qu'il avait visitées. (... *sacrum praeceptum ad te peruenit? Ego dixi: Non, sed uidi iam exempla*...). Il est donc inexact de dire, comme le fait M. W. H. C. Frend, que ce furent les chrétiens d'Abthugni qui apprirent au magistrat l'existence de l'édit de persécution (*The Donatist Church, a movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*, Oxford, 1952, p. 5 ; *Martyrdom and Persecution in the early Church*, op. cit., p. 500).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 199, l. 15-17 : *Sic Galatius nobiscum perrexit ad locum ubi orationes consueuerant; inde cathedram tulimus et epistolas saluatorias et ostia omnia combusta sunt, secundum sacrum praeceptum.* Galatius était un esclave public ou un fonctionnaire municipal. On voit mal ce que le duumvir désigne par le terme d'*epistulae saluatoriae* : sans doute des archives, formées de lettres, par allusion à la salutation contenue dans l'adresse initiale.

appliquait l'édit de persécution de la manière la plus bénigne possible²⁷. Les fonctionnaires municipaux se rendirent chez l'évêque Félix, mais il était absent : il ne fut donc pas explicitement *traditor*²⁸. Au procès, le duumvir ne dit pas combien de temps dura cette absence. A son retour, en tout cas, Félix n'eut aucun ennui et Caecilianus ne chercha pas à pousser plus loin son enquête.

Une chose est certaine : le sang ne coula pas à Abthugni, nulle violence ne fut exercée sur les personnes. S'il y avait eu des martyrs ou des confesseurs emprisonnés et torturés, s'opposant à un évêque *traditor*, comme ce fut le cas à Abitinae, les donatistes en eussent tiré parti pour la controverse²⁹. Il n'y eut pas, à Abthugni, de *dies turificationis* où des chrétiens étaient contraints, sous peine de mort, à sacrifier par l'encens en l'honneur des empereurs et des dieux traditionnels³⁰. Pourquoi ? Assurément, parce que les autorités municipales avaient affirmé que, la *traditio* accomplie, le problème chrétien ne se posait plus dans leur cité.

²⁷ A Cirta, en Numidie, la confiscation des biens de l'église fut systématique et un inventaire (*brevis*) fut dressé, énumérant les vases sacrés, les chandeliers, les vêtements (*Acta apud Zenophilum consularem*, appendice au livre d'Optat, éd. Ziwsa, *C. S. E. L.*, 26, p. 185–197, et plus particulièrement, p. 186–188). De même en Égypte, à Oxyrhynchos, le logiste et les magistrats enlevèrent de l'église des objets divers (*P. Ox.* 2673, l. 16–23; ὄλη plutôt que πύλη, porte, cf. Rea, *Z. P. E.*, 35, 1979, p. 128).

²⁸ *Acta*, loc. cit., p. 199, l. 18–19 : . . . cum ad domum eiusdem Felicis episcopi mitteremus, renuntiaverunt officiales publici illum absentem esse.

²⁹ L'affaire d'Abthugni revint sans cesse dans la controverse, pendant plus d'un siècle, et le seul grief des donatistes était l'accusation de *traditio*. L'appendice, dû à un auteur donatiste, de la passion des martyrs d'Abitinae (loc. cit., *supra*, n. 2) montre bien l'utilisation polémique que pouvaient faire les schismatiques de violences exercées sur les personnes : l'argument *a silentio* est donc très probant.

³⁰ On sait que le quatrième édit de persécution, émis sous l'influence de Galère au printemps de 304 et ordonnant un sacrifice général, fut très inégalement appliqué. On connaît trois cas, en Afrique, de chrétiens martyrisés pour refus de sacrifice (Crispina à Theveste, Maxima et ses compagnes à Thuburbo, les martyrs de Milev, connus par l'inscription *C. I. L. VIII*, 6700 = *I. L. C. V.*, 2100 : . . . sanctorum marturum qui sunt passi . . . in diebus turificationis . . .). M. Frend, qui avait fort justement remarqué, dans son livre *The Donatist Church* (op. cit., p. 4; cf. *infra*, n. 32) que le duumvir et l'évêque d'Abthugni étaient en relations amicales, a affirmé, dans son livre récent *Martyrdom and persecution in the early Church* (op. cit., p. 500) qu'Alfius Caecilianus avait ordonné des sacrifices publics à Abthugni. Il se fonde sur un passage des *Acta* (loc. cit., p. 198, l. 29–32) où l'on voit l'avocat des donatistes, Maximus, évoquer à l'audience préliminaire devant le duumvir de Carthage l'époque de la persécution "où tous devaient sacrifier, selon l'ordre du proconsul" (*et erat tunc temporis magistratus Alfius Caecilianus, quem praesentem uidere dignaris, et quoniam eius temporis officium incumbabat ut, ex iussione proconsulari, omnes sacrificarent . . .*). L'avocat évoquait la persécution en général, et non ce qui s'était passé précisément à Abthugni. Deux raisons empêchent catégoriquement cette évocation d'un sacrifice de s'appliquer à l'action d'Alfius Caecilianus : d'une part, l'édit ordonnant de sacrifier fut émis en 304, alors que Caecilianus était sorti de charge; d'autre part, Abthugni était en Byzacène, et la *iussio* du proconsul ne pouvait donc pas s'y appliquer (cf. P. Salama, *Les voies romaines de l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger, 1951, carte h. t.). Ajoutons, comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, que les donatistes n'eussent pas manqué d'évoquer la *turificatio* dans la controverse, s'il y en avait eu une.

Ceci impliquait une attitude concertée de la part des responsables civils et ecclésiastiques, un refus, de part et d'autre, de toute provocation. Les magistrats ne devaient pas chercher à savoir si les chrétiens, attendant des jours meilleurs, conservaient leur foi et se réunissaient en secret³¹. Les chrétiens, de leur côté, devaient s'abstenir de toute manifestation extérieure de leurs croyances. On doit donc constater, de part et d'autre, le même manque de zèle, la même absence de tout fanatisme. Le duumvir Caecilianus et l'évêque Félix paraissent avoir été essentiellement soucieux d'épargner la vie de leurs concitoyens. Ils voulaient éviter à tout prix qu'un conflit sanglant ne vienne perturber dramatiquement la vie paisible de leur petite ville. Ainsi s'explique la singulière coïncidence qu'est l'absence de l'évêque au moment de la perquisition.

M. W. H. C. Frend est, à ma connaissance, le premier à avoir compris que la manière dont se déroulèrent ces événements impliquait des relations personnelles et amicales entre le duumvir et l'évêque³². Je pense qu'on peut affirmer qu'il existait entre eux une véritable complicité.

Les empereurs du Bas-Empire ont développé un indéniable absolutisme, au détriment des libertés locales et, particulièrement, de l'autonomie des cités. Cependant, les *Acta purgationis Felicis* montrent, si mon interprétation est exacte, comment, concrètement, sur place, les intéressés pouvaient tourner la loi ou en faire une application minimale. Les innombrables doléances contre les abus, la corruption, les refus d'obéissance dont foisonnent les documents juridiques impériaux du Bas-Empire, montrent que l'absolutisme, dans bien des cas, était plus une velléité qu'une réalité. A Abthugni, les autorités municipales et ecclésiastiques parvinrent à empêcher, dans les faits, l'application des édits de persécution. Elles firent, à l'échelle de leur petite ville, ce que fit à l'échelle de la Gaule et de la Bretagne le César Constance Chlore³³.

Mais, dans les rangs chrétiens, cette attitude n'était pas unanime. L'opinion de la majorité des croyants acceptait-elle ces complaisances surtout quand, la persécution passée, on put sans risque se montrer intransigeant ? Les donatistes ne parvinrent pas à démontrer que Félix d'Abthugni avait été un *traditor*, mais n'avaient-ils pas raison sur le fond quand ils dénonçaient la tiédeur des convictions de certains de leurs adversaires, leurs compromissions peu glorieuses avec les autorités païennes ? Il existait à Abthugni un clan de chrétiens rigoristes, comprenant l'ancien édile Augentius et le scribe Ingen-

³¹ C'est une réunion secrète, surprise par le curateur de la cité, qui fut à l'origine de l'arrestation des martyrs d'Abitinae, mais l'attitude des autorités locales semble avoir été franchement hostile aux chrétiens, dans cette dernière ville.

³² W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, op. cit., p. 4: «The chief magistrate, the duumvir Alfius Caecilianus, and the bishop Felix appear to have been on friendly terms . . .».

³³ La politique tolérante de Constance Chlore est évoquée par Lactance (*De mortibus persecutorum*, XV, 7) qui mentionne cependant des destructions d'églises, ce que nie Eusèbe (*H. E.*, VIII, 13, 13).

tius³⁴. Ces gens considéraient ces arrangements à l'amiable (dont ils avaient bénéficié puisqu'eux non plus ne furent pas inquiétés) comme des compromissions inadmissibles. L'habileté de Félix, son entente en sous main avec le duumvir Caecilianus, leur paraissaient des trahisons de la cause sacrée défendue par le témoignage des martyrs et des confesseurs. Ils voulaient maintenir la situation conflictuelle, alors que l'évêque et le duumvir préparaient, à Abthugni, la conciliation constantinienne. On a là en germe tout le conflit qui devait déchirer dramatiquement la chrétienté africaine.

Au vrai, le clivage entre laxistes et intransigeants ne correspondit pas exactement à celui qui sépara les églises catholique et donatiste. Des évêques donatistes avaient été *traditores*, et les catholiques le rappelèrent souvent au cours de la polémique³⁵. M. E. Tengström et M. Peter Brown ont montré récemment que la tendance à la contestation violente de l'ordre établi, dont les circoncellions représentèrent la forme aiguë, fut très loin d'être exclusive dans le donatisme³⁶. Ce dernier, à certains moments du IV^e siècle, devint en Numidie, selon l'expression de M. Peter Brown, une véritable «église établie»³⁷, en fort bons termes avec les autorités locales. Mais, dès le troisième siècle, on trouvait en Afrique, à côté de païens partisans d'une réaction violente et de chrétiens dans la ligne de Tertullien, des gens de bonne foi, partisans de l'apaisement et soucieux d'éviter toute effusion de sang³⁸. Leur idéal peut paraître limité : il en est de pires. C'est à cette tendance qu'il faut rattacher le duumvir Alfius Caecilianus et l'évêque Félix d'Abthugni et il est permis de penser que leur attitude fut celle d'une assez large partie des Africains du temps de Dioclétien, païens ou chrétiens³⁹.

³⁴ *Acta, loc. cit.*, p. 201–202. Ils cherchèrent à soutirer au duumvir un écrit compromettant pour l'évêque ; cependant, Ingentius avoua au procès que son animosité envers l'évêque Félix était due à une querelle personnelle (*ibidem*, p. 201, l. 16–21).

³⁵ Ainsi, ils utilisèrent les Actes du concile de Cirta de 305, qui montraient que de futurs évêques donatistes avaient faibli les années précédentes (*cf. supra*, n. 10).

³⁶ Emin Tengström, *Donatisten und Katholiken*, Göteborg, 1964 ; Peter Brown, *La vie de saint Augustin*, trad. franç., Paris, 1971, p. 249–287. Ces auteurs ont montré que le *movement of protest*, avec ses composantes politiques et sociales, par lequel M. Frend a défini le donatisme (*The Donatist Church, op. cit.*), ne constituait qu'un aspect du schisme (et, pour eux, non le principal). Voir aussi Peter Brown, *Religious Dissent in the Later Roman Empire: the case of North Africa, History*, XLVI, 1961, p. 83–101, étude reprise dans *Religion and Society in the age of saint Augustin*, London, 1972, p. 237–259.

³⁷ Peter Brown, *La vie de saint Augustin, op. cit.*, trad. franç., p. 267.

³⁸ H. Grégoire dit justement (*Les persécutions dans l'empire romain*, 2^e éd., Bruxelles, 1964, p. 7) qu'on trouve dès le III^e siècle les autorités païennes christianophobes et christianophiles qu'on retrouvera durant tout le IV^e siècle. Un bon exemple de païens bienveillants est donné par saint Athanase quand il évoque ceux qui accueillirent et cachèrent, en Egypte, des chrétiens persécutés au temps de Dioclétien et de Maximin Daïa (*Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, LXIV). Ce fait en rappelle un autre, récent : le cas des personnes qui cachèrent des juifs dans l'Europe occupée par les nazis.

³⁹ Cette attitude, qui annonce et explique l'avenir, est, à coup sûr, historiquement fort significative. Toutefois, les situations furent, de toute évidence, très diverses selon les lieux. Il faut donc se garder de généraliser et je ne suis nullement convaincu du bien fondé des conclusions d'H. Grégoire, minimisant à l'extrême le nombre des martyrs.

La vie, la mort et l'au-delà dans les inscriptions latines paléochrétiennes

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L'exposé suivant a pour objet les idées sur la vie, la mort et l'au-delà, qui se dégagent des inscriptions latines paléochrétiennes. Pour les études patristiques, la problématique même n'est pas sans importance. Toutefois, la documentation épigraphique, peut-elle révéler à ce sujet des aspects nouveaux? Si l'on envisage le caractère spécifique des sources épigraphiques, la réponse est sûrement affirmative: ces sources se différencient fondamentalement des grands textes patristiques contemporains et ce par deux traits. D'abord les inscriptions chrétiennes sont issues de presque toutes les couches sociales et non seulement des classes dirigeantes. Ensuite, les épitaphes – et trois inscriptions sur quatre sont funéraires – se situent, d'avantage encore que la littérature patristique, au niveau de la vie quotidienne. En effet, ne comportent-elles pas le témoignage de chrétiens individuels, témoignage rendu à un moment particulier de leur existence, celui de la confrontation avec la mort d'un parent ou d'un ami? Comment ont-ils en ce moment su intégrer l'enseignement des pères sur la vie et la mort chrétiennes? D'autre part, combien de notions païennes s'avèrent encore valables dans leur conception de vie?

Pour faire cette enquête, il faut interroger surtout les inscriptions versifiées: non seulement elles sont plus longues que celles en prose, mais leur contenu est à la fois plus dense et plus varié¹. Nous possédons une collection d'environ 1350 textes, les premiers datant de la fin du III^e siècle². La poésie épigraphique chrétienne continue, tout au moins du point de vue de la forme, un genre païen: 2300 *carmina epigraphica* ont été conservés. La plupart datent de l'époque impériale, les plus récents se situant vers 400 après J. Chr.³. Donc, pendant tout un siècle, inscriptions métriques païennes et chrétiennes, ont coexisté et ont rendu un témoignage passionnant de la rencontre entre la conception païenne et chrétienne de la vie humaine.

¹ P. Testini, *Archeologia Cristiana III. Epigrafia*, Roma 1958, p. 332 évalue le nombre total d'inscriptions latines paléochrétiennes, en vers et en prose, à 50 000.

² Ce chiffre n'inclut pas les inscriptions trop fragmentaires, qui n'admettent aucune restitution ni interprétation. Si toutefois, l'on ajoute ces inscriptions fragmentaires, le nombre total des *carmina epigraphica* (CE) chrétiens s'élève à ca. 1600.

³ De même, y compris les inscriptions trop fragmentaires, le nombre total des CE païens s'élève à ca. 2550.

La valeur que les auteurs des *carmina* et leur public attribuent à la vie terrestre dépend largement de la manière dont ils envisagent la mort et la condition d'outre-tombe. Environ 860 inscriptions versifiées, dont 450 païennes et environ 410 chrétiennes, nous renseignent de manière plus ou moins exhaustive, sur ces trois points. Il y a lieu de diviser ces inscriptions en trois groupes : un premier groupe considère la vie terrestre comme une fin en soi, un deuxième l'évalue précisément en fonction d'une autre vie. Enfin, le troisième groupe contient les *carmina* qui situent la vie humaine dans l'éternité, c.-à-d. qui la considèrent soit comme un phénomène cyclique, soit comme une expérience unique. Dans la présente communication, le contenu des inscriptions, aussi riche et varié qu'il soit, ne saurait être analysé que de manière assez schématique⁴.

I. Si l'on envisage la vie terrestre en elle-même, sans la mettre en rapport avec une vie future, une alternative se présente : ou bien elle possède une certaine valeur en soi, ou bien elle n'est qu'une expérience vide de sens. Les auteurs qui ont opté pour la première solution, expliquent la mort comme une chose naturelle, inhérente à la condition humaine. L'homme est mortel, c'est ce qui le différencie précisément des dieux. D'ailleurs, il partage cette mortalité avec tout ce qui existe et l'entoure. L'individu doit donc se soumettre avec résignation à la grande Loi de la nature. Dans nombre d'épitaphes, le *Fatum*, *Fortuna* et les *Parques*, qui fixent au moment de la naissance aussi déjà l'heure de la mort, ne sont que la personnification de cette Loi abstraite. La vie est donc un emprunt, qu'il faut rembourser sans se révolter. Cette argumentation, souvent inspirée par les consolations philosophiques, est dominante dans les inscriptions païennes : 32% des *carmina* (143 CE sur 450) s'en servent. Bien que les personnifications païennes, le *Fatum*, *Fortuna* et les *Parques*, aient largement disparu des *carmina* chrétiens, l'idée même d'un ordre naturel y est encore attestée en 18,5% des cas (76 CE sur 410). Cette suite d'idées ne semble donc en rien contraire à la doctrine chrétienne : apparemment il suffit d'identifier Dieu à l'ordre universel. C'est ce que font en effet quelques épitaphes, interprétant la vie comme un prêt, consenti pour un temps limité.

Cependant, d'autres poètes épigraphiques voient la vie d'une façon profondément pessimiste : aucun ordre, ni naturel, ni divin ne préside à l'existence humaine. Si les puissances divines, le *Fatum*, *Fortuna* ou les *Parques*, se manifestent, leur seul but est d'accabler l'homme de souffrances. La vie n'est par conséquent qu'une expérience pénible et absurde. La mort qui rend l'individu à l'oubli et l'arrache aux malheurs de la vie, s'avère préférable : 28% des poètes païens (126 CE sur 450) et 7% seulement des chrétiens (28 CE sur 410) partagent cette opinion.

⁴ Ces 860 inscriptions font l'objet d'une étude publiée entretemps par la "Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België". *Levensbeschouwing en milieu in de Latijnse metrische inscripties*, Brüssel 1978 (avec un résumé français). Elle comporte une analyse exhaustive des thèmes, présentés, ainsi qu'une étude du contexte sociologique des *carmina* catalogués.

II. Aussitôt que l'on conçoit la possibilité d'une survie outre-tombe, une question fondamentale se pose : quelle valeur faut-il y attacher par rapport à la vie terrestre. De nouveau deux possibilités s'offrent : ou bien la mort a pour conséquence un affaiblissement ou une annihilation de l'existence sur terre, qui par là devient la seule, l'unique, la vraie vie ; ou bien la vie d'ici-bas n'a qu'une valeur relative, fonctionnelle, la vie réelle ne commençant que dans l'autre monde.

Environ 20% des auteurs païens (ou 89 CE sur 450) et seulement 1,5% des chrétiens (ou 6 CE sur 410) partagent la première opinion. Selon les épitaphes païennes la mort entraîne moins un anéantissement qu'un affaiblissement de la vie. Bien rares sont les textes affirmant qu'il ne reste de l'individu que cendres et poussière. Plus souvent la survie après la mort est conçue comme une existence sombre, une vie en mineur dans l'Hades ou la tombe. Il importe de noter que cette survie infernale n'est nullement une punition : elle incombe à tous, sans distinction⁵. Evidemment une survie à ce point morose, ne contrebalance en rien la perte des joies de l'existence sur terre, auxquelles les poètes des *carmina* attachent justement tant d'importance. Les quelques inscriptions chrétiennes, qui appartiennent à ce groupe, passent sous silence le problème de l'au-delà. Par contre, elles accentuent la valeur de la joie existentielle, à laquelle la mort met une fin définitive. Toutefois, cette réaction assez peu chrétienne ne se rencontre plus au delà du Ve siècle⁶.

Si d'autre part la mort donne accès à la vie immortelle où chacun recevra sa juste rétribution, la vie terrestre, bien qu'elle perde sa valeur absolue, revêt une signification nouvelle : elle devient une période d'épreuve en vue de la récompense dans l'au-delà. La mort est un moment décisif, en ce qu'elle fixe de manière définitive l'orientation, bonne ou mauvaise de toute une vie. Cette attitude est prédominante dans les inscriptions chrétiennes : 45,5% des *carmina* catalogués (188 CE sur 410) l'attestent. Par contre, elle est extrêmement rare dans les épitaphes païennes : 6% seulement (27 CE sur 450) témoignent de la foi dans une rétribution postérieure.

III. Enfin, le troisième groupe d'inscriptions situe la vie humaine dans l'éternité. Les épitaphes païennes révèlent une conception cyclique de la vie : la mort constitue un retour à l'état antérieur à la naissance. Cette conception cyclique est à la base de trois philosophies différentes. D'abord l'épicurienne : la vie n'est qu'un bref intervalle qui interrompt une longue période de non-existence et pendant lequel l'homme est doué d'une individualité et d'une conscience. Seulement 3% des poètes païens (15 CE sur 450) conçoivent de

⁵ Sur les traits caractéristiques du monde infernal selon les *carmina* païens, voir G. Sanders, *Bijdrage tot de studie der Latijnse metrische grafchriften van het heidense Rome: de begrippen «licht» en «duisternis» en verwante themata*, Brussel 1960, pp. 164-263.

⁶ Datation des 6 CE chrétiens : ILCV 1336 (Ovilava, IV^e s. apr. J.-Chr.), ILCV 1232 (Rome, probablement du début du Ve s.). Inscriptions non datées : ILCV 886 = FERRUA, ICUR n° 13655 (Rome), ILCV 3175 (Vienne) et AE 1956 n° 253 (Cologne). De ILCV 900 (Clusium, III^e s.) le caractère chrétien a été contesté.

cette façon la relation entre la vie et la mort. L'interprétation d'Epicure a disparu totalement de la poésie épigraphique chrétienne.

Le mythe de la Terre, mère divine de tous les êtres, constitue une forme plus concrète de la conception cyclique de la vie : l'homme né de la Terre doit rendre sa vie individuelle à la Terre, afin qu'elle puisse créer des vies nouvelles. En effet, la *creatio ex nihilo* était inconcevable pour l'antiquité païenne. Une fois l'individualité perdue, l'homme prend part à l'immortalité cosmique, à l'éternelle vitalité de la Terre : 9,5% des inscriptions païennes (43 CE sur 450) contiennent des attestations sûres de cette croyance. Dans les épitaphes chrétiennes les mentions de la Terre se font rares : 3,5% seulement, ou 14 inscriptions sur 410 en parlent. De plus, elles sont d'inspiration biblique plutôt qu'antique : seul le corps est rendu à la Terre, et vu la croyance à la résurrection, cette restitution n'est que provisoire.

De même la conception dualiste de l'homme envisage la mort comme un retour : le corps retourne à la terre, l'âme rentre dans sa patrie céleste. Etant donné que la réunion de l'âme avec le corps est considérée comme une existence inférieure par rapport à la situation originelle de l'âme, le dualisme implique une appréciation négative de la vie sur terre : 1,5% seulement des inscriptions païennes analysées (7 CE sur 450), représentent cette tendance philosophique. Ce qui plus est, ces inscriptions ne retiennent que rarement l'évaluation négative de la vie terrestre, qui fait pourtant partie intégrante de la conception dualiste de l'homme. Plus nombreuses sont les épitaphes dualistes dans le groupe chrétien : elles atteignent 7% des 410 *carmina* (soit 29 CE). Parfois ce dualisme est à peine christianisé : par exemple, la présentation du corps comme une prison pour l'âme, se rencontre assez souvent dans les épitaphes chrétiennes, tandis qu'elle est quasi totalement absente des épitaphes païennes⁷.

Analysons enfin la conception tout à fait nouvelle de la mort, introduite par la foi chrétienne : la mort n'est ni chose naturelle, ni fatalité, mais conséquence du péché. L'homme a perdu par le péché, son immortalité originelle mais à cause de la rédemption il est capable de la regagner : il peut participer à la victoire de son Dieu sur la Mort. La réconciliation entre Dieu et l'homme commence par le baptême : l'homme est *renatus*. Sa vie n'est plus un segment quelconque d'un cercle éternel, mais le point de départ pour la vie éternelle. La mort ne réalise par conséquent qu'une *migratio* : 17% des inscriptions chrétiennes rassemblées (70 CE sur 410), conçoivent la vie et la mort de cette manière spécifiquement chrétienne. Ajoutons encore que le nombre d'inscriptions non-funéraires et d'inscriptions issues des classes dirigeantes est plus élevé pour ce thème que pour les autres.

Enfin, après l'analyse des différents thèmes, une constatation s'impose. D'abord, les conceptions de vie, exprimées dans les *carmina epigraphica*

⁷ Cette image ne se rencontre que deux fois, à ce que je sache, dans les inscriptions païennes : CE 91 (Capoue, période augustéenne) et ILS 8476 (Préneste, inscription en prose, non datable).

sont multiples: certaines sont exclusivement chrétiennes, d'autres ne se rencontrent que dans les épitaphes païennes. Mais dans une large mesure les mêmes idées reviennent dans les deux groupes idéologiques. Seulement, leur fréquence et partant aussi leur importance est différente. Ce qui apparaît comme un thème fondamental de la poésie funéraire chrétienne – l'aspect rétributif de l'au-delà et par conséquent, la valeur fonctionnelle de la vie terrestre – n'est annoncé que timidement dans la poésie païenne. En fait, la conception de vie chrétienne se révèle essentiellement différente de celle des païens.

Cette différence se manifeste de manière encore plus frappante si l'on considère d'une part l'ensemble des *carmina* païens et d'autre part l'ensemble des inscriptions chrétiennes. Alors on s'aperçoit que seulement 7,5% des inscriptions païennes attribuent une valeur relative à la vie terrestre: ce sont les inscriptions dualistes et les inscriptions qui témoignent de la foi dans une récompense postérieure. Par contre, 69,5% des inscriptions chrétiennes envisagent la vie sur terre comme une épreuve, comme une préparation à la vie future.

La transformation de la mentalité des poètes épigraphiques et de leur public, due à la foi nouvelle, ne saurait se manifester de manière plus claire.

Kritische Bemerkungen zur Quellenbewertung in der Circumcellionenforschung

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Das Christentum Nordafrikas war im 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert geprägt von der Auseinandersetzung zwischen der donatistischen und der katholischen Kirche. In dieser Auseinandersetzung spielten bekanntlich die Circumcellionen auf donatistischer Seite die Rolle einer radikalen, den Konflikt immer wieder verschärfenden Gruppe, über deren Eigenart die Forschung bis heute keine volle Klarheit zu erlangen vermochte. Die literarischen Zeugnisse, vor allem die vielen Äußerungen Augustins, weisen in eine andere Richtung als das kaiserliche Edikt vom 30. Januar 412 (Cod. Theod. XVI, 5, 52), das nach dem großen Streitgespräch vom Jahr 411 die endgültige Verfolgung der Donatisten einleitete. Die Kirchenväterzeugnisse sprechen von umherziehenden Scharen entlaufener Sklaven und Kolonen, die katholische Kleriker und Grundbesitzer überfallen, die in Mord- und Raubzügen ihr Leben riskieren und ihr eigenes Sterben als Martyrium verstehen. Sie werden deshalb zugleich als religiöse Schwärmer geschildert, die den Märtyrerkult noch weiter treiben als die donatistische Kirche sonst, zu der im übrigen alle Circumcellionen zu gehören scheinen. Der erwähnte Gesetzestext dagegen ordnet die Circumcellionen ohne weitere Kennzeichnung in eine Aufzählung von Bevölkerungsklassen ein, und zwar am Ende der Liste der Freien, also *unterhalb* der Plebejer, aber *über* den Unfreien, d. h. den Kolonen und Sklaven. Seit Saumagnes Aufsatz vom Jahre 1934 mit dem Titel „Ouvriers agricoles ou rôdeurs de celliers?“¹ ist dieser Gesetzestext von der Forschung stärker beachtet und zu einer wichtigen Stütze der Erklärung gemacht worden. Man nimmt seither meist an, die Circumcellionen seien nicht bloß umherschweifende Fanatiker gewesen, sondern hätten so etwas wie eine Bevölkerungsklasse, einen *ordo*, gebildet und seien Saisonarbeiter ohne festen Wohnsitz gewesen, die bei der Getreideernte (so vor allem Saumagne) oder Olivenernte (so vor allem Tengström²) Arbeit fanden und von Landgut zu Landgut zogen, manchmal arbeitslos waren und deshalb leicht auch zu Trägern religiöser oder sozialer Unruhe werden konnten. Diesner nimmt sogar an, daß sie z. T. im Laufe des 4. Jh. seßhaft wurden, und unterscheidet

¹ Annales d'histoire économique et sociale VI, 1934, p. 351–364.

² E. Tengström, Donatisten und Katholiken. Soziale, wirtschaftliche und politische Aspekte einer nordafrikanischen Kirchenspaltung. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia XVIII, Göteborg 1964, p. 44–52.

von diesen domestizierten Circumcellionen die weiterhin terroristischen Circumcellionenartigen³.

Methodisch ist man bei all diesen Untersuchungen davon ausgegangen, daß ein Gesetzestext in der Regel zuverlässiger ist als der Bericht eines kirchlichen Schriftstellers, dessen polemische Tendenz offensichtlich ist. Und das gilt für so gut wie alle kirchlichen Äußerungen über die Circumcellionen. Ein Gesetz muß durchsetzbar sein – ein literarischer Text braucht der Realität nicht so genau angepaßt zu sein. Das bedeutete praktisch, daß das erwähnte Gesetz aus dem Codex Theodosianus von vielen Forschern als unfehlbarer Zeuge für die Besonderheiten der Circumcellionen gewertet wurde. Mißlich an diesem Verfahren war jedoch immer, daß man sich auf diesen einen *einzigsten* Gesetzestext berufen mußte, während die sonstigen Zeugnisse eigentlich ohne Ausnahme einer solchen Einordnung der Circumcellionen in das Gefüge der spätantiken Gesellschaft widersprechen.

Meine These ist nun, daß der Erlaß vom 30. Januar 412 in der neueren Forschung falsch eingeschätzt oder überschätzt worden ist und daß man für die Beschreibung und Erklärung dessen, was die Circumcellionen eigentlich waren, sehr wohl von den Kirchenvätertexten ausgehen kann. Damit wird der Gesetzestext nicht wertlos, erhält aber eine geringere Bedeutung und ordnet sich bei richtiger Interpretation den übrigen Zeugnissen relativ leicht ein. Entstanden ist diese Erkenntnis in einer Seminarübung, die im Winter 1974/75 von Gunther Gottlieb und mir in Heidelberg durchgeführt wurde. Ich verdanke Herrn Gottlieb – als Historiker – diese Erkenntnis vor allem insoweit, als mir – als Theologen – die Entstehung und Problematik der Gesetze im Codex Theodosianus nicht vertraut ist und ich deshalb auch nicht in der Lage gewesen wäre, einen solchen Text kritisch zu interpretieren⁴.

Das Ergebnis unserer Überlegungen ist – kurz zusammengefaßt – folgendes: Versteht man das Gesetz von 412 als Reaktion des Gesetzgebers auf den Ausgang der von Marcellinus geleiteten Disputation vom Jahre 411, so muß man zu seinem Verständnis die Entscheidung des Marcellinus hinzuziehen, die dieser unmittelbar nach dem Abschluß des Streitgesprächs fällte und veröffentlichte. In diesem Edictum cognitioris ist auch von den Circumcellionen die Rede, aber etwas anders als in dem Gesetz. Es wird jenen die Konfiskation ihrer Landgüter angedroht, die „cognoscunt“, „in praediis suis circumcellionum turbas se habere“, d. h.: „denen bekannt wird“, wörtlich: „die erkennen, daß sie auf ihren Gütern Circumcellionenhaufen haben“, und nichts gegen sie unternehmen⁵. Diese Formulierung deutet

³ H. J. Diesner, Kirche und Staat im spätrömischen Reich, Berlin 1963, p. 66 sqq. und 86 sqq.

⁴ Die Ergebnisse sind von Herrn Gottlieb inzwischen ebenfalls veröffentlicht: Die Circumcellionen. Bemerkungen zum donastischen Streit, in *Annuario: Historiae Conciliorum* 10, 1978, 1–15.

⁵ Text in der Edition von S. Lancel: *Gesta conlationis Carthaginensis anno 411*, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, vol. 149 A, p. 179.

darauf hin, daß die Gutsverwalter oder Grundbesitzer nicht etwa ansässige Circumcellionen bei sich hatten, wie sie z. B. Kolonen auf ihren Gütern hatten, sondern daß die Circumcellionen unversehens auf ihren Gütern *auf-tauchten*. Sonst brauchten sie ja nicht zu *erkennen*, daß solche auf ihren Ländereien vorhanden waren.

Nimmt man nun an, daß Marcellinus in diesem Sinne an den kaiserlichen Hof nach Ravenna Bericht erstattete, so erstaunt die Akzentverschiebung nicht, die bei der Einordnung der Circumcellionen in die Logik des Gesetzestextes erfolgte. Sie *mußten* erwähnt werden, weil sie natürlich von den Strafbestimmungen gegen die Donatisten mit getroffen werden sollten. Aber wo sollte man sie einordnen innerhalb der verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen, die in dem Gesetz nicht so sehr nach Ständen, sondern nach Bußgeldkategorien gestuft erscheinen? Sie waren ja keine Kolonen oder Sklaven und also im Prinzip selbst für ihre Religionszugehörigkeit und für eventuelle Strafleistungen verantwortlich. Es lag darum nahe, sie zuunterst mit der geringsten Buße von zehn Pfund Silber einzustufen. Da sie jedoch in Ermangelung eines festen Wohnsitzes nur schwer faßbar waren, wird zugleich angeordnet, daß die Gutsverwalter, auf deren Gütern sie sich jeweils aufhalten, selbst haftbar sind, wenn sie sie nicht dem kaiserlichen Vollzugsbeamten vorführen⁶. Es scheint deshalb ganz klar, daß wir es hier mit Anordnungen zu tun haben, die in der Absicht erlassen sind, die unsteten Circumcellionenscharen durch Vermittlung der Gutsverwalter und Grundbesitzer in den Griff zu bekommen. Zwar ist die Formulierung in dem Gesetz vom 30. Januar 412 nicht ganz gegen das Mißverständnis geschützt, die Circumcellionen seien ein eigener ordo, eine Korporation oder sonst eine reguläre Bevölkerungsgruppe. Dies dürfte daher rühren, daß man sich auch am kaiserlichen Hof nicht restlos über die Natur dieser Leute klar war und sie wohl oder übel irgendwo dem Gesetz einfügen mußte. Die Formulierung ist aber so gewählt, daß die hier dargebotene Interpretation mit dem Text des Gesetzes gut vereinbar ist. Der Realität hätte wohl eine Anordnung besser entsprochen, wie sie Marcellinus bereits in seinem Edictum gefällt hatte: nämlich *nur* die Grundbesitzer bzw. -verwalter für ihre Verfolgung verantwortlich zu machen und von einer Bußpflicht der Circumcellionen selbst, die ja wohl meist illusorisch blieb, ganz abzusehen. In dem antidonatistischen Gesetz vom 22. Juni 414 (Cod. Theod. XVI, 5, 54) fehlen darum die Circumcellionen, während für die Gutsverwalter noch weiterreichende Strafbestimmungen gegeben werden.

Zwei Schlußfolgerungen aus dem Gesagten legen sich nahe:

1. Man wird in Zukunft darauf verzichten müssen, die Circumcellionen von einer wie immer gearteten Berufstätigkeit oder festen Stellung im Gesellschaftsgefüge Nordafrikas aus zu definieren. Die Zeugnisse sind m. E.

⁶ Das „*ipsi teneantur ad poenam*“ (Codex Theodosianus XVI, 5, 52) ist *nicht* auf die Circumcellionen zu beziehen, sondern auf die „conductores“ „vel procuratores“ (so richtig Tengström ebd. 29).

alle darin einig, daß der Name immer Scharen von umherschweifenden Donatisten bezeichnet, wobei sowohl dieses Umherschweifen als auch die anderen Merkmale, wie religiöse oder soziale Motivation, Gewalttätigkeit, Martyriumssucht und Märtyrerverehrung, stark schwanken und sehr verschieden aussehen können. Das einigende Band zwischen den ersten Zeugnissen aus den vierziger Jahren des 4. Jh. bis etwa zehn Jahre nach dem Gesetz von 412 ist und bleibt eben diese Besonderheit, die, religionsphänomenologisch betrachtet, ziemlich klar ist: Es handelt sich um religiöse Schwärmerei im ursprünglichen Sinne des deutschen Wortes, nämlich: „in Schwärmen umherziehen“. Deshalb ist auch kaum eine innere Kontinuität über die Jahrzehnte hin anzunehmen. Mögen manche Personen von ihrem 20. Lebensjahr bis zu ihrem Tod Circumcellionen geblieben sein: Man konnte nicht Circumcellion von Beruf sein, und das Circumcellionentum war keine Institution, weder des kirchlichen noch des bürgerlichen Lebens. Das Circumcellionentum trat jeweils spontan auf und verschwand wieder.

2. Damit ist nun aber nicht gesagt, daß die z. T. umfangreichen Forschungen zur Stellung der Circumcellionen in der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft ihrer Zeit wertlos geworden wären. Aber man wird unterscheiden müssen: wer *einerseits* mit dem Namen „circumcelliones“ gemeint ist, und was für Bevölkerungsgruppen *andrerseits* sich jeweils zu solchen Circumcellionenscharen zusammenfanden. Fragt man danach, aus welchen Schichten sie sich rekrutierten, so können die Antworten Saumagnes, Diesners, Tengströms und anderer natürlich weitgehend Klarheit schaffen. Fragt man aber danach, wer denn nun eigentlich diese so und nicht anders genannten Circumcellionen waren, fragt man also sozusagen nach ihrem „Wesen“, so kann die Antwort nur von dem bekannten Erscheinungsbild ausgehen, das ja auch am unmittelbarsten mit der Namengebung zusammenhängt: *circum cellas vagantur*⁷. Man wird deshalb nicht sagen dürfen: Die Circumcellionen waren zum Beispiel wandernde Olivenarbeiter. Man wird sagen müssen: Zu Circumcellionenscharen fanden sich jeweils Olivenarbeiter und andere Angehörige der unteren Schichten zusammen. Damit ist deutlich getrennt zwischen dem Circumcellionentum als einer vornehmlich religiösen Gruppierung und denjenigen Elementen der Gesellschaft, aus denen die Personen kamen, die zu Circumcellionen wurden.⁸

⁷ Augustin, C. Gaudentium I, 28, 32; En. in ps. 132, 3.

⁸ Zur nordafrikanischen Kirchengeschichte, besonders ausführlich zum Donatismus vgl. meinen Artikel „Afrika I.“ in: Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Band 1, 1977, 649–700.

Martyrs and Churchmen in Third-Century North Africa

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In this communication I shall treat two North-African martyr-acts stemming from the Valerian persecution of 257–258, the *Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius* and the *Martyrdom of Marianus and Jacobus*¹. I believe that the importance of these two works has not been sufficiently recognized. They are one of the few primary sources on the state of the North-African church in their time outside of the writings of Cyprian of Carthage, and they shed a valuable light on what may be called “spiritual” and “ecclesiastical” tendencies in the church of that period. Before attempting to demonstrate this latter point, however, I think I should address the question whether the two works are reliable historical sources. This means showing that they are what they represent themselves to be: first-hand, or partially first-hand, accounts of the martyrs’ arrest, imprisonment and execution.

What calls their authenticity into question is their similarity to the better-known *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*, dating from the Severan persecution at Carthage in 202–203. About half the *Perpetua*, as I shall refer to it from now on, is taken up by a narrative written by Perpetua herself. In it she recounts her experiences in prison, paying particular attention to what she considered prophetic dreams. The rest of the martyr-act consists of an introduction; a first-hand account of a dream had by Saturus, another martyr; and a conclusion narrating the actual martyrdom of Perpetua and her companions. The *Montanus* has the same general form, and the *Marianus*, while first-hand narrative throughout, is otherwise similar, particularly in its emphasis on dreams. A plausible explanation for this similarity is that both works were simply derived from the *Perpetua*. This was Richard Reitzenstein’s view. He held that both the *Montanus* and the *Marianus* belonged to a literary genre based on the *Perpetua* and characterized by the free use and distortion of traditional material, and this to further the ends of the North-African episcopate.²

¹ The best critical edition of the *Martyrdom of Montanus and Lucius* and of the *Martyrdom of Marianus and Jacobus* is Gustav Krüger’s *Ausgewählte Märtyrakte* (revised by Gerhard Ruhbach, Tübingen, 1965, pp. 67–82). The fullest discussions of both martyr-acts are to be found in Paul Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique chrétienne* (Paris, 1902, v. 2, pp. 153–178) and in Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Passions des Martyrs et les genres littéraires* (second edition, Brussels, 1970, pp. 55–62).

² Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Nachrichten über den Tod Cyprians*, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 51.

I shall treat only the authenticity of the *Montanus* in detail, as much the same considerations apply in the case of the *Marianus*. J. Rendell Harris most fully set out the case against it.³ Along with the formal similarity already mentioned, he cited three similarities of detail as evidence that the *Montanus* was a forgery based on the *Perpetua*. These are: first, verbal similarities in the descriptions of prisons where the martyrs were incarcerated; second, the fact that in both cases the martyrs were brought before a procurator temporarily filling the place of a proconsul; and third, that two similar motifs are found both in Perpetua's visions and in one of the visions recounted in the *Montanus*, that of Quartillosea. Of these last, one is that Quartillosea meets her son sitting near a pool of water. This is reminiscent of Perpetua's dream encounters with her dead brother Dinocrates. The second is that both women drink milk—cheese in Perpetua's case—offered to them by young men of great stature. In both cases this takes place in an atmosphere of great solemnity and seems to have something to do with the women's approaching martyrdom.

On the other hand, the *Montanus* is devoid of the fantastic elements which mark later forgeries, and its internal consistency has been brilliantly demonstrated by Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri.⁴ Hippolyte Delehaye has also pointed out certain details which make it seem unlikely that the *Montanus* was simply fabricated in the way Harris postulated.⁵ Relatives of one of the martyrs in the *Montanus*, Flavian, not only try to save him—as Perpetua's father does, but with pathetic results—but actually succeed in getting his execution postponed by deceiving the governor as to his clerical status.⁶ The *Montanus* also differs from the *Perpetua* in that visions are ascribed, not the leading figures, but to figures of lesser rank, one of whom even drops out of the story entirely. At the same time, the fact that a procurator is filling the place of the proconsul—not the sort of detail which would be borrowed in any event—actually lends verisimilitude to the story. Cyprian was already dead at the time when Montanus and his companions were put to death, as he appears to them, already martyred, in their dreams, and according to the *Martyrdom of Cyprian* the proconsul of Africa died shortly after passing sentence on Cyprian.⁷ The temporary replacement of a proconsul by a procurator was the normal procedure in the third century, so there is no problem with the *Montanus* on that score.⁸

We may adequately explain the strong similarities in form, as well as the

³ J. Rendell Harris and Seth K. Gifford, *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*, London, 1890, p. 26.

⁴ Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Nuove osservazioni critiche ed esegetiche sul testo della *Passio Montani et Lucii*," *Studi e Testi*, 22 (1909), 3–31.

⁵ *op. cit.*, Delehaye, pp. 55–59.

⁶ A similar case does occur in *Acts of Phileas and Philoromus*, 2, 9.

⁷ See *Acts of Cyprian*, 5, 7 and *Montanus* 21, 3.

⁸ See Clinton W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites*, Princeton, 1915, pp. 3–15 and A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1964, v. 1., p. 19 (same in American edition).

relatively minor ones in detail if we assume that some of the martyrs themselves, as well as the author, were familiar with the *Perpetua*. It seems reasonable that the *Perpetua* would have been widely known in the third century as it is known to have been very popular in the following century.⁹ Thus it might easily have furnished a model for the persons responsible for the *Montanus*. In such a case the similarity in the ways the prisons are described could be due to an unconscious borrowing. At the same time, the motifs Harris pointed to in Quartillosa's dream—if they stem from the *Perpetua* at all—are so transformed that it far easier to account for them as having been incorporated in an actual dream than as literary borrowings. Where *Perpetua* is fed cheese which has been milked straight from a goat, Quartillosa drinks milk from two cups which are not emptied by being drunk out of, and the apparition of Quartillosa's son is in a different context altogether from that of *Perpetua*'s brother. The arguments for the inauthenticity of the *Montanus* are thus scarcely compelling enough to merit its being set aside as unreliable.

Objections to the authenticity of the *Marianus* are also based on its formal similarity to the *Perpetua* and on the presence of common motifs in some of the visions. The similarities are certainly no greater than is the case with the *Montanus*, and if the *Montanus* is to be considered authentic the *Marianus* must be as well. The *Marianus* also agrees closely with the terms of the second rescript of Valerian as described in Epistle 80 of Cyprian.

Their similarity to the *Perpetua* makes the *Montanus* and *Marianus* highly interesting for what they tell us about the North-African church. T. D. Barnes expressed a widely-held opinion when he labeled the *Perpetua* "Montanist through and through."¹⁰ This hostility is based both on what is felt to be a hostility to the church hierarchy in the *Perpetua* and on the stress it places on inspired visions. Here the contrast with the *Montanus* and *Marianus* is highly interesting. Although visions still play a prominent role, the attitude toward the clergy in the two later martyr-acts is unequivocally positive. Most of the martyrs are clergy themselves, Cyprian, the great champion of episcopal authority, is an object of nothing short of adulation, and the peace and unity of the church are prominently commended.¹¹ All this led Reitzenstein to dismiss the works as tendentious.

Karl Holl, who believed that spiritual gifts had largely been suppressed in the early third century in reaction to Montanism, considered the *Marianus* formal and insincere next to the *Perpetua*.¹² The fact is, though, that spirit-

⁹ For the archeological evidence see Frans van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop*, Eng. tr., London, 1961, pp. 476–479 and 491. Augustine speaks of the *Perpetua* in Sermons 280 and 281. J. Quasten in "A Coptic Counterpart of a Vision in the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas," *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41), 1–9 presents persuasive evidence that the *Perpetua* was known in the Greek-speaking East.

¹⁰ T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian*, Oxford, 1971, p. 80.

¹¹ See *Montanus* 23, 3 and *Marianus* 1, 3.

¹² Karl Holl, "Die Vorstellung vom Märtyrer und die Märtyrerakte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Tübingen, 1928, vol. 2, p. 84.

ual gifts are no less important in the *Marianus*—and one might easily add, in the *Montanus*—than in the *Perpetua*. The *Perpetua* is certainly more impressive, as it benefits from a superior style and a more attractive protagonist, but this does not mean that the later works are less sincere. The *Marianus* and *Montanus* are also, most likely, indebted to the *Perpetua* for their literary form, but this does not mean that they bear witness to a less authentic religious experience. That they could possibly have been used to bolster the post-Cyprianic episcopate is no more a mark of their insincerity than that the *Perpetua* could have been used to further the interests of a Montanist party.

I shall now treat one case where the importance of the *Montanus* and *Marianus* was apparently ignored. W. H. C. Frend postulated the uneasy coexistence throughout the third century of two factions within the African church, the “Catholic Church” and the “Church of the Spirit”, whose mutual hostility accounted for the church’s actually splitting at the beginning of the fourth century.¹³ For him the *Perpetua*, which he located within the “Church of the Spirit”, was clear evidence for the existence of these two factions at the time of the Severan persecution. He cited six ways in which the *Perpetua* was in continuity with early Donatist martyr-acts of the beginning of the subsequent century. These are: 1) voluntary martyrdom, 2) the fact that martyrs are under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, 3) that baptism is only a preparation for the glory of martyrdom, 4) that *Perpetua* could demand a vision because of her dignity as a martyr, 5) that bishops, while superior, are administrators only, and 6) that bishops are subordinate to martyrs. I believe that Frend’s failure to take the *Montanus* and *Marianus* into consideration makes it somewhat doubtful that these six factors actually demonstrate the existence of two fairly well defined groups.

The Valerian martyr-acts, while plainly “Catholic” in spirit, exhibit most of the characteristics which Frend associates with the “Church of the Spirit”. First, an unnamed figure in the *Marianus* comes as close as any figure in the *Perpetua* does to volunteering for martyrdom.¹⁴ Second, *Marianus* himself is described at one point as being filled with a (or the) prophetic spirit.¹⁵ Third, baptism and martyrdom are intimately connected in both works. At the end of the *Marianus* the author says that the martyrs, whose corpses were thrown into a river, were “baptized in their own blood and washed in the river”, reversing the customary verbs to indicate a close connection.¹⁶ Moreover, the *Montanus* states that the catechumen Donatianus, who, like *Perpetua*, was baptized in prison, and who died shortly thereafter, “hastened from the water of baptism to the crown of martyrdom.”¹⁷ Fourth, we are not

¹³ W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, second edition, Oxford, 1971, pp. 116ff.

¹⁴ *Marianus* 9, 2–5. See also Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (the martyrs of Lyons) 5, 1, 49–50 and the Greek version of the *Acts of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice* 42–47.

¹⁵ “Prophetico spiritu iam repletus”, *Marianus*, 12, 7.

¹⁶ “Et baptizarentur suo sanguine et lauarentur in flumine,” *Marianus* 11, 10.

¹⁷ “Ab aquae baptismo ad martyrii coronam immaculato itinere festinans,” *Montanus* 2, 1.

told that the martyrs demanded visions in either the *Montanus* of the *Marianus*, but in both cases the visions are of the same type as in the *Perpetua*, visions prophesying their coming martyrdom and preparing them for it. At one point in the *Montanus* the martyrs are described as awaiting (expectantes) a vision.¹⁸ As to the fifth point, bishops are represented solely as pastors in all of the acts. The sixth point, that bishops are subordinate to martyrs, is not clear from the *Perpetua*. A bishop is humbled before Perpetua in one of her dreams, and that is all. This is not an issue in the later acts, of course, since the three bishops mentioned, Cyprian in both acts and Agapius and Secondinus in the *Marianus* alone, are martyrs themselves. If, then, the *Perpetua* bears witness to two hostile factions within the North-African church at the beginning of the third century, this would not seem to be borne out for the time of the persecution under Valerian. The *Montanus* and *Marianus* witness to the fusion of "catholic" and "spiritual" tendencies found in Cyprian of Carthage as well.

In these two martyr-acts an authority derived through ordination to the higher clergy and an authority derived from the reputation of sanctity do not conflict but reinforce one another. We find the same phenomenon in Epistle 66 of Cyprian. The bishop of Carthage, having already appealed to the authority of his office, speaks of a vision, given to him directly from God, in which he is told he will be vindicated. To drive the point home, he says: "I know very well that some persons consider dreams laughable and visions absurd, but they would rather believe something against a bishop than believe a bishop in any event."¹⁹ The balance between spiritual and ecclesiastical authority is, of course, potentially unstable, although we are reminded by Hans von Campenhausen that the two cannot exist totally apart from one another.²⁰ The lesson of the *Montanus* and *Lucius* and the *Marianus* and *Jacobus* is that the authority of the martyr and the authority of the churchman are not mutually exclusive.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9, 1. See also *Acts of Polycarp* 5, 2.

¹⁹ Cyprian, Epistle 66, 10, 2.

²⁰ Hans von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht*, Tübingen, 1953, p. 2. See also v. Campenhausen's discussion of Cyprian on pp. 292-322.

The Man in the Shadow behind Pelagius

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For centuries historians have seen a man standing in the shadow behind Pelagius. This was a certain Rufinus. However, the sources we have to go by for information on his person are scarce.

One of the sources is Augustine, who saved a record of the synod of 411, as found in the archives of the church of Carthage (*De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* II, 2(2)). He reports that at this Council the Pelagian Caelestius, in response to a question asked him by the deacon Paulinus of Milan, replied that he had learned to deny original sin from "the 'holy'¹ priest Rufinus who lived at Rome with the 'holy' Pammachius", but would mention by name no other adherents of this heresy (*De gratia* Chr. II, 3(3): *Aurelius episcopus dixit: 'Sequentia recitentur', et recitatum est: 'Quod peccatum Adae ipsi soli obfuerit et non generi humano'. Et cum recitatum esset, Caelestius dixit: 'Dixi de traduce peccati dubium me esse, ita tamen ut cui donavit Deus gratiam peritiae consentiam, quia diversa ab eis audiui qui utique in Ecclesia catholica constituti sunt presbyteri'. Paulinus diaconus dixit: 'Dic nobis nomina ipsorum!' Caelestius dixit: 'sanctus presbyter Rufinus qui mansit cum sancto Pammachio: ego audiui illum dicentem quia tradux peccati non sit'.)*

Thus we learn that the Pelagian-disposed priest, Rufinus, during his stay in Rome was a guest at the home of Senator Pammachius, a friend of St. Jerome and a man widely esteemed in ecclesiastical circles. The lavish donations of Pammachius to the poor were studiously associated with the cult of St. Peter (Jerome, Ep. 48, 4)².

By another, but somewhat younger contemporary, Marius Mercator, we are informed that the Pelagian heresy arose in the East and from there was brought to Rome during the reign of Pope Anastasius by a certain Rufinus of Syria (Mercator in his *Commonitorium adversus haeresim Pelagii et Caelestii*, *Collectio Palatina* 3. See E. Schwarz *Acta conciliorum oecumeni-*

¹ Henri Marrou "Les attaches orientales du pélagianisme" in "Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1968," Paris 1969, p. 461: Ici et là *sanctus* n'a bien entendu que la valeur très générale de "vénéré", "de sainte mémoire", — s'agissant de défunts: Pammachius est mort à cette date, Rufinus aussi.

² Peter Brown "The Patrons of Pelagius: The Roman Aristocracy between East and West" in "Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine", London 1972, p. 210.

corum 1, 5, 5, Berlin and Leipzig 1924–1925: *Hanc ineptam et non minus inimicam rectae fidei quaestionem sub sanctae recordationis Anastasio Romanae ecclesiae summo pontifice Rufinus quondam natione Syrus Romam primus inexit et, ut erat argutus, se quidem ab eius invidia muniens, per se proferre non ausus, Pelagium gente Brittanum monachum tunc decepit eumque ad praedicatam adprime imbuuit atque instituit impiam vanitatem*).

From Mercator we learn that Rufinus was too astute to propagate this heretical doctrine himself, but quietly communicated it to Pelagius, a British monk, who then began to disseminate it more openly. And Mercator states that it was Pelagius who converted Caelestius to the heresy.

Mercator's record is reliable, for he was an insider. In 418 we find him in Rome very much occupied with the pelagian heresy, against which he had written a book. He was corresponding with Augustine (Aug. Ep. 193, 1) and Jerome (Hier. Ep. 154, 3). Also in Rome he attended a discussion conducted by Julianus of Eclanum, as he tells us himself in his *Commonitorium adversus haeresim Pelagii et Caelestii*, Acta conc. oec. I, 5, p. 13³.

Yet a discrepancy exists between on the one hand the statement of Caelestius himself who instructed him in pelagianism and on the other hand Mercator's words. According to Caelestius it was Rufinus, according to Mercator it was Pelagius. The solution of this minor problem is apparently to be found in the historic evolution. By the time Mercator wrote our quotation (about 431), Rufinus' role in the early diffusion of pelagianism had been greatly overshadowed by the personage of Pelagius⁴.

Nowadays we know the exact time of Rufinus' stay in Rome. He was there during the pontificate of Anastasius I (399–402) and was a guest of Pammachius, who died in 410⁵. Pelagianism in the West was founded by Rufinus.

In 1968 however Marrou shed more light on this man in the shadow. He recognized him as being *Rufinus presbyter provinciae Palaestinae*, the author of a *Liber de fide* "connu et cité au VI^e siècle par Jean Diacre (*Expositum in Heptateuchum*, Ms. Paris, B.N.f.lat. 12309, f^o 10, 72, 94) et que Sirmond a édité pour la première fois en 1650 d'après deux manuscrits de Corbie". "Orthodoxe sur tous les autres points, notamment par son strict anti-origénisme, ses chapitres centraux, 28–41, sont si évidemment entachés de Pélagianisme qu'une note marginale très ancienne, – on est même allé jusqu'à se demander s'il ne fallait pas la faire remonter jusqu'à Cassiodore lui-même –, met en garde le lecteur contre les 'blasphèmes' dont ce livre est rempli et lui conseille, s'il fait recopier ce manuscrit, d'y substituer l'opuscule beaucoup plus sûr de saint Augustin, *De vera religione*"⁶. "Le même colophon qui nous fournit le nom de l'auteur ajoute au titre *Liber de fide*, les mots: *translatus de*

³ Marrou, p. 460.

⁴ Sister Mary William Miller, "Rufini Presbyteri, Liber de Fide", Washington 1964, p. 4.

⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶ Marrou, p. 465.

Graeco in Latinum sermonem. On peut discuter cette assertion: les traces d'hellénisme sont peu nettes; l'argument le plus forte est peut-être que les citations bibliques ne coïncident avec aucune des versions latines connues, mais c'est peut-être simplement que l'auteur cite de mémoire, sans prétendre à une exactitude littéraire"⁷.

Now at least we know who Rufinus was.

In 1964 Sister Mary William Miller shed more light on the nature of his writings and consequently also on the man in the shadow. From her we learn that the language of the latin manuscript is very conservative and remarkably faithful to the best late literary tradition. The profuse employment of rhetorical figures evidences his familiarity with the best rhetorical tradition of his age⁸. In addition to the facts as given by Sister Miller we should perhaps take into account the stylistic influence of a translator as an intermediary.

Already in 1963 F. Refoulé had thrown a stronger light sideways on the man in the shadow. For he discovered that the *Liber de fide* was the work Saint Augustine had refuted in the first 34 chapters of the first book of *De peccatorum meritis*⁹. One might ask whether the Churchfather had consulted the book or mere abstracts which he received from Marcellinus, but it is an established fact that Rufinus' work is older than *De peccatorum meritis* and dates back earlier than 411–412¹⁰. Now we know better than before when to date the *Liber de fide*.

Mercator tells us that Rufinus was *natione Syrus*, but the colophon of the manuscript of Leningrad mentions *presbyter provinciae Palaestinae*. The contradiction may be explained in two ways. The first is that *natione* indicates the native country, Palestine being the country in which Rufinus lived later¹¹. The second way does not see any contradiction because the Seleucid Empire in Asia, which included Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, was commonly referred to simply as Syria, since that country was its centre¹². This uncertain fact about Syrus can be derived from the sources.

I think however that today we are able to throw light on Rufinus in another different way notably via the description by Peter Brown of Pelagius and his supporters. Brown concludes: There is no doubt that Pelagius' writings, and those of his followers, are by far the most accomplished reflections, in Late Roman literature, of the wide-spread striving to create an aristocratic élite. Behind the counsels of perfection of Pelagius, we can sense the high demands of *noblesse oblige* and the iron discipline of a patrician household. The ideal Christian of pelagian literature was a *prudens*, carefully

⁷ Ibid., p. 466.

⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹ F. Refoulé, O. P. "Datation du premier concile de Carthage contre les Pélagiens et du *Libellus fidei* de Rufin" in "Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes" 1963, (IX 1–2), Paris, p. 49.

¹⁰ Marrou, p. 467.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 466.

¹² Miller, p. 6.

reared in conformity to the divine law, to be different from the ignorant crowd¹³. The followers of Pelagius and Caelestius are the only group in Rome that will be condemned not only for being heretical, not only for being disturbers of the peace, but, also, for claiming to be superior to everybody else¹⁴.

Pelagius and his followers strove to be *integri Christiani*. The aim always remained not to produce only the perfect individual, but, above all, the perfect religious group. The *Christianus* of the pelagian writings is the baptized Christian. The full code of Christian behaviour, the Christian *Lex*, should be imposed, in all its rigours, on every baptised member of the Catholic Church¹⁵.

"The Pelagians were Late Roman men, to a depressing extent. For them as for everyone else in that age of absolutism, reform meant only one thing: reform from the top; yet more laws, sanctioned by yet more horrific punishments. The Pelagians would have reformed the Catholic Church exactly as Vegetius proposed to reform the Roman army by re-imposing the old discipline"¹⁶.

So much for the description of all pelagians by Brown.

Provided with these facts we return to the man in the shadow. Via the *Liber de fide* his person appears to become more and more the really pelagian like Brown described.

We hear Rufinus ask for the old discipline in his own words: "Furthermore, we say that God gave to Adam, the first man, for his good, toils and labors which he endured from the earth, since by reverent faith we can in no other way overcome the invisible enemies against whom we wage a continual struggle, unless harassed by bodily labors. For we learn from Divine Scripture that by these we set ourselves free from the enemies' deception and either guard unimpaired virtue or recover virtue when lost"¹⁷. "And our Lord Jesus Christ similarly taught his disciples that virtue, as I have said, could not otherwise be preserved unimpaired or, lost, be regained, except by bodily toils and tribulations"¹⁸.

God wanted to call back the old virtue by threatening with death. In Rufinus' words: "God, therefore, having regard for men, since he knew that

¹³ Peter Brown "Pelagius and his Supporters: Aims and environment" in "Religion and Society", p. 188, 189.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 192-195.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁷ Translation Miller of *Liber de Fide* XXXV: Dicimus autem quod in bonum Deus praestitit primo homini Adam sudores pariter ac labores quos de terra pateretur, quippe cum non aliter invisibiles inimicos, contra quos habemus continuam luctationem, veneranda fide superare possimus, nisi corporis laboribus fatigati. His enim docemur per divinam Scripturam nos metipsos hostium fallacia liberare et, aut salvam custodire virtutem, aut amissam perinde revocare.

¹⁸ Ibid.: Similiter autem Dominus noster Iesus Christus discipulos suos docebat non aliter aut silvam, ut dixi, servari, aut perditam revocari posse virtutem, nisi per labores corporis ac dolores.

they were inclined toward evil and were lovers of the pleasures and desires of the flesh and since he wished rather to recall them to honorable virtue, allowed for the time being some concession to be made to the domination of death. Indeed he did this, because he knew that nothing else could so easily restrain men as death; for generally many abstain from evil through fear of death. Wherefore, the laws of the world can not in any other way curtail most of the vices of men except by the threat of death and punishment"¹⁹.

All the same Rufinus makes it evident that he is appealing to the *prudentes* among his audience. I quote: "No prudent person dares to say that the foolishness and weakness of God is God the Word"²⁰. "As men of prudence, let us hear Moses teaching how God created man"²¹. "We must not say that the soul is a part of God, as the speech of the unlearned and ignorant maintains"²². "Therefore, although we have been taught by many witnesses that this common death is not evil, we must say that those who call death an evil are in the great majority"²³. "Or certainly let those who think that they are prudent"²⁴. "If there were a discourse with the prudent, what I have said concerning the proving of the only-begotten God would abundantly suffice"²⁵. "Therefore, since to themselves they still seem to be wise, although they are proved excessively senseless in everything"²⁶.

The *prudentes* can obtain the old discipline by adhering to the divine *mandata* and *lex*. "All, therefore, are capable of what is contrary, the good as well as the wicked: men are good when they do what God wills; they are wicked in that they completely disregard the Lord's commands"²⁷. "But, just as all who do the will of God acquire never-ending happiness and obtain everlasting glory from God, thus also on the other hand all who condemn

¹⁹ Ibid., XXXII: Deus igitur consulens hominibus, cum sciret eos ad malitiam pronos et voluptatum ac desideriorum carnis amatores et vellet ad honestam potius revocare virtutem, sivit usque ad tempus aliquod dominationi mortis addici, quippe cum nihil aliud nosset tam facile homines coercere posse quam mortem; mortis enim metu plerumque multi a malitia penitus abstinere noscuntur. Unde mundanae leges non aliter possunt pleraque hominum vitia resecare nisi interminatione mortis et poenae.

²⁰ Ibid., XI: Nemo autem prudentium audet dicere quod stultum Dei et imbecillum Deus Verbum est, . . .

²¹ Ibid., XXIV: Ergo, quasi prudentes Moysem audiamus docentem quemadmodum Deus hominem creaverit, . . .

²² Ibid., XXVI: Nec dicendum est animam partem Dei esse, sicut imprudentium et indoctorum sermo habet.

²³ Ibid., XXXIV: Multis igitur testibus docti quod mors ista communis mala non sit, iam longe valere dicamus qui mortem malum appellant.

²⁴ Ibid., XXXIX: Aut certe dicant nobis qui sese prudentes existimant, . . .

²⁵ Ibid., LIII: Et haec quidem dicta de unigenito Deo comprobando abunde sufficerent, si cum prudentibus sermo esset, . . .

²⁶ Ibid., LX: Quid igitur apud se videntur adhuc esse sapientes, cum per omnia nimis inepti probati sint, . . .

²⁷ Ibid., XIX: Omnes igitur contrariorum capaces habentur, tam boni dico quam pravi: boni quidam cum id quod Deus vult faciunt; pravi autem quod mandata Domini minime custodiunt.

divine precepts are condemned to everlasting punishment''²⁸. And that *Lex* again is connected with baptism. "Therefore, because certain men through ignorance of the Divine Scriptures dare to burst out into an impious and unreasonable judgment about Christ, asserting that he destines unbaptized children to the punishment of everlasting fire, which in the Scriptures is usually called gehenna, let them learn from the Divine Scriptures that the punishment of everlasting fire was not prepared for the innocent and for those entirely unacquainted with sin, but for those who transgress the law of God''²⁹.

The importance Rufinus attaches to baptism is continuously felt. He talks about those "who were born through baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit''³⁰. "They believe also in the remission of sins through baptism and that they ought to be deemed worthy by the sanctification of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit''³¹. "And yet together with all his relatives he (sc. Noe) merited the same salvation which we also merit through baptism''³².

In Rufinus we also find again the pelagian thought, that baptized children received not the remission of sin but the positive effects of the sacrament. He writes: "Therefore infants receive baptism not because of sins, but in order that, possessing spiritual procreation, they may be, as it were, created in Christ through baptism and may become partakers of his heavenly kingdom''³³. "Wherefore, infants who are not in sin, also merit the grace of baptism in order that, begotten in Christ by a new generation, they may also become co-heirs of his kingdom''³⁴.

In brief, in every respect Rufinus belongs to the pelagian endeavour to create a spiritually aristocratic elite. Thanks to the facts, which bring this about, we have more of the person Rufinus to go by, Rufinus, the man in the shadow behind Pelagius. This is more important because Pelagius himself

²⁸ Ibid., XIX: Sed, sicut omnes qui Dei faciunt voluntatem perenni beatitudine potiuntur et laudes a Deo consequuntur aeternas, sic et e diverso cuncti qui divina praecepta contemnunt aeterna vituperatione damnantur.

²⁹ Ibid., XLI: Quia igitur quidam Scripturarum inscientia diuinarum in nefariam et iniustam de Christo vocem audient erumpere, asserentes eum pueros minime baptizatos aeterni ignis poenae deputare, qui assolet in Scripturis gehenna nominari, discant ex divinis Scripturis quod ignis aeterni poena innocentibus ac penitus peccatum ignorantibus praeparata non sit, sed illis qui legem Dei praevaricari noscuntur, . . .

³⁰ Ibid., XIII: qui in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti per baptismata nati sunt.

³¹ Ibid., XV: Et credunt per baptismata remissionem peccatorum, similiter etiam Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti sanctificatione dignandos.

³² Ibid., XXXIX: necnon etiam cum suis omnibus hic (sc. Noe) eandem salutem meruit quam nos quoque per baptismata promeremur, . . .

³³ Ibid., XL: Baptisma igitur infantes non propter peccata percipiunt, sed ut, spiritalem procreationem habentes, quasi per baptismata in Christo creentur et ipsius regni caelestis participes fiant, . . .

³⁴ Ibid., XLVIII: Unde infantes, qui in peccatis non sunt, merentur etiam baptismatis gratiam ut, in Christo nova generatione creati, etiam regni eius coheredes efficiantur, . . .

also was not a person who comes to us in a vivid light. Despite great advances in the study of Pelagius' life and writings, the heresiarch remains an enigmatic, one might almost say a shadowy figure³⁵. "But for the controversy with which his name is inalienably associated, and into which he was precipitated by the importunity of his disciples, he has lived a life of honourable mediocrity, and earned a place among Christian writers of the second or third rank of the patristic age", says Bonner³⁶.

This last point raises the question whether pelagianism then should derive its name from Rufinus and whether we really ought to speak of Rufinianism in order to be historically more correct. I see no use in this change of name. Firstly because Rufinus himself obviously did not want it. Secondly because the tradition of the name pelagianism is in existence. And thirdly to quote Bonner because: "It was not Rufinus of Syria, the man who, according to Marius Mercator, first introduced the heresy to Rome, nor Caelestius, who so vigorously proclaimed it, nor Julian of Eclanum, its most formidable apologist, who gave Pelagianism its name; and the word *Pelagiani*, which first appears in 415, is an indication that his contemporaries and posterity have alike agreed to see in Pelagius the Briton the inspirer of the heresy which denies the need for prevenient Grace"³⁷. And "Rufinus' influence on Pelagianism was upon the doctrines of Adam's sin and the fate of unbaptized infants rather than on the larger issues of grace and predestination which Augustine debated with Pelagius, Julian and the alarmed ascetics of Southern Gaul"³⁸. Fourthly as it is apparent that these particular doctrines of Rufinus can fairly be described as Pelagian, it is by no means certain that they were his main theological interest³⁹, which may have been his contribution to the Vulgate. The fifth reason is that Rufinus' views were not taken over by more famous Pelagians without modification⁴⁰. Perhaps we should add: the sixth reason would be his inactivity during the Pelagian Controversy, but we do not know the date of Rufinus' death, and he may well have been dead before the Controversy started⁴¹. In fact that happened earlier than 411.

We keep speaking of pelagianism. Regarding this school of theology in the way indicated by Brown we see that we do not agree any more with the earlier research on Pelagius, which mentioned too soon favourite expressions of Pelagius himself⁴², dealing with *prudencia* and the opinion of the audience.

³⁵ G. I. Bonner "How Pelagian was Pelagius?" in "Studia Patristica" Vol. IX, Berlin 1966, p. 350.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 351.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 357.

³⁸ Bonner "Rufinus of Syria and African Pelagianism" in "Augustinian Studies I" (1970), Villanova (Pa.), p. 31.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴² Georges de Plinval "Essai sur le style et la langue de Pélage", Fribourg en Suisse 1947, p. 78.

And this occurs frequently: *tuo iudicio derelinquo* (De divitiis 44, 8; Epistola de castitate 136, 19); *prudentialae tuae iudicio derelinquo* (De possibilitate non peccandi 116, 16); *in arbitrio relinquimus prudentissimi lectoris* (De inductione cordis Pharaonis 33); *tuo intellectui derelinquo* (Ep. de cast. 149, 12); *restat intelligi* (De div. 56, 13). Therefore we are not surprised to come across the following adjectives and participles, which Pelagius uses as nouns: *parum intellegentes* (Expositiones XIII epistularum Pauli 232, 4); *minus intellegentibus* (ibid. 284, 16; Epistola de malis doctoribus et operibus fidei et de iudicio futuro 82, 15); *scientibus* (Liber de vita christiana 13); *bene sentientibus* (Epistola de malis etc. 70, 27)⁴³.

Now that it is possible for us to see the connection between Rufinus and Pelagius somewhat more clearly than before, I even feel obliged to warn against stressing this relation too heavily. Marrou correctly points to the fact that pelagianism is a western heresy, but that the Greek tradition behind Rufinus provided Pelagius with firm ground to make his own reaction legitimate⁴⁴. This of course does not imply that this Greek tradition influenced Pelagius via our Rufinus only. We should never forget that Rufinus of Aquileia in his translations of Origen also played an important part for Pelagius. "Von entscheidender Bedeutung für Pelagius' theologische Genesis war der Kontakt mit Origenes, den Rufinus durch seinen Römerbriefkommentar gab, der im Jahre 405 herauskam"⁴⁵. Bohlin proved that: "Pelagius in gewisser Hinsicht ein Schüler des Origenes zu sein scheint"⁴⁶. So the Greek tradition, that provided pelagianism with ground to legitimate his own reaction, is also behind Rufinus of Aquileia.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 102.

⁴⁴ Marrou, p. 472.

⁴⁵ Torgny Bohlin "Die Theologie des Pelagius und ihre Genesis" in "Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Acta universitatis Upsaliensis" 1957: 9, Uppsala 1957, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 108.

The Sixtieth Canon of the Council in Troullo

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It was early in the first of his two reigns that the Emperor Justinian II (nicknamed 'Slit-nose')¹ summoned and presided over a grand ecclesiastical council in the great domed chamber (*troullos*) of the Sacred Palace at Constantinople in which the fifth and (probably) the sixth oecumenical councils had convened², the former under the presidency of his distinguished model and predecessor, Justinian the Great. The object of the exercise was to complete the work of the two former councils, which is why this council of 692 has come to be known as the Quinisext (or Penthecton) Council. Those councils had issued doctrinal statements, but no canons; this one issued no doctrinal statements at all, but produced a series of 102 disciplinary canons which found their place in the fabric of Eastern Canon Law where they are held to possess the authority of an oecumenical council.³ They received no acceptance in the West, and in fact subsequently played a significant role in developing the already inherent East-West schism. Discussion of those canons has tended to concentrate on the ones which offended Rome (so far as the ecclesiastical historians are concerned)⁴, and those which shed a little light in the all too dark field of Byzantine social history. As one concerned with the latter, I would like to single out canon N^o 60 for special consideration, though in doing so it should be noted that there are others equally deserving of attention.

Since the Apostle proclaims: 'He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit'⁵, it is clear that he who makes himself the dwelling place of the adversary becomes one, by association, with him, so it seemed good that those who pretend to be mad⁶ and by dissimulation contrive their behaviour to appear debased, should be tried in every way; they should be subject to

¹ *Rhinotmetos*, 685–95 and 705–11. For a recent assessment of this Emperor see Constance Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Milwaukee, 1972). See p. 100 on the sobriquet.

² Charles Josef Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, trans. H. Leclercq (Paris, 1909) Vol. III part I, p. 560 and n. 1.

³ *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. Johannes Dominicus Mansi, vol. xi (Florence, 1755) cols. 930 ff.

⁴ Canons 2, 13, 55, 67 and 82 seem to have particularly offended Pope Sergius I; see Head, *op. cit.*, chapter 10.

⁵ I *Corinthians* 6, 17.

⁶ τοὺς τοίων δαιμονῶν ὑποκρινομένους.

such harsh treatment and pains as are rightly inflicted on those who are genuinely demented for their deliverance from the power of the devil.⁷

Such is the wording of this extraordinary canon against simulated madness. It was based on two assumptions, one of which is fully endorsed by the gospels, the other, not at all. The first was that a genuinely mad person was mad because he was "possessed of a devil", or devils as the case may be. This was a sufficiently common assumption in pre-modern times to require no further comment here. The second assumption was that infesting devil(s) could be treated, and hopefully expelled, by subjecting the body which it or they possessed to "harsh treatment and pains."⁸ This assumption, lacking though it was in evangelical endorsement, was widely acted upon well into the last century. Untold thousands of poor mentally deranged persons were systematically tortured (which is what it boiled down to), chained up, starved, chilled, beaten – plus all the psychological torture of being hooted through the streets and rejected as things of the devil, – all in the mistaken hope that their condition would somehow improve as a result of this persecution.⁹ One suspects that the end result in most cases consisted not in the devil coming out of them, but of their yielding up the ghost!

There can be little doubt that any person who was only pretending to be mad and really was not so would, unless he were in the most deadly earnest, in all probability provide one of the rare occasions on which a madman was "cured" by this draconian medicine. But since the true and the hypocritical madman alike would normally have been given the treatment (the canon seems to regard it as a matter of routine), why was it necessary for a near-oecumenical council to single out the latter and require it for him specifically? The implication would seem to be that there were some who were suspected of, or known to be, "playing the fool," who were escaping the normal course of "harsh treatment and pains" prescribed for the truly demented, and went their ways untroubled. A further implication would seem to be (since grand imperial councils are not given to concerning themselves with trivialities,) that the false fools must have been, or were thought to have been, something of a major menace to sound morals and public safety. So who could these people be who alarmed the Council in *Troullo* into formulating this sixtieth canon?

Unfortunately there appears to be no comment on this canon until the

⁷ Mansi, *tom. cit.*, 969 D. This is in some ways a development of the 79th of the *Apostolic Canons*, which effectively excommunicated demented persons.

⁸ τοιαύταις αὐτοὺς σκληραγωγίας καὶ πόνοις ὑποβάλλειν οἷς ἂν ἀληθῶς δαιμονῶντες πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἐργασίας ἢ μᾶλλον ἐνεργείας ἀξίως ὑποβάλλοιντο Mansi xi, 969 D. Particularly informative in this respect is the Dialogue of Michael Psellus, *De Daemonum Operatione*; chapter xxiii is concerned with the question εἰ τὰ δαιμόνια σώματα ὅλα τέ ἐστι πλήττεσθαι; (PG 122, 872 B – 873 A). See also chapter xi (844 A–845 B), ὅπου αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ δαιμόνων τάξεις.

⁹ For a brief resumé of this sorry story, see the article of F. Petersson in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 14 pp. 616–17.

time of the great canonist Theodore Balsamon, *i.e.* not until the thirteenth century. He first suggested that canon 60 seeks to condemn people who feign madness as a means of gaining material profit, who "with a foul, satanic conscience make demonic utterances after the manner of the pagan seers."¹⁰ Intriguing though this suggestion might be, it is probably no more than an intelligent guess on Balsamon's part, for he is unlikely to have known much more about the world of the seventh century than we do. It almost certainly rests on the by no means worthless argument that since canons 61, 62 and 65 undoubtedly condemn persisting vestiges of paganism (sorcery, astrology, pagan feasts and new-moon festivals), canon 60 does so too. Yet Balsamon proceeds to offer a second explanation, based on the experience of his own time:

Yet when I see many such persons (*scil.* false madmen) travelling around the cities who, far from being restrained, are actually embraced as holy men by some people¹¹, I seek to know the reason why, and I demand that matters be set right. I unwittingly took Stauracius Oxeobaphus to be an hypocrite, whereas he was a righteous man simulating madness for God's sake; I was led astray by deceivers, and perhaps others were deluded by my opinion. Such things should be prevented (from happening) by the canon under review (60) to ensure that the good are not punished with the evil. There are many different roads to spiritual salvation by which a man may travel without giving any offense whatsoever. This is not just my personal opinion; it is taken from the common consent of good men who, having attempted this way of life as being truly pleasing to God, condemn it as pernicious and leading to the sphere of Satan.¹²

In short, he says: the canon may have been originally concerned with pagan frenzy, but its contemporary application is to Christian folly, *heilige Narrheit*.¹³ There are some grounds for suggesting that in seeking to give the sixtieth canon some relevance to his own times, Balsamon may have chanced upon the very purpose for which it was originally devised. It is clear from what he says that by his time the practice of this extreme form of asceticism had fallen into disrepute, but this had not always been the case. When the 'fools for Christ's sake' *οἱ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοί* first appear in the hagiographical tradition, their *acta* are invariably recorded with approbation. In addition to the celebrated St. Symeon of Edessa, we read of a St. Mark Salus¹⁴, a St. Isidora Sala¹⁵, "A certain Sage" whose name has not survived¹⁶, and of St. Euphrosynus the Cook.¹⁷ Fragments only have survived of the *vitae* of the

¹⁰ PG 137, 716 D: κατὰ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προφητίδας.

¹¹ ὡς ἡγιασμένους ἀγκαλιζομένους παρὰ τινων.

¹² PG 137, 71 A, B.

¹³ The article of E. Benz ("Heilige Narrheit", *Kyrios* 3 (1938) 1–55) is a study of this phenomenon from a purely ascetic point of view, based on an uncritical study of the texts.

¹⁴ In *Vie et récits de l'Abbé Daniel le Scétiote*, (*Bibliothèque Hagiographique Grecque*) ed. Léon Clugnet (Paris, 1901) pp. 12–15.

¹⁵ *Historia Lausiaca* cc. 41, 42; PG 34, 1106–07.

¹⁶ In the Syriac version of the *Historia Lausiaca*, *Stories of the Holy Fathers*, trans. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1934) pp. 332–34.

¹⁷ *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902) p. 34 line 59 – p. 36 line 54.

Corinthian St. Paul Salus and of St. Theodore Salus¹⁸; with the addition of the case of St. Thomas Salus¹⁹ and of only one more *salus* whose name is not mentioned²⁰, the list of the known cases is complete.²¹

The distinguishing characteristic of these *salī* (all of whom, incidentally, are anterior to the seventh century) is that they took quite literally St. Paul's injunction "let him become a fool that he may become wise," and his saying: "we are fools for Christ's sake."²² But the crucial *logos* for their way of life is the dominical "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast . . . and come and follow me." Many had taken this to the point of being able to say with St. Peter: "We have forsaken all and followed thee," but some felt they could go yet further, surrendering not only their possessions, their wills, their health and so forth, but even their very personalities, that is, their mental sanity, confident that in doing so they would "receive an hundred-fold."²³ But in all the recorded cases, these were people who had already gone through a long period of monastic training. St. Symeon for instance, with his friend, John, "left the monastery and headed for the desert where, over a period of forty years they went through the whole course of asceticism and hard training"²⁴ before Symeon began to simulate madness. Even the despised menial whose story appears in various guises, is always told of a convent servant in the desert, not of a secular in the world.²⁵

So we are dealing with a spiritual phenomenon which must at best have been very rare (even though untold numbers of cases may have eluded detection, and consequently, record), and which was noted with approbation in such venerable textbooks of the religious life as the *Historia Lausiaca* and *Pratum Spirituale*. It is reasonably safe to assume that the Council in *Troullo* was not trying to eliminate the genuine (and therefore unnoticed) *dia Christon salos*, but some abuse or distortion of the practice of holy folly

¹⁸ *Acta Sanctorum* November, vol. III p. 130 and February vol. III p. 508.

¹⁹ Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 35 (PG 86/ii, 2767 B. C.). The same story appears in *Pratum Spirituale* c. 35 (PG 87/iii, 2949).

²⁰ *Pratum Spirituale* c. 111.

²¹ Serapion and Bessarion (*Historia Lausiaca* cc. 83–85 and 116) are often reckoned as *salī*, but incorrectly so. By allowing themselves to be sold into slavery they were indeed forfeiting their freedom, but not their sanity. The fictitious St. Andrew Salus is of course not included in the list.

²² I *Corinthians* 3, 18; 4, 10. 1, 25 and 27 are also relevant. The discrepancy between St. Paul's consistent use of the word *μωρός* and the persistence of *σάλλος* in the hagiographical tradition has not been explained.

²³ *Matthew* 19; 21, 27, 29.

²⁴ Forty years is the period given in the *Synax. Ecc. CP* (pp. 833–84) but in the *Vita Symeonis Salī* (ed. Lennart Rydén, *Das Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontius von Neapolis*, Uppsala 1963, p. 142 line 8) a period "in excess of twenty-nine years" is stated. St. Mark Salus (*Vita* ut sup.) spent twenty-three years in all as a monk before simulating madness.

²⁵ St. Isidora Sala, 'A Certain Sage' and St. Euphrosynus the Cook seem to have shared the same story.

which we would have to refer to as pseudo-pseudo-*stultitia*. Balsamon made a careful distinction between the genuine pseudo-*salos* Stauracius Oxeobaphus whom he had unwittingly condemned, and the self-serving pseudo-pseudo-*sali* who travel freely around the cities, and whilst he disapproves of the whole practice of *heilige Narrheit*, admits that there are both genuine practitioners and abusers of it.²⁶

Who or what could be to blame for the practice of holy folly falling into such disrepute? The answer may probably be Leontius of Neapolis, one of the best and most influential byzantine hagiographers, and his *Vita Sancti Symeonis Sali*.²⁷ Until the publication of this work (in the earlier half of the seventh century,) knowledge of the practice of holy folly was probably restricted to the monastic circle whose literature previously contained the rare and scarcely sensational records of its occurrence. But Leontius changed all this in three important ways. First, he wrote, not just a brief notice after the manner of the monastic collections, but a full-scale *vita* in the grand style, like Eusebius' (?) *Vita Constantini* and Athanasius' *Vita Pachomii* (thus reviving and setting the pattern of hagiography for some centuries to come.) Secondly, he wrote primarily for the world, not for the cloister – a trend probably already present in the work of John Moschus, but fully developed by Leontius. Thirdly, he wrote so well that his work attained popularity very quickly, to the extent that its influence can often be traced in later works. Leontius of Neapolis, aided and abetted by preachers who used his books to work up their sermons, was therefore probably responsible for spreading knowledge of the practice of holy folly far and wide, and this process may have already begun in the second quarter of the seventh century.

Unfortunately, knowledge does not always bring understanding with it. Whilst Leontius was very careful to relate holy folly to its monastic context, and indeed to give a thoroughly exemplary rationale of it in the *Vita Symeonis*²⁸, we have very definite proof that amongst its readers were those who heard the story but not the rationale. I am thinking particularly of a certain Nicephorus, "Priest of the Great Church", who himself composed a fictitious story, the *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali*, early in the ninth century at Constantinople.²⁹ He certainly knew of St. Symeon Salos (whom he mentions

²⁶ Balsamon notes, incidentally, that Canon 60 had in the past been put into effect: "A number of holy Patriarchs have rightly detained many in chains at the Church of the Holy Martyr St. Nicetas the Great, and others too who were wandering about at crossroads pretending to be demented, they imprisoned in the public gaols on the authority of this canon." (PG 137, 717 A, B.)

²⁷ Leontius lived from before 610 to after 650; see Rydén, *ed. cit.*, p. 17. He also composed a celebrated *vita* of St. John the Almsgiver and a *vita* of Spiridon, bishop of Trimithus.

²⁸ See especially *Vita Sancti Symeonis Sali* ed. Rydén, p. 142, lines 14–26.

²⁹ ed. Conrad Janning, *Acta Sanctorum* May, vol. VI, pp. 4ff. and in PG, 111, 627–888. The fictitious character of this *Vita* is generally recognised; see John Wortley, "The relationship between the *Vita* and the cult of Saint Andrew Salos," *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), 137–141.

18 *Studia Patristica* vol. XV

by name), though whether he had Leontius' *Vita* of him is uncertain.³⁰ The important points are two: first, that this Nicephorus had not grasped the position of feigned madness within the spiritual *askesis* (indeed, his St. Andrew almost starts out by feigning folly at the very beginning of his life-in-Christ,) – and secondly, (this is the crux of the matter) he has his hero simulate madness *for an ulterior motive* beyond the only permissible one of *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. He does so to escape from his master, for he is a slave, and for slaves there is no escape from an unwilling master, not even into religion (which Andrew hopes to embrace) other than down the road of madness.³¹ This is not to suggest that the abuse of *heilige Narrheit* by slaves in order to gain their freedom was the irregularity with which the Council in Troullo was mainly concerned in framing the sixtieth canon (though it might have been so in part); it is to demonstrate that even a literate "priest of the Great Church" could write an alleged saint's *vita* which both missed the point of *heilige Narrheit* and contained a flagrant abuse of it. This *vita* nevertheless became one of the most popular documents in the hagiographical tradition, so little had the work of Leontius been truly understood. If such misunderstanding were rampant at clerical level in the tenth and later centuries, might it not have been so at popular level right from the first appearance of Leontius' *Vita Symeonis*? One need but recall how insanity, feigned or otherwise, could provide a common ground on which pagan frenzy, enthusiastic heresy (such as Messalianism for instance)³² and all kinds of disorderliness could intermingle with each other, to guess at the enormous variety of abuses with which the Council could have been concerned. The tragedy of it all is that it may have been the excellent Leontius of Neapolis who had unwittingly opened the floodgates by teaching a naughty world to cloak its wickedness under the otherwise harmless, but thus discredited, mantle of *heilige Narrheit*.

³⁰ *sic* Sara Murray, *A Study of the Life of Saint Andreas, the fool for the sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig, 1910) *passim*.

³¹ *Vita Sancti Andreae Sali* c. 7.

³² It is precisely with this heresy that Psellus' *De Daemonum Operatione* is concerned: *Εὐχρίτας* (= *Massalianos*) αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἐνθουσιαστὰς οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν PG 122, 821 A and notes 2, 3.

VI. THEOLOGICA

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Zum Verhältnis von Geschichtstheorie und Theologie bei Salvian von Marseille¹

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Der Presbyter Salvian von Marseille war kein Historiker. Sein Hauptwerk *De gubernatione Dei*², verfaßt um 440, unterscheidet sich in Charakter und Anspruch von den zahlreichen Welt- und Kirchengeschichten des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts. Dennoch gilt es in der Forschung als ein eigenständiger Versuch, den Zerfall des weströmischen Reichs zu interpretieren und wird daher zu Recht immer wieder mit den fast zeitgenössischen Entwürfen von Augustin und Orosius konfrontiert³. Einem Christen der Alten Kirche stehen zur Erörterung der fundamentalen Frage nach dem Verständnis der Geschichte nur theologische Kategorien zur Verfügung. Daher begegnet uns Geschichtstheorie bei Salvian im Gewande der *Geschichtstheologie*, und sie empfängt ihre Prägung durch seine theologische Grundposition.

Versucht man, die Theologie Salvians mit wenigen Sätzen zu skizzieren, so tritt als deutlichstes Merkmal sein überwiegendes Interesse an ethischen und seelsorgerlichen Fragen hervor, das einhergeht mit einer Abneigung gegen dogmatische Erörterungen. Nirgends nimmt er explizit Stellung zu den theologischen Streitfragen seiner Zeit. Seine zumeist beiläufigen dogmatischen Äußerungen zeigen uns das Bild eines „Normaltheologen“, der die kirchlich anerkannte Lehre ohne besondere Tiefe und ohne Originalität ausbreitet. Eine sehr dezidierte Position bezieht er allerdings, sobald Fragen des christlichen Lebens berührt werden. Asketische Ideale, rigoristische Forderungen nach Armut und *imitatio Christi*, die sonst nur im Mönchtum erhoben werden, möchte er zur Pflicht für alle machen⁴.

¹ Die folgenden Ausführungen enthalten Thesen meiner Dissertation, die zwischenzeitlich erschienen ist: J. Badewien, *Geschichtstheologie und Sozialkritik im Werk Salvians von Marseille*, Göttingen 1980.

² Als Textausgabe wurde benutzt: F. Pauly (ed.), *Salviani Presbyteri Massiliensis Opera omnia*, Wien 1883 (CSEL 8). Die Werke Salvians werden folgendermaßen abgekürzt: *De gubernatione Dei* = Gub; *Ad ecclesiam* = Eccl.

³ Exemplarisch seien genannt: M. Pellegrino, *Salviano di Marsiglia*, Rom 1940, 211–228; A. G. Sterzl, *Romanus-Christianus-Barbarus. Die germanische Landnahme im Spiegel der Schriften des Salvian von Massilia und Victor von Vita*, Masch.-Diss. Erlangen 1950, 1–7; H.-J. Diesner, *Orosius und Augustin*, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11 (1963), 89–102.

⁴ Eccl I, 10: „*cunctos aequaliter ad perfectionem vocans et una omnes lege compellans*“. Seine Begründung lautet: „*quod cum omnes perpetuo velint vivere, omnes id agere debe-*

An 3 Beispielen soll im Folgenden die Korrelation bestimmter Elemente dieser Theologie mit zentralen Punkten der Geschichtskonzeption gezeigt werden.

1. Obwohl Salvian sich nirgends systematisch-theoretisch an dem Streit um die Willensfreiheit beteiligt, lassen einzelne Sätze doch erkennen, daß er dem Menschen die Fähigkeit zuspricht, frei zwischen gut und böse zu wählen. Zu Beginn seiner kleinen Schrift *Ad ecclesiam*, einige Jahre vor *De gubernatione Dei* entstanden, heißt es, daß Leben und Tod „pariter“ vor den Menschen gestellt sind und er die Hand ausstrecken kann, wonach er will, und er in Ewigkeit besitzen wird, was er „voluntatique ac sententiae suae“ gewählt hat⁵.

Was Salvian hier für den Einzelnen sagt („unusquisque hominum“), gilt entsprechend für eine Gemeinschaft. Damit aber sind wir zur entscheidenden Kategorie seiner Geschichtsinterpretation vorgedrungen. Für Salvian ist *Geschichtstheologie* im wesentlichen *Gerichtstheologie*: die Weltgeschichte ist Schauplatz des göttlichen Weltgerichts⁶.

Mit Hilfe dieser forensischen Kategorie erklärt er den Lauf der Welt als ein Geschehen zwischen Gott und Mensch. Gott offenbart seinen Willen, seine Forderungen im Gesetz. Leistet der Mensch den schuldigen Gehorsam, dann belohnt Gott ihn, übertritt er dagegen die Gebote, dann trifft ihn die göttliche Strafe. Während die Aburteilung des einzelnen Menschen wohl in der Hauptsache dem *iudicium futurum* überlassen bleibt, ergeht über Völker und Staaten des *iudicium dei praesens*, das in der Geschichte sichtbar ist. Aufstieg und Untergang von Staaten sind nichts anderes als Gottes Urteil über Befolgung bzw. Übertretung seines Gesetzes durch die Bevölkerung⁷.

Die Entsprechung zwischen dem Einzelnen und der Gemeinschaft läßt sich noch weiter führen. So wie das Geschick des Einzelnen nicht prädestiniert ist, so gibt es auch keinen unumstößlichen heilsgeschichtlichen Plan Gottes für die ganze Menschheit, dessen einzelne Stadien ablesbar wären und in dem die Menschen fast nur die Rolle von Statisten zu spielen hätten⁸.

rent, ut vitam participare possint“. Vgl. auch I, 37. Dazu E. Bruck, *Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht*, Berlin 1956, 105–117.

⁵ Eccl I, 7; in die gleiche Richtung weisen Gub IV, 36 („quid ergo de poenarum acerbitate querimur? unusquisque nostrum ipse se punit“) und Gub V, 2 („iustus esse incipe et eris liber a lege“).

⁶ Das Handeln Gottes mit der Welt bezeichnet Salvian am häufigsten als *iudicare*, daneben auch als *gubernare*, *regere* u. v. a. *Providere* fehlt charakteristischerweise fast ganz. *Iudicare* steht an besonders exponierten Stellen: am Ende von Sequenzen (z. B. Gub I, 27, 36) und von Büchern (Gub I, 60; II, 28; VIII, 25). Der von Gennadius überlieferte Titel „*De praesente iudicio*“ (De vir ill 68) trifft den Tenor des Werkes!

⁷ Das Verhältnis von zukünftigem und gegenwärtigem Gericht läßt sich nicht mit letzter Klarheit bestimmen. Salvian liefert nur einige kurze unsystematische Texte. In Eccl steht das *iudicium futurum* über den Einzelnen im Zentrum seiner Überlegungen (ab III, 45 *passim*), in Gub leuchtet er ein zukünftiges Gericht zwar nicht, betont aber die Bedeutung und die Gültigkeit des gegenwärtig sich ereignenden Gerichts (Gub I, 17f. 38f; II, 18. 25–28; IV, 36–38).

⁸ Salvian geht allerdings von der Voraussetzung aus, daß allem Geschehen Gottes Heilswille zugrunde liegt (Gub IV, 34. 38. 44f; V, 49f; VI, 90f; VIII, 7).

Für Salvian ist die Geschichte vielmehr grundsätzlich offen. Wie sie weitergeht, entscheidet allein das Handeln der Menschen, das Lohn oder Strafe Gottes nach sich zieht. In Salvians konkreter Situation bedeutet das: Kehren die sündigen Römer um, tun sie Buße, halten sie die Gebote, dann werden sich ihre Niederlagen von heute in Siege von morgen umwandeln, fahren sie aber in gewohnter Weise fort, dann wird Rom endgültig untergehen⁹.

2. Das zweite Beispiel führt in das Thema hinein, das die Forschung an Salvian stets besonders interessiert hat: seine Zeit- und Sozialkritik. Hierbei handelt es sich nicht um ein eigenständiges Thema, sondern die Kritik an den Zuständen im Staat hat ihren festen Ort in der Geschichtskonzeption. Nach dem oben Ausgeführten kann die Konsequenz aus den Niederlagen der Römer nur lauten: also sind die Römer die Schlechteren, die siegreichen Barbaren hingegen die Besseren¹⁰. Zur Verifizierung dieser These entwickelt Salvian seine Zeitkritik.

Sie gliedert sich in Kritik am Verhalten des ganzen Volkes – neben Ge-sinnungssünden wie Neid, Haß usw.¹¹ prangert er vor allem sexuelle Vergehen¹² und die Teilnahme an Schauspielen¹³ an – und schichtenspezifische Kritik:

- die Habsucht der Reichen¹⁴
- Ungerechtigkeit und Korruption von Richtern und Beamten¹⁵
- Unterdrückung der freien Bauern durch Großgrundbesitzer¹⁶
- das Schweigen des Klerus zu all diesen Mißständen¹⁷.

Die Verfehlungen der unteren Schichten entschuldigt Salvian dagegen mit der objektiv vorliegenden Notlage: Diebstähle und Flucht der Sklaven aus Hunger und Angst¹⁸, Desertion freier römischer Bürger zu den feindlichen Barbaren¹⁹ oder zu den rebellierenden Bagauden²⁰ als Reaktion auf den unerträglichen Steuerdruck.

Salvians Kritik liegen durchweg biblische und nicht etwa politisch-ökonomische Kriterien zugrunde: die Forderungen der Gerechtigkeit, der ehelichen Treue, der Nachfolge Christi in Armut. In der konkreten Erörterung einzelner Punkte können dann ökonomische und politische Aspekte hinzutreten – so etwa die Ablehnung der aufwendigen Schauspiele wegen der zerrütteten Staatsfinanzen²¹ oder die Forderung nach Mitsprache der zur Steuer veranlagten ärmeren Bevölkerungskreise über Höhe und Verwendung

⁹ Auch wenn Salvian angesichts der Realitäten eine positive Wende für unwahrscheinlich hält, schließt er sie theoretisch doch nicht aus: z. B. Gub V, 57–61 ("Salubritas esset omnium generositas plurimorum").

¹⁰ Explizit Gub IV, 66: "ut illi nocentiores sint qui infirmiores".

¹¹ Gub III, 30ff.

¹² Gub VII.

¹³ Gub VI.

¹⁴ Gub IV, 20f; V, 15–17; IV, 30.

¹⁵ Gub IV, 21. 31; V, 18; III, 50; I, 11; V, 24f.

¹⁶ Gub V, 38–44.

¹⁷ Gub V, 19f.

¹⁸ Gub IV, 14–16.

¹⁹ Gub V, 19–23.

²⁰ Gub V, 24–26.

²¹ Gub VI, 10. 50–52.

der Abgaben²². Doch sind dies für ihn nicht die letztlich entscheidenden Argumente.

Schon in *Ad ecclesiam* verpflichtet Salvian alle Christen – und nicht nur eine kleine Gruppe von Mönchen – zur *imitatio Christi*²³, und das heißt für ihn zuerst: zur Weggabe allen Besitzes. Vorbild für die Kirche soll auch in seiner Zeit die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde mit ihrer Gütergemeinschaft sein²⁴. Dringend mahnt er zur Buße, damit das Seelenheil des Einzelnen nicht verspielt werde²⁵.

Auch in *De gubernatione Dei* ist die Konsequenz aus der Präsentation der Verfehlungen die Aufforderung zur Buße, die diesmal aber an das ganze Volk gerichtet wird. Auf dem Spiel steht jetzt nicht ewiges Heil, sondern die Fortexistenz des *Imperium Romanum*²⁶.

Das Gegenstück zur Kritik an den Römern bildet der Erweis der moralischen Überlegenheit der heidnischen und häretischen Barbaren. Ihre militärische und politische Überlegenheit besteht aufgrund ihres Lebenswandels zu Recht. Gott belohnt sie durch ihre Erfolge und setzt sie zugleich zur Urteilsvollstreckung an den Römern ein²⁷.

Ganz ähnlich interpretiert Salvian die römische Vergangenheit. Ihre Tugenden, die er uneingeschränkt positiv wertet, haben den alten Römern als göttlichen Lohn des Aufbau ihres Imperiums eingebracht²⁸.

3. Alles bisher zur Theologie Salvians Gesagte läßt erkennen, wie sehr die Ethik Priorität erhält vor der Dogmatik. Rechtes Handeln weist den Christen aus²⁹, Glaube ist nichts anderes als treue Erfüllung der Gebote³⁰, reine Lehre dient nur dazu, die Forderungen Gottes vollständig und unverfälscht zu erkennen³¹ und so christliches Leben in der Nachfolge Christi und der Apostel zu ermöglichen³².

Diese Überordnung des Lebensvollzuges über die Lehre erlaubt Salvian Toleranz gegenüber den häretischen Barbaren. Zwar ist der Glaube der römischen Christen unbezweifelbar der richtige, wodurch den Römern die

²² Gub V, 30–33.

²³ Eccl II, 13.

²⁴ Eccl I, 2; III, 40–44; dazu Gub VI, 4f.

²⁵ So der Gesamttenor von Eccl, bes. III/IV!

²⁶ Deutlich Gub IV, 95–99; VII, 1–12; hierhin gehört die Deutung des politischen Niedergangs als *castigatio*, die die Besserung der Gestraften zum Ziele hat, nach Salvians Beobachtung ihren Zweck aber nicht erreicht (Gub V, 13. 49f; VI, 47–52; 66ff; VII, 50ff u. ö.).

²⁷ Gub IV, 61–63; V, 15–23; VII, 23ff (bes. 50–54).

²⁸ Gub VII, 1f; zur Hochschätzung der alten Römer vgl. auch Gub I, 10–12 und VI, 98f.

²⁹ Gub IV, 6–8.

³⁰ Gub III, 7: “fidelem deo esse, hoc est fideliter dei mandata servare”.

³¹ Erst wer Kenntnis vom Gesetz hat, ist zum Gehorsam verpflichtet und kann schuldig werden (Gub IV, 78–81 u. ö.). Salvian argumentiert nirgends mit einer *lex naturalis*, nur die Christen wissen um das Gesetz. Die ethische Verpflichtung durch die *scientia* bildet einen Leitgedanken bei der unterschiedlichen Beurteilung von christlichen Römern und Barbaren (Gub IV, 57–59. 64. 67 u. ö.), vgl. J. Vogt, *Kulturwelt und Barbaren*, Abhandlung der Akademie der Wissenschaften Mainz, 1967, 1, Wiesbaden 1967, 58f.

³² Christus als ethisches Vorbild: Gub III, 14f. 26; Paulus als Vorbild: Gub III, 17–19. 26.

günstigeren Voraussetzungen für ein Leben nach Gottes Willen gegeben sind³³. Die Barbaren aber versuchen, diesem göttlichen Willen gemäß zu leben, obgleich sie ihn nur fragmentarisch kennen. Sie irren „bona fide“, und ihr Streben zum Guten zählt vor Gott mehr als das Fürwahrhalten der richtigen Dogmen durch die Römer, das für das alltägliche Leben ohne Konsequenzen bleibt³⁴.

Versuchen wir abschließend eine theologische Standortbestimmung Salvians, so weisen alle hier aufgeführten Merkmale auf eine enge geistige Verwandtschaft mit Pelagius hin. Das gilt insbesondere für Salvians Auffassung vom freien Entscheidungsvermögen des Menschen, aber auch in gleicher Weise für die Forderung nach Vollkommenheit aller Christen, für die rigoreuse Kritik am Mißbrauch von Reichtum und Macht, sowie für die Abwertung theoretischer Dogmatik gegenüber dem Vollzug christlichen Lebens. In neueren Arbeiten über Pelagius werden gerade diese Elemente als Charakteristika auch seiner Theologie bezeichnet³⁵.

Das Hauptinteresse des Pelagius galt dem Seelenheil des Einzelnen. Salvian nimmt zentrale Gedanken von ihm auf, entwickelt sie weiter und bezieht sie auf die Kollektive Staat und Gesellschaft.

Indem Salvian aus dem Postulat des freien Willens die Grundstruktur seiner Geschichtskonzeption ableitet, aus der asketischen Forderung der *imitatio Christi* in Armut durch alle Christen seine Zeitkritik und aus dem Vorrang der Orthopraxis vor der Orthodoxie seine Toleranz gegenüber häretischen Barbaren, liefert er eine pelagianische Geschichtstheologie. Die Zugehörigkeit Salvians zu den pelagianisierenden Kreisen Südgalliens, in der Literatur zumeist vorausgesetzt, jedoch nur bisweilen argumentativ belegt, erhält damit eine noch größere Wahrscheinlichkeit³⁶.

Salvians Geschichtsinterpretation und seine Zeitkritik können und sollen nicht monokausal aus theologischen Traditionen abgeleitet werden. Der Einfluß von Politik und Ökonomie behält daneben durchaus sein Recht, auch wenn in diesen Ausführungen davon nur am Rande die Rede war. Wohl aber sollte gezeigt werden, wie Salvians theologische Herkunft seinen Blickwinkel, seine Parteinahme und sein Urteil wesentlich geprägt haben.

³³ Gub V, 9: „veritas apud nos est“.

³⁴ Gub V, 10–13.

³⁵ Die Ausführungen zu Pelagius folgen vor allem G. Greshake, Gnade als konkrete Freiheit. Eine Untersuchung zur Gnadenlehre des Pelagius, Mainz 1972, bes. 33–37 und 47–52 (Greshake diskutiert auch die neuere Literatur) und J. Morris, Pelagian Literature, JThS 16, 1965, 26–60. Als pelagianischer Text wäre vor allem (aber nicht nur!) der *Tractatus de divitiis* zu nennen.

³⁶ Dies wird nur von wenigen Forschern bestritten: M. Pellegrino aaO (=Anm. 3), 136–142 und M. Iannelli, La caduta d'un impero nel capolavoro di Salviano, Neapel 1948, 109–117. Argumente für einen Semipelagianismus Salvians bringt z. B. E. Bordone, La società romana del quinto secolo nella requisitoria di Salviano Massiliense, in *Studi dedicati alla memoria di Paolo Ubaldi*, Mailand 1937, 315–344, darin 337–340.

The Times of the Christian Fathers: Theological Attempts at an Ecumenical Definition

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1. Tradition and Culture
2. Tradition and Christianity
3. The "Fathers" as an integral part of Christian Tradition
4. The "Age" of the Fathers
5. Towards an ecumenical assessment

Every serious discussion on Christianity, every systematic presentation of the Christian message, and every justification of the content of the Christian faith must respect the evidence of the Fathers of the Church.

The fact has come to light in almost all the Christian theological treatises ever since the third century.

The acts of all the most important Councils of the Church refer to the testimony of the Fathers as a determining element in their decisions and choices. The second Vatican Council considers as obvious that in the teaching of Theology "students should be shown what the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Church contributed to the fruitful transmission and illumination of the individual truths of Revelation, and also of the later history of dogma"¹.

We should also note that both the theologians and the Christian Councils have always constantly insisted that the object of every appeal to the Fathers is not so much the personal opinion of this or that Father on any single aspect of the Christian doctrine, but rather the *unanimous agreement* that the Fathers as a whole express in regard to a determined truth. This consensus acquires particular validity in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

Any earnest appraisal of Christianity always returns to its origins, appeals to a tradition preserved intact through the centuries of its existence and tries to construct comprehensible formulations in the context of the culture upon which it intends to bestow the light of the Gospel.

Keeping in mind what we have just said and before trying to define the term "Fathers of the Church", it is convenient, if not indeed a *sine qua non*, to make some preliminary remarks on the relationship that exists between Tradition, Culture and Christianity. Since the first two terms are somewhat flexible, it is necessary first of all to determine their meaning exactly,

¹ Optatum Totius 16.

especially when being used in a theme which is substantially connected with them.

After having examined together some points of the generic sense of tradition and culture, and traced the specific values that these assume in any erudite presentation of Christianity, we will try to establish what is the special function attributed in such a perspective to the witness of the Fathers of the Church. The dogmatic significance, which this occupies in Christian theology will be the fruit that we hope to gather at the end of our analysis of what the Church has always either implicitly professed or openly taught.

1. *Tradition and Culture*

The basis for any authentic relationship between tradition and culture is an intellectual qualitative step resulting from the acceptance of one's own existence and human situation.

The process which accompanies the justification of such a step may express itself in various moments, which, in various degrees, lead to an honest acceptance of the principles that govern each one's personal behaviour, and which occupy a central position. We will focus our attention on four of these moments. Around them it is possible to synthesize the whole complex of attitudes which the cultured man of today may adopt in justifying the sphere of his concepts and of his actions. These moments are: the prescientific attitude, the protoscientific attitude, the systematic attitude, the historiological attitude. I should point out that any of these attitudes may constitute moments which are present at each level that one comes in contact with in the progressive phases through which the development of a human being passes.

The *prescientific* moment is the result of an objective truth, namely, that every man – under penalty of self-destruction – accepts in practice a transcendental datum to which he submits his behaviour. No man acts as if he were alone who has created in complete autonomy the code of principles to which he conforms his actions.

Accepting the transcendental in this sense means the implicit acceptance of the *other person* as a constitutive element of any self-fulfilment of the individual. A man's actions taken as a whole do in fact find in the other person a necessary point of reference. Included in this "other" is all the history which has preceded the individual. This bears the full force of its weight in shaping the individual's behaviour, because it is a codetermining dimension of the person.

In any culture each individual assumes this as an implicit datum in the process of his self-fulfilment, even though it is more often than not, an unconscious process. The person acquires a well defined aspect only if he also

takes advantage of the components which the sedimentation of preceding history has deposited in himself.

In this case "Tradition" is the term which is applied to that transmission of anterior data, which converge in the history of a person, and which constitute the person a tributary of future history. "Culture" on the other hand is taken to be the expression of that complex totality of notions, beliefs, habits, and consistent activities, that a person shares with the members of the social group to which he belongs.

The *protoscientific* moment comes to light when the relationship, that exists between tradition and the sum of the processes which accompany the transmission and development of a culture, is examined. The equation between tradition and cultural process implies the initiation of scientific reflection (i.e. the protoscientific moment). It is the moment when a person begins to require critical justifications before accepting his cultural situation.

The person therefore develops an attitude through which he accepts uncritically only those data which he considers as natural and unquestionable. For all other data a critical justification is required. All the person's reasonable doubts are to be satisfied. For only when such doubts are satisfied can a person consider as honest the motivations brought forward for accepting certain data which determine his behaviour.

The resultant critical reflection requires, in the first place, a search for the permanent values proper to the culture that has been transmitted and accepted; it demands, in the second place, a guarantee of univocalness and continuity for those same permanent values that have been accepted; and it produces, in the third place, an advancement of content capable of contributing to the development of correct impulses for further progress.

The *systematic* moment asserts itself when the individual attempts an organic unification of the various cultural contents to which he recognizes himself as heir. The point of departure of this phase of reflection in the process of a person's intellectual justification of his situation, consists in a return to the origins of the culture to which the person belongs. If this does not take place, the process of transmission we mentioned earlier, will lack that univocalness which ensures the permanence and continuity of values.

The person should therefore investigate the experiences and original achievements which have given rise to the first fundamental nucleus of a tradition. He should also clarify, in the light of this original reality, the first significant data which will later be transmitted. These are significant data which will become the more true, the more they can be freed of those unauthentic elements (elements of disturbance) which may have been introduced by the person in the fulfilment of his necessarily limited liberty.

The *historiological* moment intervenes when, having located the source of a culture and having identified its original achievements, the person proceeds to examine the developments which these have undergone during the process of those human experiences that have transformed them into a concrete

reality. The original historic events which bore and transmitted them have to be well focused. The events and persons that in the various epochs of the development of a culture present themselves as privileged loci for the preservation of the original values have to be discovered. And finally, it has to be established, which elements in the sphere of the present orientation best defend that permanence of values, which once secured can be predisposed in such a manner as to achieve the best result possible in a dynamics of the future.

2. Tradition and Christianity

The first justification of a person's Christian state implies situations which are analogous to those observed in the relationship between tradition and culture.

A tradition becomes Christian when it refers to the sum of those processes from which is derived the original content of the Christian message, and which have accompanied its transmission and development.

In establishing the original content of Christianity it is important to find out whether it constitutes the basis of a culture in the full sense of the term or is simply a phenomenon essentially free of any cultural configuration. In the first case, Christianity is on the same footing as all the other cultures created by man. In the second case, the fundamental data which characterize Christianity present themselves as a stimulating element for the discovery of those salvific values immanent in the cultures with which they come into contact.

It is not at all difficult to ascertain that the original content of Christianity does not identify itself with any human culture. Its founding elements constitute a novelty, which can neither be deduced from any human culture nor be reduced to any autonomous human product. Revelation, or the self-communication of God in Christ, which gives a sense of autonomy to Christianity, fundamentally transcends every human culture. Any presentation of Christianity is senseless, if it prescind either from that gratuitous manifestation of God, the source and foundation of which is Revelation, that is Christ, or from the gift of faith which is granted to all those men who accept it. Christianity may be referred to "a Tradition" if, and only if, in the process of transmission which this implies, there remains intact an original and univocal content in which the principal elements of Revelation are preserved unchanged.

The permanent and immutable foundation of Christian tradition is above all constituted by the preaching of the Apostles. And as we read in the second Vatican Council, "this preaching of the Word of God, expressed in a special way in the inspired Scriptures, is preserved by a continuous succession of preachers until the end of time"². The task of preserving it intact belongs to

² Dei Verbum 8.

the Church: "The Church in her teaching, life and worship perpetuates and hands down to all generations all that she herself is, all that she believes"³. The history of the Church is no more and no less than the process through which, during the various epochs of its existence, there developed "the understanding of the realities and of the words that have been handed down". It is in this manner, the Council concludes, that tradition, which traces its origins to the Apostles, was destined to progress throughout the ages⁴.

3. The "Fathers" as an integral part of the Christian Tradition

It is at this point that, according to the second Vatican Council, there appears in the Christian Tradition the witness of the holy Fathers: "The words of the holy Fathers of the Church witness to the living presence of this Tradition, whose wealth is poured into the practice and life of the believing and praying Church"⁵.

These Fathers of the Church are referred to as one would to a category of men, whose testimony enjoys a certain privilege in the knowledge and development which, especially in the first centuries of Christianity, had the understanding of the "realities and words transmitted by the Apostles".

The term "Fathers of the Church" acquired officially a special significance about the fourth century of the Christian era. In fact, however, it was a dimension present and held in high regard ever since the times of the sub-apostolic Church, when there began to arise in the Church a certain distinction between Holy Scripture as an apostolic kerygma and the faithful transmission of this kerygma to the successive generations of Christians.

4. The "Age" of the Fathers

No document of the Church provides us with any exact criterion with which the limits of time of the age of the Fathers can clearly be determined. The most respected manuals of Patrology prefix their definition of the age of the Fathers with such phrases as "it is the common opinion" (Altaner) or "we are accustomed to" (Quasten). These manuals generally consider the Didache as the first manuscript of the patristic age, and Isidore of Seville (+ 639) in the West and John Damascene (+ 742) in the East as its last representatives.

The great Councils seem to attach a particular authority to the *Patres antiqui*⁶, to those who attest the primitive norm of the Church, *pristinam*

³ Dei Verbum 8.

⁴ cfr. Dei Verbum 8.

⁵ Dei Verbum 8.

⁶ cfr. Council of Orange: DS. 370, 396; Council of Trent: DS. 1692; Vatican II: Lumen Gentium 56.

*sanctorum Patrum normam*⁷, in other words to those Fathers of the Universal Church who lived in the "glorious times" of Christianity⁸.

The first attempt to define the age of the Fathers was made by Vincent of Lerins in A.D. 435. In his famous *Commonitorium* he considers the age of the Fathers concluded in the East by Gregory of Nyssa (+ 394) and in the West by Ambrose of Milan (+ 397). Augustine is not included in the list.

Towards the end of the same century there appears an *Epistula Decretalis*, known under the name of "*Decretum Gelasianum*" (DS. 353). It contains a list of "*opuscula sanctorum Patrum quae in ecclesia catholica recipiuntur*" and with regard to the former extends the Greek series of the Fathers to Cyril of Alexandria (+ 444) and the Latin one to Pope Leo I (+ 461), after having therein included Augustine and Prosper of Aquitaine (+ 455).

An inexplicable theological ingenuity has induced writers on the patristic age to adopt without any critical reflection a concept of the Fathers of the Church which according to them was to be considered as classical⁹. It is derived from the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins, whom we have just mentioned. He died about 450 and was, almost a century later, acknowledged (together with Faustus of Riez) as one of the principal exponents of Semi-pelagianism, in the second Council of Orange (529). The passage of the *Commonitorium*, which is almost always erroneously quoted, is the following: "*Si qua nova exurgeret quaestio, ubi id minime reperiretur (that is in a decree of a Council) recurrendum est ad sanctorum Patrum sententias, eorum dumtaxat qui suis quisque temporibus et locis in unitate communionis et fidei permanentes, magistri probabiles extitissent, et quidquid uno sensu atque consensu tenuisse inveniretur, id ecclesiae verum et catholicum absque ullo scrupulo iudicaretur*"¹⁰. On the basis of this description of the Fathers of the Church, the manuals have formulated four conditions necessary for a Christian writer to be considered a Father of the Church, namely: orthodoxy of doctrine, holiness of life, ecclesial approval and antiquity.

From the dogmatic point of view, the importance of such a description depends on its being recognized and taught in definite and irreformable manner as a result of a solemn statement of the indefectible Church. If such an explicit and binding pronouncement in regard to the Fathers of the Church does not exist, it becomes necessary to investigate whether or not the concept of "Fathers of the Church" is to be recognized as an essential part of another defined truth of faith universally preached and professed.

As regard to the Roman Catholic Church there has never been any solemn

⁷ Vatican II: *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 58, 87.

⁸ Vatican II: *Unitatis Redintegratio* 15.

⁹ cfr. A. Benoit, *Attualità dei Padri della Chiesa*, Bologna 1970, p. 15. This is a small but praiseworthy book, which puts a special emphasis on this very problem of the times of the Fathers. But, as one will see from my conclusions, our views in this precise matter are not completely compatible.

¹⁰ PL. 50, 378.

definition of the concept of Father of the Church, nor has it ever declared that there is an identity between Tradition and Fathers of the Church. The Church has however uninterruptedly resorted to the testimony of the Fathers as being particularly qualified in the transmission of divine Revelation. Of this transmission, the "sanctorum Patrum dicta" certainly makes the part of that testimony which is the living Tradition of the Church¹¹. Such an uninterrupted appeal to the Fathers as particularly qualified witnesses in the transmission of Revelation undoubtedly constitutes a dogmatic reality. What has still to be determined, however, is a clear and exact definition of the essential characteristics necessary for the formulation of the dogmatic concept of Father of the Church.

The classical definition also mentions "orthodoxy of doctrine". In this regard the declarations of the Councils do not include among the Fathers those who are commonly considered as heretics. Great stress is laid on the orthodoxy of the preaching of the Fathers (DS. 514 and 850), on the authority of the sound doctrine they profess (DS. 635), on their communion with the Church of Rome (DS. 353). However, Tertullian for one, who was actually separated from the Church of Rome between 207 and 220, is repeatedly quoted among the orthodox Fathers (DS. 154, 2777, 3549); and the "Origenis nonnulla opuscula" from another have been accepted ever since the fourth century (DS. 353). Another condition required of a Father of the Church in the classical definition is "holiness of life". It is certainly not in the sense of an official act of canonization. When the great Councils declare "holy" all the Fathers to whom they appeal, among whom Tertullian is included, they mean that their holiness is to be seen as the fruit of their sound and upright doctrine (DS. 575) and of that "pietas" which has bound them to the Church (DS. 516). We do not have any critically reliable document about any nominal recognition of the Fathers on the part of the Church. The list that is attributed to Pope Gelasius (492-496), although of uncertain origin, remains nonetheless a most precious point of reference that we have for establishing the principle according to which the assent of the Church may be presumed: *omnia probate, quod bonum est teneate*.

But the most valid criterion that dogmatically qualifies the theological meaning of "Father" in the history of the Church is the universality or catholicity of the testimony of each Father. The more the testimony of the Fathers corresponds to that doctrine which is universally professed by all Christians, the more it can be qualified by that credibility which is the basis of any indefectible teaching of the Church. This is the ultimate content of the Creed's "I believe in the catholic Church"; which is also evident in the second Vatican Council's affirmation: "The body of the faithful as a whole, anointed as they are by the Holy One, cannot err in matters of belief. Thanks to a supernatural sense of the faith, which characterizes the People of God, it

¹¹ cfr. Vatican II: Dei Verbum 8.

manifests this unerring quality when from the Bishops to the last member of the laity, it shows universal agreement, in matters of faith and morals. For by this sense of faith God's People clings without fail to the faith once delivered to the saints" (Lumen Gentium 12).

Naturally we should accord a privileged universality to those Fathers who are appealed to as authentic witnesses of the faith of the Church and who have been in some way or another a determining factor in the life of the Church, both in regard to its faith and in regard to the discipline and behaviour of Christians. Among these, we can say that they doubtlessly enjoy an undisputed veneration, those whose activity contributed in bearing witness to the first attempt of human reflection to grapple with the fundamental nucleus of Christianity, constituted by the apostolic Tradition and the inspired crystallization that this achieved by the establishment of the Canon of the Bible. In their testimony the faith of the Church appears solely, as it were, normed by the Scripture and the Tradition present in all the life of the primitive Church. This testimony embraces the elements that constitute the first interpretation of the Christian message, to which the Councils refer.

The substantial unity, with which the Church presents itself in the first three centuries of its existence, constitutes this testimony as a point of reference to which all Christians can refer whatever successive doctrinal differences divide them. Because of this the dogmatic value of the Fathers is the more appreciable, the more their authority is universally recognized by Christianity.

A most illuminating explanation of this criterion is that given by John Henry Newman in his first lecture on "The patristical idea of Antichrist": "I follow the ancient Fathers, not as thinking that on such a subject they have the weight they possess in the instance of doctrines or ordinances. When they speak of doctrines, they speak of them as being universally held. They are witnesses of the fact of those doctrines having been received not here or there but everywhere. We receive those doctrines which they thus teach, not merely because they teach them, but because they bear witness that all Christians everywhere then held them. (. . .) They do not speak of their own private opinion; they do not say 'this is true, because we see it in Scripture' – about which there might be differences of judgement – but, 'this is true, because in matter of fact it is held, and has ever been held, by all the Churches, down to our times, without interruption, ever since the Apostles': where the question is merely one of testimony, viz., whether they had the means of knowing that it had been and was so held; for if it was the belief of so many and independent Churches at once and that, on the ground of its being from the Apostles, doubtless it cannot but be true and Apostolic" ¹².

¹² J. H. Newman, *Discussions and arguments*, London 1873, p. 45.

5. *Towards an ecumenical assessment*

The Fathers, whose witness represents the faith of a substantially undivided Christianity, play an indirectly privileged rôle in the ecumenical dialogue that is taking place today among the various contemporary Christian Churches. The second Vatican Council admits that the first divisions which really indented the unity of the Church were due to the "disputes on the dogmatic pronouncements of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; the first caused by the spread of Nestorianism (431) and the second, because of Monophysism (431)". Later there follows "the breakdown of the ecclesiastical communion between the Eastern Patriarchates and the Roman See". Then "more than four centuries afterwards in the West, commonly referred to the Reformation, many communions, national or denominational, were separated from the Roman See"¹³.

To all these Churches Vatican II speaks of the "glorious times of the holy Fathers" as a point of common convergence in the search for unity¹⁴. The ecumenical dialogue, in fact, will be fully and sincerely catholic, if in the first place it rests on that loyalty "to the truth we have received from the Apostles and the Fathers".

If in the meantime we want to establish a list of the Fathers common to all Christian communions, whose divisions date back for some to the fourth century, the title of "Fathers of the Church" must be applied in a privileged way only to those writers, whose testimony precedes the rise of these divisions. The appellation Father of the Church in the history of dogma, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, is applied also to all the important personages in Christian literature, from Augustine right up to the beginning of the first period of Scholasticism. From what we have said above, it follows that the dogmatic value attributed to the testimony of these last cannot have the same weight as that of the very first Fathers who represent the first Christian practice and the first reflection on the teaching of Christ as transmitted by the Apostles and contained in the Scriptures. Those Fathers who do not form part of this category are also in their own right witnesses of the faith of the Church. They have also a privileged value because of the veneration in which Christians hold them. Nevertheless, the value which is attributed to their testimony, does not possess that unique universality which is recognized in the case of the Fathers who are witnesses of the first historical incarnation of Christianity. The Church may, in all truth, be called patristic in all its historical existence.

Surely one should consider the Fathers of the Pre-Nicene Church as invested with a particularly qualified universality, on the basis of the acknowledgement of their privileged authority. But this acknowledgement does not

¹³ Unitatis Redintegratio 13.

¹⁴ Unitatis Redintegratio 15.

mean that "the subsequent developments (in the Church) are less authentic and of minor importance", as G. Florovsky justly notes¹⁵.

No one can ever deny the fact that in the historical existence of the Post-Nicene Church we find personages venerated as particularly qualified in their witness to the faith of the Church in which they lived and flourished. But it is also true that, though they belong to a later age than the first historical interpretation of Christianity, their function is not of an essentially different type to that attributed to the ancient Fathers universally accepted as privileged.

In any historical period, Christianity, if it desires to purify its structures in the best possible manner, must, before it turns to the Fathers of later times, compare itself with the life of faith attested in that period, in which there was formed that unique identity (*quid unicum*) which gives the first stable appearance to the reality of the Church as a historical fact.

Now this stability, which finds its univocal principle in the apostolic preaching, achieves its most genuine realization in the first historical coming into being of the Church, attested by the most eminent figures, who were part of its first expansion and establishment in the world.

¹⁵ G. Florovsky, Grégoire Palamas et la Patristique: *Istina* 8 (1961/62) p. 119.

Number Games and the Second Dialogue of St Gregory

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The number five in its pure state does not rank high in Gregory's esteem, representing as it does the narrowness and restriction of the five senses as compared to the wide range of the mind, their lord and master – but it does have potentialities (*Hom. in Ez.* 2, 5, 5; *ibid.* 7, 5; PL. 76, 987 B, 1015 C). In the practical use to which knowledge is put the five senses mediate all our operations. Now, we expand ourselves by works of charity. These virtuous actions, feeding so to speak on themselves, bring us to the perfection of charity. This is expressed in number symbols by saying that five multiplied by itself rises to twenty five, so twenty five is the number symbolizing the perfection of charity for the neighbour. The numbers seven, ten and twelve were regarded as perfect by the philosophers, but, according to Gregory, the christian ought to have his own frame of reference (*Mor.* 35, 8, 15; PL. 76, 758 A). Seven is perfect since it is composed of the sum of the first divisible and the first indivisible numbers (i.e. $4 + 3$); twelve results from their product and ten from the addition of three to seven (cf. *Mor.* 1, 27, 38; *Hom. in Ez.* 2, 6, 5; PL. 75, 544 C; 76, 1000 A). To the christian the number seven represents the gifts of the Holy Ghost. To attain perfection one must also practice the three theological virtues; the sum of these and the gifts attains the perfection of the Law, the Ten Commandments! The number twelve in its turn reminds the christian that the twelve apostles carried the knowledge of the *Three* Persons of the Divine Trinity to the *four* quarters of the world. Finally, the number seven also represents the repose of eternity, for God rested on the seventh day of creation, and if we multiply seven by itself and add one we attain to fifty, the jubilee number, which signifies the everlasting happiness of heaven.

Twelve, besides being a perfect number, also represents any indefinite whole (for instance, the twelve tribes or the twelve thrones of judgement, cf. *Mor.* 10, 31, 52; PL. 75, 950 D). This can be taken as a starting point for the study of the literary division of the *Second Dialogue*.¹

Let us begin with the certainties. Clearly, the *Second Dialogue* breaks down naturally into two parts: the Subjaco sojourn and Monte Cassino (Chs 1–8a

¹ Medieval writers in the Latin tradition often preferred for aesthetic reasons to base their amplifications on symbolic numbers, cf. St Augustine's *Contra Faustum*, which is composed of 33 books after the number of years in Christ's life.

& Chs 8b-to the end, *see* Table). This is a division depending on the content of the work, and note that the line of demarcation falls in the middle of a chapter. There are, furthermore, three introductory or transitional phrases in the second part of the *Dialogue* (Chs 8, 12 & 22). To take but one example, at the beginning of Ch. 12 there occurs the sentence: *Coepit vir Dei etiam spiritu prophetiae pollere*. There then follow twelve examples of these gifts of prophesy and clairvoyance in as many chapters. A similar phrase in Ch. 22 introduces the twelve miracles related in Chs 23–33, and the second part is itself introduced by the question in Ch. 8 (not indicated in Table) which announces that Benedict is departing for Cassino where he will work new wonders.²

So much for the second part of the *Dialogue*. The conclusion with its reiterated references to the joys of heaven (cf. Chs 33, 35) gives us a clue as to what to be on the look out for. The theme is illustrated by five episodes involving visions associated with heaven and prophecies of death (Chs 34–37).

The first part of the *Dialogue* is not so clearly signposted, but the material breaks down easily enough into a section containing a group of stories about the twelve monasteries (note the number!) founded at Subjaco (Chs 3b–7). The success of St Benedict at Subjaco stirred up the envy of the priest, Florentius, who began to persecute him (Ch. 8a). This latter section, since it gives the reason why St Benedict left Subjaco and treats of his actual departure, may be looked on as distinct from the section on the twelve monasteries, and as transitional to the second part of the biography. A scrutiny of the section on the twelve monasteries (it has a fairly clear introductory sentence leading from the failure at Vicovaro: *Si libenter audis, citius agnoscens . . . quantos in locis aliis ab animae morte suscitavit*, Ch. 3) reveals that it is made up of five distinct *exempla* (Chs 3b–7). The transitional half chapter on Florentius (Ch. 8a) similarly breaks down into five episodes or *exempla* as distinct from narrative.³

This leaves us with the problem of dividing up the first section of the *Dialogue* (Chs 1–3a). Do we find any clues in this section to guide us? Or must we deductively assume the number five and construct a procrustean

² Besides the five introductory phrases noted in the text (two in Ch. 8, and one each in Chs 3, 12, 23), there are two others introducing respectively two different kinds of miracle (Ch. 30) and Scholastica's miracle (Ch. 32). These subheadings do not interfere with the proposed division. There are two further examples in Chs 16 & 21; these are 'continuing' phrases, i.e. the narrative is resumed after a reflexion.

³ That Gregory grasped the distinction between narrative and *exemplum* should hardly need elaboration (cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2, 4, 2). The use of the *exemplum* was well known to ancient writers (cf. Hélène Pétré s.v. *Exemplum*, *Dict. de spiritualité*, 4, 1892). Gregory, in fact, introduces the *Second Dialogue* with a request from Peter, his interlocutor, for *exempla*: *Quaeso . . . ut esurientem me per exempla bonorum pascas* (*Dial.* 1, 12; PL. 77, 216 A). There are many cases of this distinction in the *Second Dialogue*. For example, the first section of the second part (Chs 8b–11) puts the building of Monte Cassino abbey as a backdrop to five stories of diabolic persecution. Similarly, in the conclusion (Ch. 36) I make no account of the writing of the Rule: it is narrative, not *exemplum*.

bed for this portion of our *Dialogue*? Two points strike one on a careful perusal of the text: firstly, it is composed partly of narrative and partly of interpolated stories, or what used to be called *exempla* by the preachers of antiquity; secondly, there are a number of repetitions (five in all, three in Ch. 1 and one each in Chs 2 and 3) of a stereotyped formula which might be called the theme of the first half of the *Vita*. The formula is: 'His name became known to all and many left their sinful ways to follow him'. Since, however, it does not seem to be used systematically, it would not be safe to base our division on it. Given this body of narrative and stories, then, let us pick out the *exempla*. Beginning with the story of the broken quern, we count in turn: the broken bell, the Easter meal, the discovery by the shepherds, the temptation and the Vicovaro episode. This gives us six *exempla*, so we may either accept it, or take another look. Renewed examination reveals that the episode of the shepherds appears to be bracketed in the writer's mind with the preceding episode, the Paschal feast, since it is introduced by the phrase: *Eodem quoque tempore*. Furthermore, the two stories are enclosed within the formula already referred to, which introduces and concludes the double event. It may be thought valid, then, to count these two episodes as one in the writer's mind, both being introduced either at the behest of current fashion or because of the sources Gregory was using at the moment.⁴

Let us now review the plan of the *Vita* as a whole. It is made up of two main parts. Each of these is subdivided into three subdivisions. Each of the subdivisions of the first part in its turn embodies five *exempla*, the last of the three subdivisions serving as a transition to the second part of the *Vita*. The second part commences with a short group of five *exempla*, matching the concluding group of the first part and being linked with it as to content, for it tells of the open infestation of the demon as opposed to his hidden persecution through the agency of Florentius. There then follow two further subdivisions of this part, each containing twelve *exempla*, which put into effect the writer's promise at the beginning of the second part to tell of the prodigies worked by his hero at Monte Cassino. This brings the body of the work to a close. The *Vita* then concludes with five further examples of heavenly visitation or prophesy surrounding the death of the saint; thus, the second

⁴ In one or two cases it is not easy to distinguish one *exemplum* from another. To justify my division on the accompanying table some episodes would have to be studied in detail: e.g. (Ch. 8) the attempt to poison St Benedict appears to be one continuous story. Why separate the story of the raven from it? The answer is that the raven was not necessary for the removal of the loaf, but Gregory had devoted considerable attention to the symbolism of this bird in the *Morals* (30, 9, 28; PL. 76, 539-42), and of course the bird is associated with Elijah, the prototype of hermits and an important symbolic figure in the *Second Dialogue* (1 Kg. 17: 6). In fact, the many symbolic levels to be found in this work encourage one to look for number symbolism as well in the *Second Dialogue* (cf. O. Rousseau, 'S. Benoît et la prophète Elisée', *Revue monastique* (Maredsous), 144 (1956), p. 113f; Max. Maehler, 'Évocations bibliques et hagiographiques dans la vie de saint Benoît par saint Grégoire', *Revue bénédictine*, 83 (1973), p. 398f.).

part of the work, besides being made up of $5 + 12 + 12$ *exempla*, can be made to look even more symmetrical by adding in the conclusion, for the numbers then become: $5 + 12 + 12 + 5$.

The attentive reader may at this point be becoming a little restive, either because he feels that this *tour de force* is too much of a good thing, or else because – which is much more likely – he has spotted that a classification of elements has been constructed by the old and familiar device of leaving out the awkward ones. The really big objection to this pretty number scheme is the very last episode for all, that of the cure of the lunatic at Subjaco, which has been left out on a limb. It could, of course, be regarded as simple narration (just as the rest of Ch. 38 is simple reflexion) – but this would be rightly denounced as cheating.

This will underline the point of view that has been adopted in this paper, and its solid foundation. I hold that the symbolism of numbers has been brought into play, but that here it applies to the *exempla* alone. My basis for this assertion is the very clear evidence of the threefold division of the second part, each with its stylized introduction, its symbolic number of *exempla* and its reflexions, thus relegating the chapters to a secondary rôle in the work.⁵ I have merely extended this principle to the rest of the book.

To return, then, to the lunatic. It will be remembered that the number five was not greatly regarded by St Gregory, but that twenty five (5×5) signifies the perfection of charity for the neighbour. Looking back over our scheme, we find that there are in fact five sections in the *Dialogue* each containing five *exempla*. I am not aware that twenty four ($12 + 12$) had any particular symbolism for the ancients, but if we add twenty four and twenty five we get forty nine, and we are reminded that this is the way the jubilee number is arrived at, for $50 = 49 + 1$ (cf. *Lev.* 25 : 8). So here, fittingly enough, we find a place for our female lunatic. Besides striking a blow for Subjaco (Monte Cassino had been destroyed by the Lombards when Gregory wrote), he by this miracle not only brings the number of Benedict's wonders to twelve (Scholastica had performed the twelfth miracle in Ch. 33), but also completes the jubilee number of *exempla*, and symbolically places St Benedict in heaven:

'By the number fifty', he explains, 'the eternal repose of heaven is signified . . . when we multiply seven by itself and add one we get fifty, for all our perfection will lie in the vision

⁵ It has been seen that the most clearly defined lines of division run right through some of the chapters, notably Ch. 8. This draws attention to the fact that the chapter divisions and titles are probably not original. The surviving manuscripts display such a wide variety on this issue that critical editions, like Moricca and the Spanish BAC edition, have found it convenient to follow the chapter division of the Maurists (found in PL. 66) and have done with it (cf. *San Benito; su vida y su regla*, ed. Columbas, Sansegundo & Cunill, Madrid, 1968, p. 166f.). The false assumption that the chapter division was immutable was probably the reason why V. Recchia's bid to divide the *Second Dialogue* was not acceptable (cf. V. Recchia, 'La visione di S. Benedetto e la "compositio" del Secundo Libro dei "Dialoghi" di Gregorio Magno', *Revue bénédictine*, 82 (1972), p. 140f.).

of that *ONE* alone without whom there is neither salvation nor happiness'. (*Hom. in Ez.* 2, 5, 15; PL. 76, 994 B).

In conclusion, and, indeed, in confirmation, I may add a word about the reflexions to which reference has been made in passing. They occur here and there throughout the text without any apparent order, but adding to its elegance. It will nevertheless be found that there are no more and no less than ten of them! (cf. Roman numerals on Table). They strike a balance between thoughts on the contemplative and the apostolic life:

... 'because the observance of the Law is contained in ten precepts, both the active and the contemplative life being united in the commandments of the Decalogue' (*Hom. in Ez.* 2, 6, 5; PL. 76, 1000 A).

EPISODES, EXEMPLA & DISCOURSES IN THE SECOND DIALOGUE
OF ST GREGORY

	Prologue	*	Ex.	Div.	Phr.	Disc.
PART ONE: SUBJACO	Ch 1. Benedict mends <i>capisterium</i> ; forsakes nurse	1	Hermit	1		
	Sojourn in cave; devil breaks the bell	2				
	Meal at Easter; shepherds discover hermit	3				
	2. Blackbird heralds temptation of the flesh	4				
	Discourse: Maturity req. to form disciples	5				
	3. Abbot of Vicovaro; blessing breaks poison cup. Discourse: Presence of God & love of neighbour. Twelve monasteries; Placid & Maur presented	5	Abbot	2	Intr.	II
	4. Black imp pulls monk away from prayer	1				
	5. Ben. brings water from mountaintop	2				
	6. Ben. recovers tool lost by Goth in lake	3				
	7. Maur walks on the waters <i>sub melota abbatis</i>	4				
	8. Envy of Florentius; he sends poisoned loaf	5	Florentius	3		
	Raven removes loaf at command of Benedict	1				
	Dancing women force Ben. to fly from Subjaco	2				
	Florentius killed by falling balcony	3				
	Ben. censures Maur's glee at death of Florentius. Discourse: Miracles of St Benedict	4				
PART TWO: MONTE CASSINO	Arrival at Cassino; destruction of idols	5	Demon	1	Intr.	III
	Devil rails openly at Benedict	1				
	9. Stone lifted at Ben's blessing; idol uncovered	2				
	10. Kitchen conflagration extinguished by Ben.	3				
	11. Ben. heals boy crushed by falling wall	4				
	12. It is revealed that the monks broke the fast	5	Prophecies	2	Cont.	IV
	13. Ben. knows that pilgrim broke self-imposed fast	1				
	14. He unmasks impersonation of Totila's servant	2				
	15. Prophecy of victories & death of Totila	3				
	Bishop of Canosa is informed of fall of Rome	4				
	16. Cleric of Aquino is conditionally exorcised	5	Miracles		Cont.	V
	Discourse: Prophet is one spirit with God	6				
	17. Ben. foretells destruction of Cassino abbey	7				
	18. He knows of concealed wine cask	8				
	19. Benedict knows that monk accepted gifts	9				
	20. Ben. reads proud thoughts of young monk	10			Intr.	VI
	21. Flour miraculously supplied during famine	11				
	Discourse: Prophecy an occasional gift	12				
	22. Vision concerning disposition of new monastery	1				
	Discourse: Power of spiritual communication	2				
	23. Guilty nuns reprieved after death	3				VII
	Discourse: The loosing power of the Church	4				
	24. Fugitive monk cast up after burial	5				
	25. Vacillator meets dragon on leaving monastery	6				
	26. Benedict heals boy of leprosy	1				
	27. He produces 13 gold pieces for debtor	2				
	Benedict cures poisoned man by a touch	3				

	Prologue		*	Ex.	Div.	Phr.	Disc.		
MONTE CASSINO	28. Reprimand of cellarer & miracle of glass bottle	7		3					
	29. Empty cask filled at Benedict's prayer	8							
	30. A touch expels demon from monk	9				Intr.			
	Discourse: Two kinds of miracle	-----						VIII	
	31. A glance of the eye unbinds Zalla's prisoner	10							
	32. Benedict's prayers restore dead child to life	11				Intr.			
	33. Scholastica's visit; her prayer causes down-pour								
CONCLUSION	34. Sch. dies & is seen to enter heaven as a dove	1							
	35. St Benedict's cosmic vision	2							
	Germanus seen to enter heaven in fiery sphere	3							
	Discourse: Seeing the world in a ray of light	---						IX	
	36, 37. B. writes Rule, foretells his death & ex-pires	4 5							
	His path to heaven is seen by those afar off								
	38. Lunatic cured while sleeping in Subjaco cave	12							
	Discourse: Miracles at places other than tomb	-----						X	
	The End								

* Ex. = Exemplum; Div. = Division; Phr. = Introductory of continuing phrase;
Disc. = Reflexion or discourse

L'innovation des natures d'après S. Maxime le Confesseur (à propos de *Ambiguum* 42)

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Dans l'œuvre si diverse et si complexe du grand théologien du VII^e s. le recueil habituellement désigné sous le titre d'*Ambiquorum Liber* ou *Ambigua* s'impose de plus en plus comme une pièce maîtresse dont toutes les richesses sont encore loin d'avoir été inventoriées et dont l'architecture même soulève de difficiles problèmes, d'autant que le texte édité à Oxford en 1761 par Th. Gale est insuffisamment assuré.¹ Des soixante-dix sections qui le composent, les cinq premières, dédiées au «père spirituel et maître Thomas» portent principalement sur quelques passages des œuvres de l'Aéropagite. Comme l'a montré H. Urs von Balthasar² elles ne peuvent être antérieures au début de la controverse sur le Monoénergisme (634). Les sections suivantes se rapportent à des textes de saint Grégoire de Nazianze que certains tentaient d'interpréter dans le sens des théories «origénistes» dont Evagre d'était fait le théoricien. Les travaux de Urs von Balthasar et de P. Sherwood³ ont établi que, si la rédaction n'en a été achevée qu'après l'arrivée de Maxime en Afrique, vers 630, elles se rapportent à des discussions avec les moines du monastère saint Georges de Cyzique parmi lesquels l'ancien moine de Chrysopolis chassé par l'invasion perse de 614 avait résidé durant plusieurs années. On a récemment émis l'hypothèse⁴ que la permanence d'un foyer origéniste dans ce monastère, longtemps après les condamnations de 553 pourrait s'expliquer par les relations d'amitié entre l'ancien évêque Eusèbe et le théologien Léonce de Byzance. Il paraît en tout cas assuré, et cela est d'une autre importance, que le monastère de Saint Georges et l'évêque Jean qui était le supérieur, méditaient assidûment les œuvres des grands Cappadociens et notamment de Saint Grégoire de Nysse dont l'anthropologie reflétait fidèlement les perspectives préférées d'Origène, mais en renouvelait l'interprétation par l'accent mis sur la liberté comme constitutif essentiel de

¹ Il n'est que peu amélioré dans l'édition de F. Oehler (Halle, 1857) reproduite dans P. G. 91.

² H. Urs von Balthasar: *Die gnostischen Centurien des Maximus Confessor* (Freiburg im Br. 1941), 150-152.

³ Cf. Polycarp Sherwood, O. S. B.: *An annotated Date-List of the works of Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana 30), Rome 1952. Id.: *The earlier Ambigua of St Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana 36) Rome 1955.

⁴ Alain Riou: *Le monde et l'Eglise selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Théologie Hist. 22), Paris, Beauchesne 1973, p. 41.

l'image de Dieu en l'homme⁵. Or, si Grégoire de Nysse est assez rarement explicitement cité par Maxime, son influence se laisse à tout moment percevoir dans les écrits de la première période et notamment dans les soixante-cinq interprétations de textes scripturaires qui se présentent comme des réponses envoyées aux alentours de 630 au hiéromoine lybien Thalassius que son œuvre nous présente imprégné pas les traditions spirituelles sinaïtiques et évagriennes. On peut estimer que ce recueil, lui aussi encors trop insuffisamment étudié, bien que Urs von Balthasar en ait peut-être surévalué l'importance pour l'intelligence de la pensée de Maxime, nous transmet un écho fidèle des méditations poursuivies à Cyzique. Avec le *Commentaire du Pater et la Mystagogie* il permet de reconstituer en ses lignes essentielles une théologie monastique dans laquelle l'héritage d'Origène interprété à la manière des grands Cappadociens s'enrichit de quelques apports venus des écrits dionysiens et surtout – c'est l'un des grands intérêts des recherches amorcées par J. M. Garrigues d'avoir attiré l'attention sur cet aspect⁶ – de ceux de la tradition "macarienne" filtrés par Diadoque de Photicée.

Or l'élaboration des "*Ambigua*", bien que de peu postérieure à ce premier ensemble, nous introduit peu à peu dans des perspectives toutes nouvelles qui trouveront leur épanouissement naturel dans l'engagement de Maxime pour la sauvegarde de la christologie chalcédonienne jusqu'aux ultimes conséquences qu'appellent les controverses monoénergétiques puis monothélites. En fait, ce qui avait échappé jusqu'à ces récentes années aux interprètes les plus attentifs de la pensée de Maxime⁷, il passe des perspectives «notionnelles» – les plus habituelles à la réflexion théologique – vers une attitude foncièrement existentielle qui ne peut trouver sa pleine consistance que dans l'avènement eschatologique dont le «Triduum pascal» (Parascève, Sabbat, Résurrection) constitue comme le «sacrement» (mysterion)⁸. On comprend alors que, vers cette même époque (entre 630 et 634), Maxime soit revenu avec prédilection sur la contemplation de ce «Triduum» qui fournit le thème de huit des «Centuries gnostiques» (I, 51–58) outre les dix-sept (I, 32, 35–47, 68–70) qui portent sur le thème, si origénien, du «Sabbat». On peut penser que cette méditation l'a paradoxalement préparé à se dégager de la cosmologie et de l'anthropologie de tradition origénienne et à découvrir dans l'utilisation mise en œuvre par les Cappadociens des «propriétés» comme constitutif de l'irréductibilité des hypostases au sein de l'unique *οὐσία* divine l'instrument privilégié qui lui permettrait de surmonter

⁵ Cf. A. Riou: Op., cit., p. 36–37; se référant à la thèse de J. M. Garrigues: Maxime le Confesseur: la charité, avenir divin de l'homme (Théol. Hist. 38, Paris, 1978), p. 36–38 et J. Gaith: La conception de la liberté chez Saint Grégoire de Nysse (Paris 1953).

⁶ Op. cit. p. 45, note 10.

⁷ Cf. les textes cités par A. Riou, Op. cit. p. 78–79 note 1.

⁸ La nouveauté de cette perspective existentielle avait été relevée – sans référence au «Triduum pascal» – par J. M. Garrigues (Istina 1970) 4, p. 453–455 puis en référence au «Triduum» par le même (Thèse, op. cit. p. 112). On la trouve largement explicitée, avec ses prolongements dans la Mystagogie, chez A. Riou, op. cit. p. 174 sqq.

définitivement les apories monophysites toujours renaissantes. En plaçant en tête de la rédaction définitive des *Ambigua*, qu'il dédie aux alentours de 634 au «Père spirituel et maître Thomas», les réflexions qui – à l'occasion de quelques textes nouveaux – viennent préciser dans le cadre de la récente controverse contre le Monoénergisme ce qu'il avait écrit quelque quatre plus tôt, Maxime ne fait que tirer les conséquences de perspectives qui s'étaient depuis déjà plusieurs années imposées à lui.

Dans le commentaire si fouillé qu'il a donné naguère du grand *Ambiguum* 7 P. Sherwood a définitivement établi que l'intention première de Maxime, au départ de ce recueil, était de rectifier le dynamisme exagéré et unilatéral de l'anthropologie cosmologique origénienne de manière à ce que soit sauvegardée l'inaltérable consistance des natures et la liberté de l'acte créateur⁹. Mais il n'avait pas été attentif autant qu'il eut convenu au changement de perspectives qui se laisse peu à peu pressentir à partir d'*Amb.* 15 environ pour s'affirmer de plus en plus résolument dans *Amb.* 42. Le travail mené depuis quelques années par une équipe de jeunes chercheurs dans le cadre des Facultés dominicaines de Théologie du Saulchoir et qui a ont déjà fourni la matière de plusieurs thèses¹⁰ invite à reconnaître dans cette maturation d'une exceptionnelle fécondité l'influence décisive de Sophrone, futur patriarche de Jérusalem, dont Maxime était devenu le disciple au moins depuis le début de son séjour dans la région de Carthage. La *Synodique* dans laquelle Sophrone explicite sa christologie au lendemain de son élection au siège de saint Jacques (sans doute début 634) allait engager définitivement Maxime dans la lutte pour la sauvegarde de la plus stricte orthodoxie christologique qui le conduirait jusqu'au martyre. Mais il se trouvait armé pour mener cette lutte grâce précisément aux perspectives d'une Economie du salut qui est l'intention ultime du «Grand conseil divin» préordonné dès les origines de la création et dont l'incarnation du Fils, assumant la nature humaine avec toutes ses «propriétés», constitue la clé de voûte. Or, comme l'a mis en évidence C. von Schönborn¹¹, ces perspectives forment le fond le plus original de la théologie de Sophrone. Et c'est sans doute aussi par la médiation de l'emploi existentiel qu'en faisait le vocabulaire monastique cher à la tradition palestinienne que le terme de *τρόπος* va recevoir chez Maxime une acception dont on ne rencontre guère d'exemple antérieurement¹². A. Riou a montré comment toute la théorie des *λόγοι* de créatures exposée dans *Amb.* 7

⁹ C'est l'objet principal de son ouvrage: *Earlier Ambigua*, à compléter et nuancer par sa communication au XI^e Congrès international d'Etudes Byzantines, (Munich 1958): *Maximus and Origenism*.

¹⁰ Outre celles, déjà citées de J. M. Garrigues et d'A. Riou, Christoph von Schönborn: *Sophrone de Jérusalem, vie monastique et confession dogmatique* (Théol. hist. 20, Paris, Beauchesne, 1972).

¹¹ Op. cit. ch. III, 1.

¹² A. Riou, op. cit. p. 81 donne d'après G. W. H. Lampe (*Patristic Lexicon*, p. 1415) trois références auxquelles il en ajoute quatre dans les *Homélies spirituelles* de Macaire: 18, 7 et 9; 19, 5; 25, 5.

se trouve reprise dans *Amb.* 42, mais corrigée et rectifiée en fonction d'une perspective nouvelle qui prend son fondement dans une christologie existentielle à partir de la naissance (*γέννησις*) du Christ et non plus seulement de la «venue à l'existence» (*γένεσις*) caractéristique de l'être de créature: «Celui qui a accepté de devenir (*γενεσθαι*) homme à cause de la venue à l'être (*γένεσις*) du premier Adam et n'a pas dédaigné de naître (*γεννηθῆναι*) en raison de la transgression de celui-ci, Celui-ci a montré par la genèse (*γένεσις*) la condescendance envers celui qui était tombé et par la naissance (*γέννησις*) la kénose volontaire envers celui qui était condamné. D'une part, par la *genèse* il fut naturellement conduit à l'identité avec l'homme selon le souffle vivifiant par lequel il reçut comme homme l'image qu'il garda sans se défaire de sa liberté ni la souiller dans son innocence; d'autre part, par la *naissance* selon l'Incarnation, il endossa volontairement à travers la forme d'esclave la ressemblance avec l'homme de la corruption, et il supporte par sa propre volonté d'être soumis presque comme nous aux passions naturelles, hormis le péché, comme s'il en était dépendant lui sans péché». (P.G. 91, 1316 CD). C'est à partir de ce fondamental discernement existentiel que Maxime peut en poser un autre, d'ordre ontologique, qui ne devait malheureusement pas être retenu – sauf rares exceptions – par les théologies postérieures, et dont on est encore loin d'avoir épuisé la fécondité: «Cherche quel est le *logos* premier dont a procédé, à partir de la cause, la *genèse* de l'homme, celui qui demeure toujours immuable en sa propre permanence; et quel est, selon l'économie pédagogique le *mode* (*τρόπος*) de sa *naissance* à cause du péché, le mode qui a pour fin le redressement de celui qui est enseigné et la parfaite remontée au logos de la *genèse*». (P.G. 1317 D).

C'est en fonction de ce discernement que, quelques lignes plus loin, Maxime propose d'entendre cette «innovation des natures» dont parlait Grégoire de Nazianze dans le *Discours pour les saintes Théophanies* (Or. 39, 13: P.G. 36, 348 D) qui est à l'origine de sa propre réflexion: «Ayant à cause de nous assumé le *logos* de la *genèse* et *tropos* de la *naissance*, Dieu a renouvelé la nature, ou – pour parler avec plus de vérité, l'a innovée et l'a reconduite à l'antique beauté de l'incorruptibilité par la sainte chair douée d'une âme raisonnable qu'il prenait de nous, et il lui a accordé avec munificence la divinisation» (ibid. 1320 A). Revenant sur la «communio extrêmement paradoxale» dont avait parlé Grégoire dans un passage de son *discours sur la Nativité* précédemment commenté (Or. 38, 13 *Amb.* 36, 1289 BD), il avait déjà expliqué: «Le Sauveur fit de la *naissance* le salut de la *genèse* en renouvelant paradoxalement par ce qu'il y a en elle de passible l'incorruptibilité de la *genèse*; et il établit en retour la *genèse* comme préservation de la *naissance* en sanctifiant ce que la naissance a de passible par une absence en elle du péché». (1317 B).

Ce discernement ayant été bien établi, Maxime pourra poser en toute netteté la fondement ontologique qui rend possible un tel «paradoxe» et l'innovation qui en résulte. C'est alors que le couple *λόγος* – *τρόπος* dont les

Cappadociens avaient fait usage pour sauvegarder dans l'absolue simplicité et l'unicité de l'*oûla* divine le «mode d'existence» propre et irréductible de chacune des hypostases va révéler, transposé d'abord en christologie, toute sa fécondité pour une anthropologie ouverte sur la divinisation sans courir le risque d'une interprétation panthéiste: «Toute innovation, pour parler en général, porte sur le *mode* (τρόπος) de la chose renouvelée mais ne se produit pas sur le *principe essentiel* (λόγος) de sa nature. Une innovation du *principe essentiel* corrompt, en effet, la nature qui ne conserve pas inaltéré le *principe essentiel* dans lequel elle existe; mais l'innovation du *mode*, qui sauvegarde parfaitement le *principe essentiel* de la nature manifeste la puissance du prodige, puisqu'elle montre à l'évidence la nature, active et passive au-delà de ce qu'elle peut par elle-même» (1341 D). En effet, comme il l'avait antérieurement expliqué sans en tirer alors toutes les conséquences: «Ceux qui examinent avec rigueur la nature des êtres disent que la loi de chaque nature est la fixité inébranlable et inaltérable du *principe essentiel* (λόγος) selon lequel elle est et a été créée, et tout homme raisonnable conviendra en l'entendant, que cette définition de la loi de nature est bonne» (Amb. 31, 1280 A). Ce recours à l'ontologie aristotélicienne étant ainsi fermement rappelé Maxime avait appris selon quel ordre différent il fallait considérer les *mirabilia Dei* que la révélation biblique présentait à sa contemplation: «Toutes les merveilles que Dieu a accomplies dans la Terre Promise ou dans les autres pays dans lesquels Israël a été conduit en raison de ses transgressions, il les a accomplies en innovant la nature de ce qu'il innovait, quant au mode (τρόπος) de son énergie mais non quant au principe essentiel (λόγος) selon lequel elle existait» (Amb. 42, 1344 D). L'Incarnation du Fils de Dieu en une nature humaine constitue la pointe extrême d'un processus qui s'esquissait déjà dans toute l'histoire prophétique dont les Ecritures nous portent le témoignage. Mais au regard du théologien contemplatif – ainsi que Maxime l'avait mis en pleine lumière dans *Questions à Thalassius* 60 (P.G. 90, B-625 B) qu'on peut considérer comme son «Discours de la Méthode» en matière de théologie – l'Incarnation apparut comme la «raison d'être» (σκόπος) du projet créateur et la clé de voûte de tout le dessein salutaire qu'il fonde dans les profondeurs du Grand Conseil divin. C'est à partir d'elle qu'il faut interpréter l'anthropologie elle-même dans une perspective de divinisation. Celle-ci présuppose en effet que l'homme rectifie son «mode d'exister» dévié dès l'origine par le choix malencontreux et coupable du libre-arbitre (γνώμη) soumettant à l'attrait du plaisir le mouvement profond (δρμή) et encore indéterminé de la volonté aimante (Qu. Thal. Prol.). Il faut qu'il soit rendu conforme au *mode hypostatique*, c'est-à-dire filial selon lequel le Christ soumit entièrement à la volonté du Père son vouloir humain. Pour le faire comprendre, Maxime – dans ce même *Ambiguum* 42 – reprend sous cette lumière le triple mode d'existence à l'être, au bien-être et au toujours-être auquel il s'était déjà référé dans *Ambiguum* 7 et en d'autres passages de son œuvre antérieure: «Par son Incarnation, notre Seigneur et Dieu a

honoré notre triple naissance, c'est-à-dire en général les modes de notre venue à l'être, au bien-être et au toujours-être. La première naissance à partir des corps (qui est unique et double en même temps par la coexistence simultanée des parties – l'âme et le corps – coexistent divisée en deux à cause du mode distinct de chacune des deux genèse) selon laquelle nous prenons l'être, la deuxième naissance à partir du baptême selon laquelle nous recevons abondamment le bien-être, la troisième naissance à partir de la résurrection selon laquelle nous sommes transformés par grâce en vue du toujours-être» (1325 B).

La controverse contre le Monoénergisme puis contre le Monothélisme imposera par la suite à Maxime de revenir, pour en préciser encore les conséquences christologiques, sur le discernement dès lors définitivement acquis. Dans le complément que, vers 634, il place en tête de la rédaction définitive des *Ambigua* il précise : «Autre est le *logos* de l'être, autre le *tropos* du <comment-être> : l'un témoigne de la nature, l'autre de l'économie. Leur convergence, qui produit le <mystère de la physiologie> surnaturelle de Jésus, montre conservées en lui, la différence des énergies et l'union de celles-ci». (Amb. 5; 1052 C). La discussion avec Pyrrus (juillet 645), lui fournira l'occasion pour d'ultimes précisions : «Si la nouveauté de l'énergie du Christ est du ressort de la qualité, elle ne désigne pas une énergie unique mais le *mode* (τρόπος) nouveau et indicible selon lequel se montrent les énergies naturelles du Christ, de par le *mode* indicible de la périchorèse harmonieuse des natures du Christ entre elles, ainsi que son statut d'homme, insolite et paradoxal, inconnu de la nature des choses . . . » (P.G. 91; 345).

Ainsi donc l'ouverture à une perspective existentielle – sans doute sous l'influence de Sophrone et de la tradition monastique dont il était le représentant qualifié – a incité Maxime, dès les premiers temps de son séjour en Afrique – soit vers 630 – à une relecture des textes Cappadociens qui lui étaient déjà familiers, et sans doute aussi en fonction de l'inspiration profonde de la spiritualité macarienne. La rectification du *mode d'existence hypostatique*, respectant parfaitement l'intégrité du *princips essentiel de nature* ouvre la voie à une *innovation paradoxale des natures* qui permet de sauvegarder les deux volontés naturelles du Christ au sein de son hypostase complexe et de fonder notre propre vocation à la divinisation.

Ferrandus and Facundus on Doctrinal Authority

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In both the ecumenical movement and the Roman Catholic Church, especially since the 2nd Vatican Council, authority has been one of the most sensitive issues. For the Roman Catholic in particular, the question of doctrinal authority is a neuralgic one involving, among other things, infallibility and the irreversibility of doctrinal development. This paper reviews two African authors of late Antiquity, Ferrandus and Facundus, and their views on doctrinal authority.¹

With the Byzantine reconquest of 533–4, the African Church was freed from the century-long oppression of the Vandals. Yet amazingly, it was able to gather together the shreds of its notable tradition and to constitute within a few years the heart of the Western opposition to the campaign of Justinian (527–565) against the Three Chapters.

From the time of Tertullian to the era of Cyprian, Optatus and Augustine, the African Church presented certain characteristics²: viz., a continuing reliance on the conciliar form for settling questions, a deep respect for the Roman Church combined with a jealously guarded autonomy, a considerable degree of obstinacy, sometimes crossing the line to fanaticism. During the Three Chapters controversy, these same traits came to the fore again. If African churchmen knew relatively little of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, they nevertheless continued to show their concern for the integrity of the doctrinal tradition and the maintaining of the authority of the council of Chalcedon.

The brief letter of Pontianus of Thenae³ set forth the African views clearly. The whole move against the Three Chapters is a ruse on the part of the Monophysites to undermine the authority of Chalcedon. No good will come of attacking the dead.

¹ On the Three Chapters controversy, see Amann, "Trois-Chapitres", *DTC* XV-2, cc. 1868–1924. On Ferrandus and Facundus, see W. Pewesin, *Imperium, Ecclesia Universalis, Rom in Geistige Grundlagen römischer Kirchenpolitik* (Stuttgart, 1937); H. J. Sieben "Zur Entstehung der Konzilsidee" Pt. 7 *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974) 37–71.; R. Markus "Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period" *Studies in Church History* III (Leyden, 1966) 140–9.

² On the earlier African tradition, see W. Marschall, *Karthago und Rom* (Stuttgart, 1971); R. Evans *One and Holy* (London, 1972).

³ Pontianus PL 67. 997-8. (Henceforth, all refs. are to PL 67.)

Ferrandus, spiritual heir of Fulgentius and deacon of Carthage, takes up this theme, especially in Ep. 6 written in answer to the inquiries of the Roman deacons, Anatolius and Pelagius. First of all, the laity (meaning the emperor) have no right to intervene in the doctrinal affairs of the Church. As a faithful Christian, the prince is to consult the Church and be swift to obey the priests.⁴

Condemnations of the past are arrogant but they are also dangerous. They result in still more discord. If the council of Chalcedon can be called into question, then surely Nicaea will be next. For Ferrandus such argumentation is not based on simple expediency. There lies behind it a definite view of conciliar authority, albeit not clearly expressed. Similarly, there is more here than mere veneration for the great men of the past. That veneration is being expressed increasingly in the categories of structures of doctrinal authority, the most prestigious of which is the general council. Putting it very bluntly, he writes: "All of the council of Chalcedon, simply because it is the whole council of Chalcedon, is true. No part of it is to be condemned. Whatever has been said, done or decided and confirmed there, we know the same has been done by the ineffable and hidden power of the Holy Spirit."⁵ For Ferrandus, the authority of councils ranks immediately after that of the divine precepts of the canonical books.

Whatever the council has taught must take precedence over the views of any individual. Here Ferrandus may have in mind a Father like Cyril, whose prestige was invoked by the critics of Chalcedon, or, possibly Pope Vigilius who was already under pressure to conform. African circles had used such a phrase in dealing with Rome.⁶

But what of councils that were later repudiated? To the attempted solution of this problem, Ferrandus brings the idea of confirmation in the sense of acceptance or reception by Rome, by the world Church and by posterity. As we pointed out, councils come after Scripture in authority, to which he adds, especially those which have been accepted by Rome. There must be no reconsideration of the past. Where could greater judges be found? The definitions of a council in which the legates of the Apostolic See sat and gave their consent have received a *robur invictum*. If this can be overturned, then it would be a waste of time to try to settle any question since whatever had been decided at any given time would inevitably sooner or later be reconsidered and overthrown.⁷

A further factor in determining the doctrinal significance of a council of the past is its acceptance by the world Church. "Whatever is once decided in a

⁴ Ferrandus *Ep.* 7. 16, 17/944–5.

⁵ *Ep.* 6. 3/923 C. "Totum concilium Chalcedonense, cum est totum concilium Chalcedonense, verum est . . ."

⁶ See the letter of the council of Carthage of 424 to Pope Celestine. CCL 149. 171 (Ed. C. Munier, 1974). Also Pewesin 34.

⁷ *Ep.* 6. 7/926 BC; *Ep.* 6. 6/925 BC.

council and assembly of the holy Fathers must thereby obtain perpetual confirmation.”⁸ Any attempt to reconsider the decisions of Chalcedon would be a threat to the *robur inflexibile* which such a definition of faith should have. In general, for Ferrandus, a council is inspired by God. It is an authoritative body in itself and its decisions cannot be reviewed if Rome has approved them and the world Church has accepted them in general unanimity for many years.

Ferrandus did not long survive the writing of this letter. His place as African defender of Chalcedon was taken by Facundus, bishop of Hermiane. Facundus had been present in Constantinople and shortly after the arrival of Vigilius there, gave a lengthy exposition which he called the *Defence of the Three Chapters*. A large proportion of this work in twelve books is concerned with historical questions, as for example: What did Theodore teach? But he also states with Ferrandus that the council of Chalcedon is not to be reviewed or reversed. In reproaching Justinian, the good example of past emperors is recalled. Of Marcian he says: “He knew when to use the power of a ruler and when to show the obedience of a Christian.”⁹

The Three Chapters controversy is ostensibly concerned with figures of the past, but the real issue, says Facundus, is an attack on the contemporary Church by those who were defeated at Chalcedon. The good Christian, on the contrary, should be content with the teaching and authority of the Fathers. He repeats the seemingly pragmatic appeals of Ferrandus, that to revise Chalcedon would inevitably undermine the whole authority of the Church and its past decisions. It is the role of each new generation to subject itself to the past, says Facundus, not to subject the past to its judgment.¹⁰

In short, to review and possibly to revise the teachings of the holy Fathers and the council of Chalcedon in particular is not an option open to Catholics. Subject to the rule of faith received from the past, the council is superior to the individual opinion of any Father. A council that is duly constituted and free from unlawful pressure speaks with divine authority. Anyone wishing to impugn such a council must bring in overwhelming evidence, evidence as clear and certain to a person as his own existence. Basing its decisions on the authority of the Scriptures and the testimonies of the Fathers, it demands obedience, humility and submission of will to its judgments. E. g. Before the council ruled on the subject of the orthodoxy of the letter of Ibas, one might reason that if the letter could be proved orthodox, then the council should accept it. *After* the council has accepted it, however, faith demands that the letter be judged orthodox *because* the council has accepted it.¹¹

⁸ *Ep.* 6. 2/922 B. “Quidquid semel statuitur in concilio et congregatione sanctorum Patrum, perpetuam debet obtinere jugiter firmitatem.”

⁹ Facundus, *Defensio*, 12. 3. 1/CC90 A. 381. “Cognovit ille quibus in causis uteretur principis potestate, et in quibus exhiberet obedientiam Christiani.” The rest of the Facundus’ references will be to CC 90 A.

¹⁰ 5. 5. 8/157–8; 6. 5. 46/192.

¹¹ 1. 6. 18/40; 10. 1. 10/296–7; 12. 2. 1, 6/376–7; 1. 3. 27/17; 5. 5. 3–6/157.

The authority of a council is weighty but can this authority be attributed to any council? Are there not councils which posterity has ultimately rejected? There were councils during the time of Constantius II (337-361) which under coercion proclaimed false doctrine. If there are acceptable councils and unacceptable ones, what is the criterion for making such a distinction? Facundus' answer is: consensus and reception. Those councils are authoritative which are accepted by the Church and approved by the Roman see. The council of Chalcedon fulfills these conditions, having been accepted for nearly a century. "Nam et ipsa multum roboris auctoritati addit antiquitas."¹²

There can be no question of Facundus' high view of Roman prestige and authority. Pope Vigilius is the *primus inter primos Christianos sacerdos*, holding the *prima et maxima potestas*.¹³ The Apostolic see corrects those who scorn the wisdom of the Fathers when they stray from the faith. Other leading bishops like Menas of Constantinople and Zoilus of Alexandria showed their regard for Rome when they made their adherence to the imperial condemnation contingent on Vigilius' acceptance of it.¹⁴

Given the authority and prestige of the Roman see, Facundus writes with surprise that his adversaries are bold enough or foolish enough to ask for and expect to receive from Pope Vigilius a decision favoring a review and revision of the work of Pope Leo approving the council of Chalcedon. "This man (Vigilius) has received the first and greatest power, not for the overthrow of previous decisions but to defend and vindicate them . . ." ¹⁵ Do they seriously believe that Leo's fourteenth successor, the "holy Vigilius" can bring in a different verdict? One wonders whether he speaks more with certainty or with hope. All this was written, of course, before Facundus became aware of Vigilius' secret agreement to condemn the Three Chapters.

It is difficult to tell whether Facundus is basing his argument more on the prestige of Rome or of Leo. The two cannot be separated completely of course. But he does build much of his argument on the honored position of Leo as a Father of the Church. Leo was a truly apostolic man who stated plainly that nothing need be added to the perfection of Chalcedon. He was a true and faithful fighter for the Church who did not fear the onslaught of heresy. In defence of the letter of Ibas, in particular, it suffices to say that "... so great a council and the initiator of that council, the apostolic man, the one most noted in the world for true doctrine, approved it." ¹⁶ Like the sun in the sky radiating light and like a clear trumpet call, Leo made known that no change could be made in the divinely constituted judgments of the council.¹⁷

¹² 12. 3. 27/387-88; 7. 6. 7/213.

¹³ 4. 3. 6/122; 2. 6. 2/64.

¹⁴ 4. 4. 1-2, 8/123-4.

¹⁵ 2. 6. 2, 1. 2/64, 66

¹⁶ 2. 5. 4/61; 5. 5. 1/156. "... quod eam tanta synodus, et ipsius auctor synodi, vir apostolicus, et in doctrina veritatis toto orbe notissimus, approbavit."

¹⁷ 12. 2. 11-15/378-79.

In reviewing his case for irreversibility, we have seen Facundus elaborate his ideas on doctrinal authority in the Church. First, the authority of the general council stands out, a council approved by Rome and accepted by posterity. Councils, presumably those not approved by Rome, have gone wrong. Others have been widely accepted in their own time but ultimately rejected. The difficulty with the idea of reception is that it is verifiable only after a long period of time. Further, we have to ask, as Facundus did not: Can the universal Church be said to accept a council when a sizable part of that Church goes into schism precisely because it refuses to accept it? In fact almost every council has been rejected by some part of the Church.

Roman acceptance or rejection of conciliar decisions was a much more immediately available criterion. Yet Facundus had admitted the error of Pope Zosimus in approving Celestius as well as a possible error of Pope Julius.¹⁸ Remembering the African idea that the judgment of one man was not to be preferred to a conciliar decision, one seems to find in Facundus' view of the function of Roman approbation just that and no more. That is to say, when he speaks of Roman approval, he is speaking of confirmation of a decision already essentially made by the council itself.

Facundus cannot give sufficient praise to Leo. But then Leo not only confirmed Chalcedon but was instrumental in bringing it about and in stressing afterwards that it could not be reviewed, the very position Facundus is insisting upon. Just as it has been argued that Facundus later on is not attacking Rome but Vigilius, so it seems here a legitimate question as to whether he is not placing the burden of his argument more on the prestige of Leo personally rather than simply on Roman authority itself.

These arguments were developed by Facundus before Vigilius' initial public condemnation of the Three Chapters (April, 548). In 550, the African council broke off relations with Vigilius. Later still, when imperial coercion had brought the African church back into line and Facundus from hiding witnessed the erosion of support for his position, he would bitterly attack Vigilius and his successor as liars.¹⁹ His efforts seem in the end to have been in vain. One can only wonder about how his own view of the ecclesial structures of doctrinal authority may have been modified through his frustrating experiences of later life.

The council whose doctrine and authority he defended and extolled as irreversible he found (at least in his own opinion) contradicted by a new council. The added criterion of Roman approval he found unacceptably fulfilled when the unfortunate Vigilius after much vacillation approved the decisions of the later council. Vigilius' successor, Pelagius, first wrote a

¹⁸ 7. 3. 6-7/190; 1. 5. 18/31.

¹⁹ Victor of Tunnunum *Chronicle* ann. 550 *MGH Auct. Ant.* Vol. 11 *Chronica Minora*, Pt. 2 Ed. Th. Mommsen. 202. The record of the African councils which capitulated are found in the entries for the years 554 and 555 on pp. 203 and 204. — *Contra Mocianum* 42/410; *Epistula* 6-7/420.

defence of the Three Chapters, heavily dependent on Facundus' own work; and then, having become Pope (and presumably this was the emperor's condition for his becoming Pope), repudiated the Three Chapters and accepted the new council. The criterion of Roman confirmation of conciliar decisions also proved a broken reed.

Finally, as acceptance of the fifth ecumenical council spread, even Facundus' ultimate criterion of reception by the universal Church seemed threatened. Perhaps he took refuge in the hope that authentic reception must be thought of in terms of decades and even centuries so that eventually his view would win out when the imperial power of coercion had passed from the scene. In that long interim before his undoubted ultimate vindication, Facundus, like many dissenters before and after him, would have to be content with the assurance that, though the rest of the world might stray, he alone was loyal to the end.

Ideas and Energies in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

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The title of this communication refers to a philosophical concept in Ps.-Dionysius which seems to me to have been subject to an influential misunderstanding. The notion is that of the so-called 'energies', a blanket translation of various Greek terms overlapping in meaning of which the most common are *πρόοδοι*, *δυνάμεις*, and *ἐνέργειαι*.

Vladimir Lossky, in several of his works (but especially *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*¹) discusses the problematic conflict between the inaccessibility of the divine nature and the notion that God can communicate himself to man. He finds the solution most clearly evolved in the writings of the fourteenth century Byzantine theologian Gregory Palamas, who postulates a distinction between the essence of God which remains inaccessible and ineffable, and the energies which go forth and communicate divinity to created things. Lossky's interpretation of Gregory Palamas is not in itself controversial, but he goes on to argue that the same distinction is found in earlier theologians and especially in Ps.-Dionysius². Referring to the second chapter of *De Divinis Nominibus*, he interprets the so-called 'unions' (*ἐνώσεις*) and 'distinctions' (*διακρίσεις*) of the Thearchy, a dichotomy upon which the writer ostensibly constructs the theory of the divine attributes, as representing the contrasting elements within the Palamite doctrine, and argues that the same notions also underlie much of the speculation of Ps.-Dionysius' followers and especially St. Maximus the Confessor. Lossky's interpretation has a certain enticing neatness, but it has been challenged by several scholars including E. von Ivánka, Polycarp Sherwood, and the Italian Eugenio Corsini. Ivánka³ rejects all attempts to make a distinction between God's essence and His multiple energies in understanding Ps.-Dionysius' thought, while Sherwood⁴ argues more explicitly against Lossky's reading of the same distinction into Maximus. Corsini's attack comes within a

¹ London and Cambridge 1957. This work was originally published in French as *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'église d'orient*, Paris 1944.

² *op. cit.*, p. 71 ff.

³ 'La signification historique du "Corpus Areopagiticum"', *Recherches de science religieuse* 36, 1949, pp. 22-4.

⁴ *The Earlier Ambigua of St. Maximus the Confessor and his Refutation of Origenism*, Rome 1955, p. 179.

thorough-going analysis of Ps.-Dionysian doctrine, and represents a far more fundamental challenge to the position, since it explores the development of this Christian Neoplatonic theory from its probable pagan sources, and advances very good philosophical and historical reasons why Lossky's distinction of essence and energies is unnecessary⁵.

Ps.-Dionysius is less concerned with studying the various gradations of reality than his pagan predecessors, and tends to concentrate on the simple contrast of God and creation. However, perhaps not surprisingly, he is unable to abandon all the older modes of thought at once and often retains earlier speculation in a precarious synthesis with specifically Christian doctrine. His theory of the divine 'names' represents a typical example of such a combination. On the one hand, he retains the traditional view that there is a First Principle which gives rise to a series of secondary *principles* including those entitled 'the Large' (τὸ μέγα), 'the Small' (τὸ μικρόν), and 'the Same' (ταυτόν), yet he simultaneously transforms this into the conception of a God who is manifested through a series of His *attributes* large, small, same, etc⁶. According to Corsini, Ps.-Dionysius maintains this ambivalent doctrinal position because of the way in which he has modified an exegetical method derived from the pagan philosophical schools. Developing an earlier suggestion by Ivánka⁷ that many of the attributes applied to God by Ps.-Dionysius are derived from philosophical terms in Plato's dialogue *Parmenides*, Corsini conclusively demonstrated that the whole of the discussion of the divine names is related to a conceptual structure derived from this source through the intermediary of commentaries upon it by the pagan Neoplatonist Syrianus and his successors. In brief, Corsini argued that, whereas the traditional method of exegesis had been to apply the first hypothesis from the later part of the dialogue (negative predicates of the One) to the First Principle and the second hypothesis (affirmative predicates) to a succession of secondary principles consequent upon the One, Ps.-Dionysius engineers a complete transformation by applying *both* hypotheses (negative and affirmative) to the Christian God⁸. The pagan world-picture is relatively undisturbed by applying the first hypothesis to God who thereby transcends all the characteristics denied, but the pagan scheme is transformed by applying the second hypothesis, for He is thereby declared to possess all the characteristics affirmed.

All this is of direct relevance to the problem of the divine energies, for what Lossky understood as the essence of God is simply God considered in terms of the first hypothesis, whereas Lossky's notion of God's energies is no

⁵ *Il trattato 'De Divinis Nominibus' dello Pseudo-Dionigi e i commenti neoplatonici al Parmenide*, Turin 1962.

⁶ *D. N.* 909 Bff. The Greek includes an ambiguity crucial to Ps.-Dionysius' doctrine, since τὸ μέγα can mean (i) largeness (= a principle) and (ii) large (= an attribute). The same applies to most of the other terms used in this context.

⁷ 'Der Aufbau der Schrift 'De divinis nominibus' des Ps.-Dionysios', *Scholastik* 15, 1940, pp. 386-99.

⁸ Corsini, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and *passim*.

more than God viewed in terms of the second hypothesis. If Corsini's analysis is correct, the Ps.-Dionysian God should be understood as an ambivalent notion resulting from the transformation of a specific and clearly identifiable exegetical method popular at the time, and not by postulating an ontological category of energies in distinction from essence which would on most other grounds appear to be anachronistic. I propose to bring some further evidence to support Corsini's position and then perhaps develop it a little further.

First, the evidence. The ability of Ps.-Dionysius to maintain an ambivalent conception of God and to initiate such a revolutionary rethinking of the *Parmenides* exegesis must have been assisted considerably by an ambiguity in the meaning of procession which he inherited from the pagans. It had long been customary to say that 'effects x^1 , x^2 , x^3 , etc. proceed from their cause x '. This notion is sufficiently common in pagan Neoplatonism to make examples unnecessary, and it occurs in Ps.-Dionysius' passage comparing the relation between the divine attributes of Being, Life, etc. and God to that between various numbers and the monad of the arithmetical series. He writes: 'for every number is unified in the monad, but inasmuch as it proceeds from the monad it is distinguished from it and multiplied'⁹. This argument could virtually have come out of a pagan Neoplatonic text and, when applied to the relationship between the three terms and God, it would serve to show that He transcends His effects causally. However, it had also been possible to define procession in another way, and this is found in statements that 'a cause x proceeds to its effects x^1 , x^2 , x^3 , etc'. This notion is slightly less common in pagan sources, but various examples can be found especially in Damascius who shows a fondness for this mode of expression. With Ps.-Dionysius it becomes perhaps the dominant interpretation of causality, and his reference to 'the creative procession towards all things of the Thearchic source of being'¹⁰ can be cited as typical. This second traditional Neoplatonic view of procession is obviously of great utility to a Christian thinker, for it shows that God is not aloof from His creation but reflected through the successive stages of its evolution. Thus, procession can be viewed from two angles, either from the transcendence or the immanence of a cause, and this ambiguity would have made the transformation of the *Parmenides* exegesis which Corsini attributes to Ps.-Dionysius immediately viable.

Now for the development. Ps.-Dionysius was no doubt aware of the ambivalent status of God which resulted from his doctrinal innovation, and there is evidence that he attempted to resolve this in at least two ways. First, he adopts a compromise view in which the First Principle can be transcendent and immanent in different senses. In one passage he argues: 'We do not con-

⁹ D. N. 820 D—821 A καὶ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἡρῶται μὲν ἐν τῇ μονάδι, καθ' ὅσον δὲ τῆς μονάδος πρόεισι κατὰ τοσοῦτον διακρίνεται καὶ πληθύνεται.

¹⁰ *ibid.* 816 B ἡ οὐδοιοποιὸς εἰς τὰ ὄντα πάντα τῆς θεαρχικῆς οὐδοιαρχίας πρόοδος. Cf. *ibid.* 539 D, 640 D, 641 D, 649 A, 913 B, C. H. 120 B and 240 C.

sider that the Good is one thing, Being another, Life another, and Wisdom another, nor that there are many causes and different divinities producing different effects subordinate to one another, but that they are entirely the good processions of a single God and the names by which we call Him among ourselves' ¹¹. This text has in the past led to some puzzlement among scholars because it follows on immediately from an argument in which the hierarchical subordination of Life to Being and Wisdom to Life is argued. I suggest that the tension here is produced by the fact that Ps.-Dionysius is combining the first hypothesis with the second and then resolving the resulting ambiguity with a compromise formula. If we could examine the internal workings of the writer's mind, the following thought-process might be revealed: God must remain ineffable and transcendent and therefore the subject of the negative predicates of the *Parmenides*, yet He must be reflected in the various levels of creation – in things which simply exist (lifeless natural objects), in things which live (plants and animals), and in things which are intelligent (men and angels) – and therefore also the subject of the affirmative predicates. But how can one reconcile these extremes? The obvious way is to argue that God is equivalent to Being, Life, Wisdom, etc. in a transcendent and inexpressible manner in which the natural hierarchy of terms is transformed into a unity with all predicates applying to the same subject as a whole. I suggest that these three stages of thought are all present simultaneously in the Ps.-Dionysian argument in a complex synthesis.

The second way in which Ps.-Dionysius appears to reconcile the conflict of the hypotheses is epistemological. In one passage he contrasts the unity and inexpressibility of the divine essence with man's understanding of it, and speaks of 'the loving kindness of Scripture and Church which enwraps the intelligible with sensible phenomena, the super-essential with that which appertains to Being' ¹² and so on. Understood in more directly philosophical terms, the text argues that the highest spiritual truths can only be grasped by the human mind through analogies with lower orders of things, and we can draw perhaps a moral from it for potential interpreters of the *Parmenides*. Those who apply the first hypothesis to God achieve a truth in acknowledging His inexpressible nature. Those who apply the second hypothesis to God also enunciate a truth about something which lies at the heart of the phenomena of the created world. But neither of these hypotheses is really true in isolation, for only the synthesis captures the two equally important elements of God's unattainability and His providence for mankind ¹³.

¹¹ D. N. 816 C οὐκ ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν φησι καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ὄν καὶ ἄλλο τὴν ζωὴν ἢ τὴν σοφίαν, οὐδὲ πολλὰ τὰ αἰτία καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλας παρακτικὰς θεοτήτας ὑπερεχούσας καὶ ὑφειμένας, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς θεοῦ τὰς ὅλας ἀγαθὰς προόδους καὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξυμνουμένας θεωνυμίας.

¹² *ibid.* 592 B ἡ τῶν λογίων καὶ τῶν ἱεραρχικῶν παραδόσεων φιλανθρωπίας αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐδοῖς τὰ ὑπερούσια περικαλύπτουσα.

¹³ This synthesis does not, of course, exclude the possibility of a higher mystical state in which the conflict of negative and affirmative loses its meaning.

Theodoret on the "One Hypostasis"

An Antiochene Reading of Chalcedon

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One of the features of the controversy which followed Chalcedon is the repeated claim of many neo-chalcedonians – and even of some anti-chalcedonians – that some who styled themselves defenders of the council misrepresented its meaning in a Nestorian direction.¹ In other words – to eliminate polemical terms – the claim was made that some members of the school of Antioch said that Chalcedon was to be understood as having canonized antiochene christology. Though this claim has not attracted much scholarly attention, the frequency with which it was made, and its implicit validation by the condemnation of the Three Chapters and by the decisions of the Fifth Council, at least suggest a reconsideration of its possible validity and an investigation of the nature of such an antiochene chalcedonianism.

That there should have been an antiochene chalcedonianism, and not merely a reaction against Chalcedon by conservative or "Nestorian" antiochenes, seems eminently reasonable. The canonization of the "two natures" formula could not help but be seen by many as a victory for antiochene christology, and indeed many anti-chalcedonians saw it as precisely that. As is often the case with losers in theological controversy, the concrete evidence here is scanty. Fortunately, however, there exist fragments of a letter to the Nestorian John of Aegaea by no less an antiochene theologian than Theodoret himself.² Moreover, these fragments address themselves to the crucial issue: how can an antiochene, who believes there are two natures, subscribe to the other half of Chalcedon's formula, "one person and hypostasis"? Here, if it exists at all, lies the kind of evidence that will reveal antiochene chalcedonianism.

The first to draw attention to the significance of the letter was Marcel Richard.³ As always, his views on the sources and suggested emendations of

¹ See e.g. epp. 102, 152 and 216 in *Collectio avellana*, C. S. E. L. 35; A. C. O. II, 5, p. 140; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* III, ed. Bidez and Parmentier (Amsterdam, 1964) pp. 127–128; P. G. 86, col. 1272 A1–4 and col. 1400.

² F. Nau (ed.) "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'église nestorienne", *Patrologia orientalis* 13 (Paris, 1919) pp. 188–191; J.-B. Chabot (ed.) *Chronique de Michel le syrien* II (Paris, 1901) pp. 225 and 227 (text) and pp. 103 and 106 (tran.).

³ M. Richard, "La lettre de Théodoret à Jean d'Egées", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 30 (1941–42) pp. 415–423.

the texts are invaluable. However, far from seeing them as revealing an antiochene misrepresentation of Chalcedon, Richard argues that they "nous montrent que dès le lendemain du concile Théodoret avait ébauché l'interprétation de Chalcédoine qui sera reprise au VI^e siècle par les théologiens orthodoxes", i.e. he sees them as foreseeing the best insights of neo-chalcedonianism.⁴ Moeller, who is less happy about neo-chalcedonianism, sees in the fragments an indication "qu'entre le nestorianisme d'un Jean d'Egées et ce qui sera plus tard le néo-chalcédonisme, il'y a place pour un chalcédonisme strict parfaitement orthodoxe . . ."⁵ If Richard's case is correct (and Moeller seems to assume it) then the neo-chalcedonian claim about antiochene misrepresentation does not seem to apply to Theodoret. It is argued here, however, that his case is not correct.

In the first place, Theodoret does not seem to have found positive christological use for the "one hypostasis" formula. He does not use the formula elsewhere, and his major work after Chalcedon, the *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, is pre-chalcedonian antiochene thought when it touches on christology.⁶ Richard is aware of this problem, but his response, that "Théodoret, vieilli, épuisé par tant d'épreuves, ait reculé devant ce travail et s'en soit habituellement tenu à ses vieilles formules . . ." is hardly convincing.⁷ Moreover, Theodoret refers to the formula, not because he has positive use for it, but because John of Aegaea attacked him for subscribing to it. To John it was evident that one could not say both "two natures" and "one hypostasis", since for him *ὑπόστασις* and *φύσις* were equivalent.⁸

In the second place, the evidence of the letter indicates that Theodoret's main answer to John was the claim that Chalcedon used *ὑπόστασις* as an equivalent for *πρόσωπον*, not for *φύσις*. The fathers of Chalcedon recognized two natures "en une hypostase qui n'est ni essence ni nature, mais personne", he said, and went on to say that the council posited "une hypostase, non pas, comme je l'ai dit, que par hypostase il ait entendu la nature, mais la personne." The identification of *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον* is not immediately revealing of Theodoret's christology. Nestorius had been willing to speak of a unity of *πρόσωπον*, a point which would not be lost on John, but its positive meaning for Theodoret is not spelled out here. What is revealing is the indication that, while Chalcedon seems to have used *ὑπόστασις* to pin down the sense of *πρόσωπον*, Theodoret argues that, since *ὑπόστασις* follows *πρόσωπον* in the definition, the second, more precise, term is to be understood in the sense of the first, vague, term!¹⁰ Richard goes on to suggest that, since Seve-

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 423.

⁵ C. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle", *Das Konzil von Chalkedon I*, edd. Grillmeier and Bacht (Würzburg, 1951) pp. 658–659.

⁶ *P. G.* 83, coll. 340 C–556 A. See esp. Book V, cc. 11 and 15.

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 422.

⁸ *P. O.* 13, p. 189; *Chronique*, pp. 105–106.

⁹ *P. O.* 13, pp. 190–191.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 191.

rus says Theodoret used citations from Nestorius in this connection, it may be assumed that Theodoret used Nestorius' trinitarian texts to explain *ὑπόστασις* in cappadocian terms as an entity distinguished by individuating characteristics, a gambit to be taken up by some neo-chalcedonians in the next century.¹¹ This conclusion is too much to argue from the slender evidence of an allusion to Theodoret's use of citations from Nestorius and Gregory Nazianzen. In the end, Theodoret's concern was to answer John's charge, and it was sufficient answer to refer in general terms to the fact that *ὑπόστασις* and *φύσις* were not identified in trinitarian theology, without drawing from that source a positive meaning for *ὑπόστασις* — as seems clear when it is noted that Theodoret gives positive meaning to it in other ways.

The most important evidence of all is provided by the second fragment from John Philoponus. If authentic, the explanation of *ὑπόστασις* offered by Theodoret is, as Richard admits, "grossièrement nestorien."¹² The text bears citation in full: "Ceux qui se réunirent à Chalcedoine prennent ce nom d'hypostase . . . au lieu de personne dans le sens de proximité mutuelle. En effet, hypostase s'emploie parfois aussi de plusieurs individus, qui forment ensemble une seule collectivité."¹³ It is followed by a series of biblical texts Theodoret is said to have appended, each of which uses *ὑπόστασις* to speak of the collectivity of individuals in a group. Here is certainly a gold-mine of antiochene ideas used to interpret Chalcedon. Here is *ὑπόστασις* reduced to the vagueness of *πρόσωπον* again. Here is Nestorius' *συνάφεια* reappearing, despite the opprobrium Cyril had heaped upon it (for, as Richard remarks, *κατ' ἀλλήλων συνάφεια* is patently the original for "proximité mutuelle"). Combined with the biblical texts, this expression indicates that, for Theodoret, union by *ὑπόστασις* was like the association of concrete individuals in some collective unity (of purpose, or feeling?) and no more. If such were the ideas that an antiochene like Theodoret brought to the interpretation of Chalcedon, then the claim of the neo-chalcedonians did indeed have validity: the antiochenes were interpreting Chalcedon's key statement on christological union as something that Nestorius himself could easily have accepted.

Richard is obviously aware of the great difficulties posed by this text, and he argues against its integrity. He sees the first sentence as a résumé of one of the other texts, perhaps citing the expression *κατ' ἀλλήλων συνάφεια* from some unknown context in the letter, and the second, not as related to the question of the meaning of *ὑπόστασις*, but rather as an introduction to texts designed to show that *ὑπόστασις* is not equivalent to *φύσις*.¹⁴ Severus' silence, in the *Philalethes*, about this extremely compromising text suggests to Richard that it was not available to him, and that it did not, therefore, exist in the original letter. Thus this "petite rectification" by Richard eliminates the

¹¹ Richard, *op. cit.*, pp. 419–420.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 422.

¹³ *Chronique*, p. 106.

¹⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 422.

most important evidence to be found of an antiochene chalcedonianism. But is this rectification justified?

The text, it is argued here, ought to be seen as integral. The most compelling argument against it is, in the end, simply the argument that Theodoret would not have said such a thing – a questionable argument when the point is to discover what he did say. Nor is Severus' silence particularly significant: his main attack on Theodoret was to be found, not in the *Philalethes*, but in a lost section of the *Contra Grammaticum*. More importantly, internal evidence indicates that the text is integral. Attention must be paid to John Philoponus' note that Theodoret is answering John's charge that "les deux [natures] que vous proclamez engendrent nécessairement le même nombre de fils" – a charge to which the text provides an answer *only if it is taken in its entirety*.¹⁵ Theodoret must show that it is possible to speak of two natures and at the same time say "one son". To answer that *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον* are equivalent will not do; the issue is deeper than that. Theodoret is required to explain the interrelationship of unity and duality in Chalcedon's christology (as he understands it) – to demonstrate that it makes sense to speak of two natures and yet to use a formula which implies the existence of one son. The definition of *ὑπόστασις* as *κατ' ἀλλήλων συνάφεια*, in that it provides that demonstration by showing that *ὑπόστασις* can mean the collectivity or mutual relationship of entities which remain discrete, belongs intrinsically to the train of thought, and cannot be considered a separate text. Moreover, the biblical citations mentioned support that case much better than Richard's supposed case for distinguishing *ὑπόστασις* and *φύσις*. Thus the integrity of the text must be maintained.

The result of this brief investigation of the *Letter to John of Aegaea* is the conclusion that there did exist the kind of distinctly antiochene interpretation of Chalcedon's christology which the later neo-chalcedonians were so anxious to correct. In at least the case of Theodoret, antiochene chalcedonianism stood for a reduction of the meaning of *ὑπόστασις* to that of *πρόσωπον*, and for an understanding of this meaning in traditional antiochene, not to say Nestorian, terms, ie. as meaning *κατ' ἀλλήλων συνάφεια*.

¹⁵ *Chronique*, pp. 105–106.

The Centrality of Soteriology in Early Arianism

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The remarks of Peter Brown concerning Pelagius are capable of even sharper application to Arius:

... it is only too easy to keep on the circumference of his thought, and to miss its centre ... yet we would be wrong to ignore this centre just because it does not strike us so forcibly; for movements gather strength, not only through their explicit programmes and their more *outré* slogans but through claiming to give effect to what the average supporter had always taken for granted.¹

Modern scholars, mistaking the outer edges of the debate for the core of Arius' thought, have described the early Arian teaching with depressing unanimity.

Several obstacles stand in the way of identification of the essentials of Arius' thinking. The first difficulty is that what we know of his programme has been transmitted or reported by his orthodox opponents. The chief of these, Alexander and Athanasius, were dominated by a single hermeneutical concern: the insistence that everything said of the Son had to be predicated of the Father as well. As a result of this hermeneutic, a primarily soteriological position was consistently restated by the orthodox in a linguistic framework which appears to moderns to be philosophical or theological in the strict sense — that is, concerned with the doctrine of God as first principle. Secondly, the transfer of soteriological propositions into strictly theological categories was aided by the Arian spokesmen themselves. As much under the influence of the format of the symbols of faith as the orthodox, they unwittingly allowed the theological to be accented. In Arian and orthodox correspondence, where major assertions and distinctions are developed within the context of the triadic confessional pattern, the doctrine of God enjoys undue (and, we think, misleading) prominence by virtue of its position in the formulas.² For example, Arius' letters to Eusebius of Nicomedia and

¹ Peter Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters," in *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York, 1972), pp. 193–94.

² Cf. Tertullian *De res. carn.* 2. In the context of the dispute in which the "rule of faith" became a standard for orthodox belief, Tertullian charged that by insisting that man's salvation demands enquiry *ante omnia*, his Gnostic opponents bypassed the prior question of the unity of the deity and thus abandoned the proper sequence (*ordinis sui*) in the discussion.

to Alexander, as well as Alexander's encyclical letter and his epistle to his namesake in Constantinople develop their claims, charges and defenses within this credal patterning.

Thus handbook summaries single out the absolute uniqueness of the transcendent God as Arius' starting point. In the interest of preserving pure monotheism, Arius is supposed to have demoted the Son to an inferior order. Then realizing that Christ could not be simply one of the creatures, he advanced the problematic formula of a begetting in a time before time. Arius contends for a Christ who is an untenable *tertium quid*, neither true God nor true man. That this postulating of a time before time was a philosophical blunder disproved not that Arius was a logician, but only that he was a good one.³ Having seen apparent inconsistencies in this thinking, scholarship devoted itself to tracking down his uncertain and rag-tag sources.⁴

A more careful reading of the polemic, both orthodox and Arian, changes not merely the stress but also the substance of early Arianism. We are willing to concur with the curiously ignored article of C. W. Mönnich in its assertion that the Arian controversy rests on a soteriological foundation.⁵ We consider it misleading to portray the Nicene struggle as one that pivots on the person of God rather than the person of Christ, and shall contend that the conflict between Alexandrian orthodoxy and early Arianism is at base a clash between two soteriological programmes which are radically different at every important point. Salvation, for orthodoxy, is effected by the Son's essential identity with the Father — that which links God and Christ to creation is the divine nature's assumption of flesh. Salvation, for Arianism, is effected by the Son's identity with the creatures — that which links Christ and creatures to God is conformity of will. For the Arians it is critical that the person of Christ be as closely bound to creatures as possible, whereas for the orthodox party the closest possible identity of Son and Father is what must be protected.

³ Cf. Maurice Wiles, *The Making of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 95 ff., and 'In Defence of Arius', *JTS* n. s. XIII (1962), pp. 343 ff. Wiles challenges the charges of Arius' illogicality levelled by H. M. Gwatkin and T. E. Pollard.

⁴ Since the early nineteenth century, the origins of Arius' thought have been located in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Philo and the Christian "schools" of Alexandria and Antioch. In a recent survey of possible sources of Arian doctrine, Boularand attempts to straddle the latter two options. He suggests that Arius drew the "formules-clés" of his heresy from Alexandrian theology of the era of Bp. Dionysius while also inheriting from Antioch Lucian's exegetical method and Paul of Samosata's "monotheisme judaïsant." *Vide* Éphrem Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et La « Foi » de Nicée* (Paris, 1972), pp. 101–74.

⁵ C. W. Mönnich, "De achtergrond van de ariannse christologie," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 4 (1950), p. 409. Mönnich's basic contentions agree with ours, but cannot be accepted in their entirety due to his methodology of using later Christological categories to illuminate the Arian controversy (i.e., *ibid.*, 409; see note 14, *infra*). While it is quite true that in the ancient church Christology had cosmological implications (Mönnich, *op. cit.*, p. 389, commenting on Harnack's analysis), it would be a mistake to make these implications the starting point of Arius' position.

Our immediate concern is the Arian soteriology, to which the following propositions are fundamental: (1) the key terms are Father and Son, not "God"; (2) the key property of God (Father) is will, not *ousia*; (3) the key concept is that Sonship which obedience to the Father makes possible.

I. Father and Son

One of Arius' major objections to Alexandrian theology was its uses of phrases such as, "Always a Father, always a Son."⁶ We know this from Socrates' account of the outbreak of the controversy, from Arius' letter to Eusebius, and from Alexander's own statements.⁷ The Arians objected to the sempiternity not of God, but of God as Father.⁸ To use the language of philosophy, the term Father signifies a relationship which God has to the Son, not an attribute which he has in himself. This is attested by the care with which Arius distinguishes between the concepts of God and Father in his confessions. He writes, "Thus it follows that since the Son does not exist, the Father is God [i.e., *not* Father]," and elsewhere, "God precedes in existence the Son."⁹ God only receives the name Father, according to Arius, upon the creation of the Son, or to put it more boldly, the concept of Father is determined by the Son. This observation, which in Athanasius' eyes amounted to an indictment, for Arius and his followers represented a fundamental and vigorously endorsed tenet.¹⁰ When the Alexandrian bishop insisted that if the Son is not eternal, we should be called the Son's sons, the Arians retorted, not entirely tongue in cheek, that by the reckoning of the orthodox, Christ should be called God's brother, not his Son.¹¹ Fatherhood and Sonship are neither absolute nor essentialist words in the Arian vocabulary. They pertain to priority of importance, sequence of time, and quality of relationship. The Arian understanding of the terms Son and Father derives from empirical, rather than theoretical, notions of Sonship. The result is a literal reading of those passages of scripture which (to the Arians) spoke of the begetting of a second to God. Thus in the Arian exegesis, "Son" connotes an adoptive relationship to the Father, rather than a biological one.

⁶ Arius reserved the term "Father" for God until the creation of the Son. "Sonship" is then a determining factor in the concept of divine "Fatherhood" (Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 3.6). To the orthodox charge that the Arian believers should be called the "son's sons," the Arians retorted that the orthodox Christ should be called the "brother" of the Father (*ibid.*, 1. 14).

⁷ Arius *Ep. ad Eus.* (Opitz³ Urk. 1. 2); Alexander *Ep. Encycl.* (Opitz³ Urk. 4 b. 7, p. 7, line 19), *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 26, p. 23, lines 29–31); Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² 6, 1, p. 5, lines 23–26). Cf. Socrates *H. E.* 1. 5.

⁸ Alexander *Ep. Encycl.* (Opitz³ Urk. 4 b. 7, p. 7, line 19).

⁹ From the *Thalia*, in Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 243, line 2), and Arius *Ep. ad Eus.* (Opitz³ Urk. 1. 3, p. 2, line 6) respectively. Cf. Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6.

¹⁰ Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² p. 5, lines 25–26): . . . καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ πατὴρ ὁ θεὸς γέγονε τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτε γέγονε καὶ ἐκτίσθη ὁ υἱός, τότε καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐκλήθη πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. Vide also *De Decr.* 7. 29–30.

¹¹ Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 14 (Bright, p. 15). Vide note 6, *supra*.

And Athanasius accordingly tells us that the Arians interpret Christ's Sonship by means of passages like Deut. 14. 1 ("You are the sons of the Lord your God . . .") and John 1.12 ("But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God . . ."). "Son" becomes a category of conferred grace which links Son to the Father in a way not radically unlike that which links all believers to God. Nothing serves to highlight the contrast between Arian and orthodox more sharply than the ways in which "begetting" language is construed. For the former (the Arians), those passages of scripture which speak of the birth of the Son are read along creationist lines to underscore the dependent relationship of the Son to the Father. The orthodox take these same passages in a physical sense, emphasizing the mutuality and coeternality of Father and Son.¹² It is precisely the fear that essentialist or substantial or eternal linkage between Father and Son will blur or destroy the definition of relationship which stirs Arius' dread of any terms suggestive of communication of the divine substance, priority or eternality. With a view to this, i.e., underlining the dependent character of Sonship, the Arians collected texts from the New Testament which emphasized the Son's humiliation and suffering. What Alexander and Athanasius unfailingly regard as irreligious efforts to dishonor the Son and demote him to the rank of creature represent an exact rendering of what the Arians consider to be the meaning of Sonship both for Christ and for Christians. Athanasius complains: "If . . . the Word is not from (*ἐκ*) God, as would be a son, natural and genuine from a father, but is named as the creatures, because they are framed, he (as all things from God) is neither from the *ousia* of the Father nor is himself the Son according to *ousia*, but from virtue (*ἐξ ἀρετῆς*) as we are called sons according to grace (*κατὰ χάριν*)."¹³ We shall return later to Athanasius' knowledge of the Arian soteriological goal, and his concerted effort to frustrate it through the use of the essentialist connection between Father and Son. At this point it is enough to stress the dependent character of Sonship in the Arian scheme. Whatever philosophical objections and defenses appear in Arius' confessional statements should be read in the context of such soteriological formulations rather than against the background of antique philosophical dogmatisms.¹⁴ Conceived relation-

¹² Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² 6, 3, p. 6, lines 3 ff.).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5. 22 (Opitz² p. 19, lines 4–8).

¹⁴ The emphasis of Mönnich (*op. cit.*, p. 390) on the rationalistic tendencies of Arius and the related designation of Aëtius as his direct successor seems at this stage of our research to be unwarranted. Mönnich wished to distinguish between the tendencies of Arian *thinkers* and their desire to prove their contention of Christ's creaturehood, on the one hand, and the confessors, pneumatics and ascetics who formed Arius' more popular following, on the other (*ibid.*, pp. 394–95). The distinction remains to be demonstrated. But he was surely right in his assertion that the controversy makes no sense on formal theological grounds (*ibid.*, p. 409) and in his turning to ethics to unlock the problem of how, for Arius, Christ achieved unchangeability (*ibid.*, p. 406). Thus Arian and orthodox positions represented two different renderings of the cardinal matters of Christianity (*ibid.*, pp. 409–10).

ally rather than ontologically, and marked by dependency rather than co-equality, Sonship for the early Arians is grounded in the conception of the will of God, and the faculty of willing, to which we now turn.

II. Will

Both orthodox and Arian would agree that the category "will," whether divine or human, can signify changeability. The question of the will becomes a pivotal issue in the controversy. Here also, Athanasius complains that the Arian phrase "the Son has received being from the Father at his will (*βουλήσει*) and pleasure (*θέλησει*)" is blasphemous in that it implicates the Son (thus the divine nature) in that instability which undermines the certainty of salvation.¹⁵ Nature or *ousia* categories have to take precedence over and secure the will in unchangeability. Athanasius' contention is that the divine nature must control the Son's will. The Arians maintain:

Unless he has by will come to be, then God had a Son by necessity and against His good pleasure (*μὴ θέλον*).

Athanasius retorts:

And who is it then who imposes necessity on Him? . . . for what is contrary to will they see; but what is greater and transcends it has escaped their perception. For as what is beside purpose is contrary to will, so what is according to nature transcends and precedes counseling . . . As far then as the Son transcends the creature, by so much does what is by nature transcend the will.¹⁶

To divinize the willing principle in the incarnate Son, then, becomes a matter of critical importance to Athanasius. When discussing the agony of Gethsemane, he will locate the willing faculty in the immutable Logos, but human weakness and fear (i.e., the marks of mutability) in the flesh.¹⁷ Both the generation of the Son and his work as incarnate Christ are formulated in substantialist rather than voluntarist categories.

Exactly the opposite holds true for the Arians, to whom the notion of will excluded any substantial commonality between the Father and the Son. The Son himself is a product of the Father's intentionality

Everything we have from Arius professes the creation of the Son as an act of the Father's will.¹⁸ It is by will rather than reason that God relates himself to all creation. Even Eusebius of Nicomedia, who has been seen as one of the more philosophical of the exponents of Arian thought, uses his metaphysical talents to destroy any ontological relationship between God and the world. For him there is no *analogia entis* – there is only the will of the

¹⁵ Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 3. 59 (Bright, p. 212).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3. 62 (Bright, p. 215). NPNF translation, altered.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3. 57 (Bright, pp. 209–10).

¹⁸ Arius *Ep. ad Eus.* (Opitz³ Urk. 1. 4, p. 2, line 9ff.), (Opitz³ Urk. 6, p. 12, lines 8–9); Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 243, lines 3, 11).

creator upon which the creature is radically dependent for both being and knowledge. Such is the burden of his argumentation in the letter to Paulinus of Tyre: one cannot deduce anything about God's nature from rebellious sons (Isaiah 1.2), inconstant creatures (Deut. 32. 18) or drops of dew (Job 38. 28).¹⁹ Eusebius argues:

There is nothing from His essence, but all things having come into being by His will, each one exists as it was begotten. For on the one hand there is God, but on the other are the things which will be like his Word with respect to similarity, and the things which came into being according to free will.²⁰

The succeeding line reveals that for the Arian, *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* means "by His will," rather than "out of His substance."²¹ The lack of knowledge of God as he is in himself, professed by Arius and other early Arians, is not inspired by and does not result in a negative theology, but points, instead, to a prior concern for a positive soteriology — one grounded in willing, not in knowing. Thus Arius maintains that the Son sees and knows neither his Father's essence nor his own.²² As a creature, the Son's knowledge is proportionate rather than absolute. In Arius' own words:

I will say plainly how the invisible is seen by the Son: by the power with which God sees; in due measure the Son undertakes to see the Father, as is proper.²³

Operating with the faculty of willing rather than knowing, the Son is a being truly distinct from the Father, and this means for the Arians that Christ is no hypostasis of the Father's will.²⁴ Like all other creatures, the Son makes choices — he is capable of vice as well as virtue.²⁵ In other words, he is *ἄρρετρος*. This changeability is at the heart of the Arian Christology. Alexander reports in one of his letters:

Someone asked them if the Logos of God is able to be changed, as the Devil was, and they were not afraid to say, 'Yes, he is able; for being begotten and created, he has a changeable nature.'²⁶

In the single passage in which Arius applies the term *ἄρρετρος* to the Son, he has in mind that ultimate perfection of willing which the creature achieves through obedience.²⁷ We can demonstrate this in two ways. First, by the

¹⁹ Eusebius of Nicomedia *Ep. ad Paulin.* (Opitz³ Urk. 8. 7, p. 17, lines 1–7).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, NPNF translation.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 8. 8.

²² Alexander *Ep. Encycl.* (Opitz³ Urk. 4b. 8, p. 8, lines 4–5); Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 243, lines 16, 18–19).

²³ Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 242, lines 21–23). Cf. Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 6 (Bright, p. 6), 1. 9 (Bright, p. 9).

²⁴ Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 5 (Bright, p. 6): "... but in his [Christ's] own free will, while he chooses, he remains good." *Vide* Alexander *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 13, p. 21, lines 19–23).

²⁵ Alexander *Ep. Encycl.* (Opitz³ Urk. 4b. 10, p. 8, lines 2–3), *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 11, p. 21, lines 11–12, etc.).

²⁶ Alexander *Ep. Encycl.* (Opitz³ Urk. 4b. 10).

²⁷ Arius *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 6, p. 12, line 9).

Arian postulate that God foreknew the virtuous choices (i.e., deeds) of the one he would name His Son – we ascertain that here *ἄρρεπτος* is a proleptic term.²⁸ Second, for the same reasons the Arian spokesmen at Nicaea can assent to calling the Christ unchangeable by invoking the apostle's saying: "Nothing shall separate us from the love of Christ." That is, unchangeability is a category of constancy of affection, rather than commonality of substance.²⁹ The Arians seem to have recognized affection as a species of willing, a Stoic position which Origen had also taken in the fourth book of *On First Principles*.³⁰ Athanasius is not unfamiliar with this use of the term *ἄρρεπτος*. He knows full well of an unchangeability which is attained by virtuous activity through the keeping of commandments, but, against the Arians, he reserves the achievement of this type of unchangeability to the believer and does not attribute it to the divine Son.³¹

For Athanasius, the Son shares in the essential unchangeability of the Father; for the Arians the Son shares in the ethical changeability of all creatures. The Arian redeemer has his status by virtue of conferred grace, or adoption, or by participation in the Father's purpose for all creatures. This claim is expressed in one of Arius' "blasphemies" which asserts that the Father "advanced him as a Son to Himself by adoption."³² Athanasius, in his first oration quotes Arius on this point in greater detail:

And Christ is not true God, but by participation (*μετοχή*) even he was made God (*ἐθεοποιήθη*). The Son does not know the Father exactly, nor does the Logos see the Father perfectly, and neither does he perceive nor the Logos understand the Father exactly; for he is not the true and only Logos of the Father, but by name alone he is called Logos and Sophia, and by grace is called Son and Power. He is not unchangeable, as the Father is, but he is changeable in nature, as the creatures.³³

What was odious to the piety of Athanasius was that the Person of the Word was plunged into the world of moral advancement:

Is Jesus Christ a man, as all other men, or is he God bearing flesh? If then, on the one hand, he is an ordinary man, like the rest, let him be advancing (*προκόπτων*) as a man . . . But if he is a

²⁸ Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² 6, 5, p. 6, lines 15–18), 3. 9 (Opitz² 9, 2–3, p. 8, lines 25–29). Alexander *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 12, p. 21, lines 16–19): "... they said that by foreknowledge and foresight God, having foreknown this concerning him [i.e., that unlike other creatures, Christ would obey], chose him out from among all because he would not rebel." *Vide also* Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 5.

²⁹ Athanasius *De Decr.* 5. 20 (Opitz² 20, 2, p. 16, line 37).

³⁰ H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 226, points to Diogenes Laertius *Vita Phil.* 1. 116, Origen *De Prin.* 4. 4. 1 and Col. 1. 13. Athanasius, perceiving the connection between "will" and "affection," accuses his opponents of attributing the Son's generation to "human" affection (*Or. c. Ar.* 1. 10).

³¹ Athanasius *De Decr.* 5. 20 (Opitz² 20, 3, p. 17, lines 5–11).

³² Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 242, line 15). Cf. Alexander *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 31) and the Arian application of Ps. 45. 1 (LXX) to Christ in the same document (Urk. 14. 14).

³³ Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 9 (Bright, p. 9).

God bearing flesh, since indeed he truly is this, and 'the Logos became flesh,' and being God descended to earth, what kind of advance has he who is equal to God?³⁴

These remarks by Athanasius are in response to Arian exposition of Luke 2. 52, which relates that the Son "advanced (*προέκοπτεν*) in wisdom and stature, etc." The question of the *προκοπή* of the Son was central to the controversy even before Nicaea, as we learn from Alexander's letter to Alexander. The patriarch of Alexandria devotes considerable space to combatting the view that Christ has realized his Sonship by "diligence of conduct" (*τρόπων ἐπιμελεία*) and "practice of moral advancement" (*προκοπῆς ἀσκήσει*).³⁵ Both Alexander and Athanasius fear that a Son who advances by choice and discipline can fall by whim, thus undoing the work of Incarnation.³⁶ What is the Alexandrians' fear is the Arians' soteriological *condicio sine qua non*.

When we approach Arian Christology from the standpoint of Stoic ethics, rather than from that of Logos speculation or metaphysics, the view of Christ as *ὁ προκόπτων* is accorded its full weight. J. M. Rist makes the point that the Stoic (not only Seneca, but by implication, Chrysippus) regards *willing*, not knowing, as the essential category for the one who is advancing.³⁷ Of the fool (that is, the one not yet *σοφός*) Seneca writes: "Let *scientia* be absent rather than *voluntas* . . .," and he declares elsewhere: "A great part of progress to virtue is wanting to progress."³⁸

The Arian proposition that the Son knows neither his own nor his Father's nature must be understood in light of the Stoic portrait of *ὁ προκόπτων*. The Incarnate One of the Arians possesses the requisite willing of the aspirant, but not the perfected knowledge of the Sage. Thus when the Arians mention the Son's ignorance, their language is laced with the vocabulary of judging and apprehension (e.g., *οὐκ οἶδε . . . ἀκριβῶς, . . . οὔτε ὁρᾷ τελείως, . . . οὔτε συνιᾷ . . . λείπει εἰς κατάληψιν*).³⁹ The Arian Christ must advance, for as first-born of all creatures, he is the pioneer and perfecter of that Sonship which all creatures are destined to receive.⁴⁰ This is the center of the Arian soteriological program, and the explanation of Arianism's broad appeal.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3. 51 (Bright, p. 204). For the Arian position on moral improvement, see also Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² 6, 4, p. 6, lines 12ff.).

³⁵ Alexander *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk, 14. 34, p. 25, lines 1–2) The question is discussed throughout Urk. 14. 30–34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14. 34 (a persistent theme in Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 3).

³⁷ J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 226–228.

³⁸ Seneca *Ep.* 81. 13 and *Ep.* 71. 36 respectively. Quoted by Rist, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–26.

³⁹ Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 9 (Bright, p. 9); *Vide* also his *De Syn.* 15 (end) and *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 6 (Bright, p. 6, from the *Thalia*). Mönnich recognized that the Stoic wise man was influential for Arian Christology, but by focusing on the perfected state of the *σοφός* with respect to its importance for unchangeability in Arius' thought, he did not perceive the significance of the Stoic concept of "advance" (pp. 406–07).

⁴⁰ Mönnich, *op. cit.*, p. 408, had this exactly right (*vide* note 14, *supra*). Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (New York, 1965), p. 192, note 2. For *μονογενής*, *infra*, note 45 and Appendix.

III. Sonship

At the beginning of this paper we made reference to the consistent Alexandrian episcopal hermeneutic which strove to tie the divine attributes of the Son to the Father's nature. That is its positive formulation, one capable of being misconstrued as theological; but when the soteriological character of the conflict between orthodoxy and Arianism comes into full view, we are able to see what that hermeneutic really meant in hand-to-hand combat. It meant that Christ's Sonship was of an essentially different order from ours. As one of Alexander's letters puts the point:

... it must be seen that the Sonship of our Savior has no community with the sonship of the rest [of men].⁴¹

The Arian hermeneutic cannot be misconstrued. It runs: what is predicated of the Redeemer must be predicated of the redeemed. The central point in the Arian system is that Christ gains and holds his Sonship in the same way as other creatures. Arius would be in full agreement with that tendency in early Christianity to identify the believers as *θεοί*, a motif fortified by themes in the Psalms and the Fourth Gospel⁴², and given succinct expression by Irenaeus:

... there is none other called God by the scriptures except the Father of all, and the Son, and those who possess the adoption.⁴³

The scandal of the Arian watch-words ("there was when he was not," "creature," "work," "changeable," etc.) actually lay in their full implications for soteriology, as epitomized in phrases like "even as we," "like us," "as all others," etc.⁴⁴ Arius and his partisans are uncompromising in their contention that Christ is pioneer and perfecter of that Sonship into which men too shall be adopted. Thus all attributes of the Christ apply equally to believers. Even the term *μονογενής*, which Arius applies only to Christ, seems not to designate an *essential* attribute of the Logos, but that Sonship for which Christ has been *chosen* and which believers, following his lead, are to enter.⁴⁵

Arius grants that God is not able to produce a Son more excellent than Christ, but he states in the *Thalia*:

one equal to the Son, the Superior is able to beget.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Alexander *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 14. 28, p. 24, lines 6–8).

⁴² *Vide* Ps. 82. 6 and John 10. 34 ff., and Hans von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 56 and note 199.

⁴³ Irenaeus *Ad. Haer.* 4 Preface; also 3. 6. 1–2; 4. 1. 1. Albert C. Sundberg, Jr. has been working productively on this motif.

⁴⁴ *Vide* particularly the excerpts from the *Thalia* in Athanasius *Or. c. Ar.* 1. 5–6, and the account of the deliberations at Nicaea in *De Decr.* 20.

⁴⁵ Arius *Ep. ad Eus.* (Opitz³ Urk. 1. 4, p. 2, line 9–p. 3, line 3). The phrase *μονογενῆ πρὸ χρόνων* (Urk. 6. 2) would then connote "chosen before time." On *μονογενής* in the controversy, see Appendix.

⁴⁶ Athanasius *De Syn.* 15 (Opitz² p. 243, lines 9–10).

On this point, Arian and orthodox go their separate ways in the interpretation of scriptural texts. In a famous passage in the *De Decretis* Athanasius tips his own hand, and in the process reveals the Arian objective. Noting that "Son" can be taken in two senses in scripture — namely, the extended sense, in which it can signify believers (i.e., Deut. 14. 1 and John 1. 12), or the physical/natural sense (i.e., Isaac, son of Abraham) — Athanasius opts for natural Sonship. The Arians apply the term Son "to those who gain the name by grace from moral improvement."⁴⁷ Athanasius' apt observation that under the other definition of "Son" Christ would not differ from Adam or Enoch or Paul or even the penitent thief bears testimony to the vigor with which the Arians pressed their case.

It is only by understanding this central Arian affirmation that one can make sense of Athanasius' description of the discussion of some key terms at Nicaea. In *De Decretis* 20, Athanasius is building toward a defense of the use of the word *ὁμοούσιος* rather than a scriptural term. He claims that various terms and concepts were proposed, to each of which the Arians could assent on the grounds that it applied to believers as well as the Son. The Fathers suggested "like" (*ὅμοιον*), "eternal" (*ἀεί*), "the name of power" (*τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ὄνομα*), and "in Him" (*ἐν αὐτῷ*). All these terms the Arians found acceptable because they were "common to us and to the Son."⁴⁸ For each of these concepts they provided a scriptural proof text demonstrating the application of the term in question to Christians and Christ alike.⁴⁹ When the word *ἀρεπτος* was tested, as we have seen, the Arians agreed to that also because, they said, "Nothing shall separate *us* from the love of Christ."⁵⁰ Frustrated by this hermeneutic, Athanasius and his allies had to resort to the word *ὁμοούσιος*, for only this notion was thought sufficient to differentiate the Son's likeness and unchangeability from that imitation (*μίμησις*) which the faithful appropriate through the virtue stemming from keeping commandments.⁵¹ In this and succeeding sections, Athanasius labors to draw a sharp line of demarcation between Christ's Sonship and ours:

But if he [Christ] wishes us to call his very own Father 'our Father,' it is not necessary, on account of this, to equate ourselves (*συνεστίνεμεν*) with the Son according to nature.⁵²

This is indeed what the Arians are fighting for. Christ's limitations are exactly ours (willing, choosing, striving, suffering, advancing) and likewise Christ's benefits and glories are exactly ours. It cannot be said more emphatically: what the Arians are proclaiming is not a demotion of the Son, but a

⁴⁷ Athanasius *De Decr.* 3. 6 (Opitz² 6, 4, p. 6, lines 12–14). *Vide* Wiles, 'In Defence of Arius,' pp. 345–47.

⁴⁸ Athanasius *De Decr.* 5. 20 (Opitz² 20, 1, p. 16, lines 33–34).

⁴⁹ 1 Cor. 11. 7; 2 Cor. 4. 11; Acts 17. 28; Exod. 12. 41/Ps. 45. 8 respectively (Opitz² 20, 2).

⁵⁰ Again, Athanasius *De Decr.* 5. 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (Opitz² 20, 3).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 8. 31 (Opitz² 31, 3).

promotion of believers to full and equal status as Sons – that is, *υἱοί*, understood to mean *θεοί*. All the strange Arian exegesis concerning Powers and Words and Wisdoms is designed to underscore this central soteriological point.

IV.

A few concluding remarks are in order. C. W. Mönnich has suggested a large group of ascetic or ascetically-minded supporters for the Arian cause.⁵³ Whether Mönnich was right or not remains to be seen. What *is* clear is that it is difficult to understand the threat or the appeal to the thinker as well as the man in the street of Arian thought as presented in traditional interpretations. What is not so hard to imagine is a wide and disparate populace embracing a scheme of salvation that takes them out of the grandstands and ranges them alongside their Lord in the arena. Peter Brown has shown the importance of Pelagianism to both monk and missionary, to noble and senator, and has portrayed it as the last gasp of the classical ideal of human perfectibility. Was Arianism the first salvo of a battle that would rage under different names throughout the fourth century? Whether at base the Arian system is “proto-Pelagian” we are not yet prepared to say. The palimpsest of orthodox substantialist notions of grace makes a judgment on this exceedingly difficult, at least at this stage of our research. But one thing about Arianism is clear: whatever its doctrinal origins or its implications for the doctrine of God, the heart and life of early Arianism lay in its soteriological understandings.

Appendix

Observations on the Use of the Term *μονογενής* in the Controversy

We have contended throughout the body of the article that at all the critically important points the Arians and the Alexandrian orthodox parted company in their respective interpretations – each side following its own hermeneutic. So also the term *μονογενής* was understood in accordance with the presuppositions of the distinct parties.

Athanasius of Alexandria consistently applied the term when used of the Logos in the sense of “unique” or “only,” so that *μονογενής* (John 1. 14, 18; 3. 16; I Jn. 4. 9) was synonymous with “absolutely unique Son of the Father.” (For the fuller range of meanings of the term in Athanasius, see Guido Müller, *digessit et illustravit, Lexicon Athanasianum* [Berlin, 1952], pp. 922–23). Thus it is only from the standpoint of Christ’s human economy

⁵³ *Vide* note 14, *supra*.

that he can be said to have had "brethren" (*Or. c. Ar.* 2. 9, exegeting Hebrews 2. 14–18; 3. 2). In his divine economy, Christ is "Son by nature (*φύσει*) Only-Begotten" – i.e., "unique" (*ibid.*). Appeal to the term ἀγαπητός (Mt. 3. 17) by the Arians to render Christ's sonship preferential rather than essential seems to have prompted Athanasius' insistence that "Only-Begotten" and "Beloved" have a single meaning and apply to him who is "alone in the Father's bosom and alone . . . acknowledged by the Father to be from Him" (*De Decr.* 11. 5. *Vide also Or. c. Ar.* 1. 5. 15, and cf. *Or. c. Ar.* 4. 29).

As for the Arian interpretation, there are indications that connotations of "preference" were given to the term *μονογενής* in their usage. As a preface to his exegesis of Prov. 8. 22, Athanasius enters into a polemic against the Arian methodology of reinterpretation and retrenchment on important terms connected with Christ's sonship (*Or. c. Ar.* 2. 19). Commenting on the use of *γέννημα* by Arius in his *Ep. ad Alex.* (Opitz³ Urk. 6. 2), Athanasius writes:

For, saying 'offspring, but not as one of the offsprings,' they line him up with many sons, and they pronounce the Lord to be one of these, so that he is no longer 'only-begotten' according to them, but is one of many brothers and an 'offspring' and bears the title 'Son.'

It is the association of *μονογενής* with "many brothers" that interests us here. Paul Winter (*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 5 [1953], 335–65) has shown that *μονογενής* can be used to translate the Hebrew *yahid* (*ibid.*, p. 338), and it then indicates "no exclusiveness in number, but a distinctive quality" (*ibid.*, 336) in certain classical and OT texts. Thus this term has the qualitative sense in the source behind John's prologue (where the term referred to Israel [*ibid.*, p. 361]) and in versions of Gen. 22. 2, 12, 16 used by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4. 5. 4: Winter, pp. 337–38). In the Genesis versions Isaac is said to be *μονογενής* because he is the preferred or favorite or beloved son rather than the only son (Winter, pp. 338, 342). The Arians seem to have employed this meaning of the term in reference to Christ, so that Christ's sonship would not differ from ours by nature (*φύσει*), but rather by divine favor or preference. In this sense the term seems in the Arian documents to designate Christ's mediatorial work rather than an essential attribute (cf. Alexander's complaint, Opitz³ Urk. 14. 11–13 [Mönnich, *op. cit.* 408–09]; cf. the usage in the late Western *Anon. in Iob*, MG 17, 400 D–401 A). .

If we are correct in our contention that Arius used the term qualitatively, part of the orthodox rebuttal may survive in the exegesis of *μονογενής* (Gen. 22. 2) in *Or. c. Ar.* 4. 24, where it is argued that Isaac was the *only* son born of Sarah and that "beloved" son means *only* son. It is our suspicion that Alexandrian episcopal defense has purposely shifted the thrust of such texts away from the Arian exegetical positions on sonship based in will or preference toward the Alexandrian claim for the Son's *essential* uniqueness.

Incarnation and Hierarchy

The Christ according to Ps-Dionysius

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It is told about *Abba Isaia of Scetis*, who rejected Chalcedon, that once he was asked by two monks, who were themselves Chalcedonians, whether they should remain in communion with the Council he gave the answer: "There is no harm in the Council of the Catholic Church; you are well as you are; you believe well". However, the disciple of Isaia, who acted as interpreter and brought this answer back to them, told them in embarrassment: "The Old Man lives in heaven and does not know the ills that were done in the Council".¹ This attitude of Abba Isaia reveals a detachment from the controversial issue which was rare at the time, but possibly shared by our Denis. His vague language about Christ made it possible for his work to be used by Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians alike after him.

Denis the Areopagite, perhaps the most successful pseudepigrapher of history, seems to have been among those who actually obeyed the 'Henoticon', which forbade the use of the terms 'hypostasis' and 'physis' in christological controversies following the Council of Chalcedon. In the *Corpus Dionysiacum* these words are not used in relation to Christ. Nor do we find any reference to the *Tome of Leo* or the *Dogmatic Decree of Chalcedon*. Since Denis does not operate either with a psychology or with an anthropology, any attempts at reconstructing a Christology from the various references to Christ in his works is always in danger of arguing from silence and reading into the material views which he never held. — His thought is thoroughly God-centered, and he represents a God-mysticism rather than a Christ-mysticism or anything like a 'Jesus-religion'. About this there can be little doubt.

As the title of this paper indicates, it is the position of Christ within the hierarchies that is our concern. This, in fact, limits the material to 'The Celestial Hierarchy' and 'The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy', two works carefully describing how deification is worked by Christ in the celestial and the ecclesiastical realm. But these works are so different from the 'Mystical Theology', the treatise on 'The Divine Names' and especially the Epistles, that if they were not composed in the unmistakably dionysian language, which is highly original and very consistent, one might feel tempted to suggest that they

¹ P. O. VIII, p. 164; See also: Derwas J. Chitty: 'The Desert a City', p. 73–77.

were the product of another mind. This, however, is not likely. A Ps-Ps-Denis would be too much pseudepigraphy altogether!

In *'The Celestial Hierarchy'* Christ is established as head of this hierarchy, the celestial order. He mediates between the angels and the Father. That which is being mediated is the deifying likeness. Only through him, via the theurgic operation, can the deifying process reach the heavenly beings. His descent is mediated by the angels. Christ himself is being likened to an angel. – In all this Denis seems to envisage Christ as a cosmic principle, creating and mediating, the absolutely necessary link between the Godhead and the creation, in fact very much like a second divine hypostasis according to a late neoplatonic scheme.

In *'The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy'* Christ's action reaches down into our situation in the Church in a most tangible form, but always mediated according to a hierarchical pattern. It is the Incarnation that sets Christ in our hierarchy, as instructor and saviour. As incarnate, Christ is inferior to the angels, but without breaking the unity of his person, a unity Denis attempts to describe by the phrase 'a new theandric operation of a God made man' of Epistle IV. For Christ is a hypostasis of the Trinity, who is simple and united by composition to a complete unchanged and unconfused human nature.² As head of this hierarchy he communicates all grace, illumination and deification to men. This happens by means of the hierarchs in the rites of Baptism, Eucharist, Anointing, Priestly Consecration, Monastic Consecration, the Rite over the Dead. "For the all-pure Jesus (Denis uses the words 'Jesus' and 'Christ' without any difference in significance) sanctifies himself on our behalf and fills us with every purification, since the things completed in him during the divine economy pass afterwards in their beneficent effects to us, as children of God".³

According to the scheme of these two works Jesus is the head of every hierarchy. Through them, and through them only, does he mediate to angels and men illumination and deification, i.e. assimilation to God.

References to Christ outside of these two works seem to be of a somewhat different kind.

In *'The Divine Names'* and in the *Epistles* Jesus occurs even more sporadically than in the hierarchies. Denis describes occasionally Jesus' place in the Trinity, his dual nature, carefully avoiding Chalcedonian formulas. He uses the term 'a new theandric operation'⁴ and describes Jesus as 'single, united by composition to a completely unchanged and unconfused human nature'⁵, as noted above. But in these references we do not find the rigid framework of the hierarchies. Especially do the *Epistles* (and there are no good reasons for regarding them as non-authentic) give us a more vivid and direct picture

² DN : I, 4.

³ DN : IV .

⁴ Ep. IV.

⁵ DN : I, 4.

of Denis' religion. Jesus seems more immediately accessible for the man of faith, beautifully illustrated by the story of Epistle VIII. Here Jesus leaves his throne in heaven in order directly to rescue one particular sinner. The Epistles reveal a more 'pastoral' concern. Jesus' love for men is the constant motive for his action. They are of a more pious character, with elements of popular and less philosophical religion.

If it is at all possible to talk about a Christology in Denis, it is a far from consistent one. One of the major mystifying aspects of Denis' work is the contrast between a consistent language and a non-consistent thought. His language is always uniform, but his thought fluctuates. The discrepancy revealed by this fact in regard to his teaching about Christ is highly intriguing.

In the CH and EH we found Denis involved in a line of reasoning which can only be understood against the background of the later stages of neoplatonism. Denis has often been referred to as the 'Christian Proclus', but this does not account for the entire Corpus to the same extent. The thought therefore suggests itself that what Denis has undertaken in the CH and EH is a *philosophical-theological experiment*, in fact these treatises are essays in philosophical theology along new lines, provoked by the rise of the latest stage of neo-platonic thought, — the philosophy of the Universities. What word to emphasise, 'philosophical' or 'theological', is a matter of opinion. To be sure, influence from Proclus can be detected all over the Corpus, but in these two works Denis tries to carry his 'experiment' as far as possible. What I have chosen to call his 'experiment' in this paper, consists in seeing how far the backbone of contemporary neoplatonist thought can be employed for expressing the Christian faith and life in the Church. By doing so Denis has had to force Christ's operation into a cosmic and ecclesiastical system. This is exactly what hierarchy means: it is an order of communication.

His whole thought is therefore a reaction away from subjective religion, the language of private inspiration and indwelling, towards the objective, towards order and hierarchy. Perhaps his work is best understood as a reaction against the religious movement referred to as Messalianism, so dominant in the monastic circles of his day. The Messalians have recently been compared to contemporary charismatics, Pentecostals in particular. They stressed, probably overstressed, the effects of the indwelling powers in man as well as private, interior gifts, this at the expense of the sacraments and Church-order in general. The Messalians feature particularly in monastic Syria, which is the most likely place of origin for the work of the Areopagite. If this is so, this factor, besides his adherence to the Henoticon, may be considered another special reason for his Christological tendencies.

It remains to evaluate, however briefly, how far his 'experiment' was successful from point of view of theology.

By involving Christ in the hierarchies Denis seems to remove himself considerably from his supposed master, St. Paul. For the Apostle of the

Gentiles Christ was somehow the one who breaks down hierarchy. It is in him that we are freed from 'principalities and powers' in their intermediating functions, in the sense that in Christ we have a direct access to the Father, this by virtue of our faith and the Spirit who dwells in us. On this comparison, Denis' 'experiment' seems to be a step further into an intellectual climate which is more inspired by philosophical models than by the experience of the early Church. His intellectual undertaking in writing the hierarchies is not entirely convincing. Incarnation and hierarchy do not seem to be sufficiently coordinated. This, of course, does not diminish the value of his many and great insights on other theological matters.

Alegría y Salvación, un esperanzador mensaje de la predicación pascual

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Introducción

La celebración pascual constituyó siempre para los cristianos el núcleo medular de los misterios salvíficos de la Muerte y Resurrección de Cristo. La terminología pascual puso de relieve, bajo diferentes aspectos, las implicaciones mútuas de los términos “salvación” y “pascua”. Han sido principalmente los conceptos “vida”, “luz” y “alegría” los que sirvieron a la predicación pascual para realzar las connotaciones salvíficas del misterio de la Pascua cristiana. De los dos primeros nos hemos ocupado en un trabajo recientemente publicado, bajo el título de “Salvación y Pascua”¹. Queremos ahora ofrecer una síntesis de las resonancias salvíficas que llevan consigo los términos que sirven para expresar el concepto de alegría.

El cristiano, que vive objetivamente las repercusiones de su peculiar existencia “en Cristo”², encuentra en la alegría la plasmación más efectiva de su fe y de su incorporación al Señor resucitado. La alegría es un fruto de la Redención y una manifestación de la salvación, que opera en el redimido la liberación del pecado y de la muerte, por virtud de la gracia de Cristo. Por eso, aparece como un elemento esencial del mensaje de Pascua, resaltado en la catequesis y en la predicación de los Padres, y en los actos culturales de la comunidad, mediante la *εὐχαριστία* y la *εὐλογία*.

La liturgia pascual es abundante en expresiones de alegría, a través de sus himnos y cantos, como una proyección ritual y escatológica de lo que, en la repetición del misterio, se verifica. Las primitivas comunidades cristianas unieron especialmente sus manifestaciones de alegría y júbilo al gozo de la Resurrección del Señor, como si la Pascua constituyera para ellos la constatación escatológica de su salvación. La predicación pascual estimuló de continuo en los cristianos esta alegría, como manifestación externa de la fe en Cristo resucitado, salvador de todo y de todos.

¹ Cf. “Salvación y Pascua”, *Genethliakon Isidorianum* (Salamanca. 1975), pp. 268–288.

² *Gal.* 2, 17; 3, 28; *Eph.* 2, 13; *Phil.* 3, 3.

A. *Alegría pascual y salvación*

La alegría salvífica de la Pascua aparece, en Hesiquio de Jerusalén, expresada mediante el término *σάπυξ*, como un elemento festivo concomitante de la Resurrección. Hemos querido ponerlo en primer término, cual si, en su calidad musical, se tratara de un preludio u obertura que nos introduzca en la sinfonía gozosa de la alegría pascual.

La trompeta, en efecto, sirvió en los rituales del AT para convocar a los fieles de Yahwé al culto del santuario³, para ser prenuncio de la teofanía de Yahwé⁴, para señalar los días de fiesta, de solemnidad y de sacrificio⁵, para proclamar la alegría del triunfo de Israel y la aclamación exultante de gozo a Yahwé⁶. Se trataba, pues, de un elemento festivo, portador de alegría anunciador de salvación.

En la predicación antigua, conservó la trompeta las connotaciones de alegría salvífica, según podemos deducirlo de Hesiquio de Jerusalén, quien la identifica con Cristo mismo que convoca a los cristianos a la fiesta pascual: “una trompeta sagrada y real ha reunido este teatro espiritual, la trompeta que Belén modeló y Sión calentó a fuego, para la que la Cruz fue martillo y la Resurrección, yunque. De ella, cómo expresar la belleza, cómo manifestar su luz, cómo revelar la alegría que en aquélla (Cruz) se contiene, cómo explicar el reino que por ésta (la Resurrección) nos viene”⁷. Los términos que acompañan a esta mística *σάπυξ* son connotativos de salvación. Tal es el alcance que tienen los términos *φῶς* y *χαρά*, según se desprende de otros contextos, y, sobre todo, el de *βασιλεία*, que, referido al “reino escatológico”, carga a lo demás indudablemente de contenido salvífico.

Pero, en punto a la alegría salvífica, es sobre todo el término *χαρά*, que ya aparece en el texto anterior, el que mayores repercusiones salvíficas entraña. En sus *Catequesis Bautismales*, San Juan Crisóstomo nos lo ofrece formando grupo con el término *ἐνθροσόνη*. El tiempo de la Pascua es, nos dice, realmente para el cristiano “tiempo aceptable de alegría y gozo espirituales”⁸. Es cierto que el Crisóstomo nos da, en otro lugar, una definición de la alegría que puede entenderse sólo a plano material, cuando nos dice que “la alegría es satisfacción de ilusiones, disfrute de cosas gratas y olvido de penas”⁹, pero esta alegría es únicamente base y preámbulo de la alegría salvífica, la auténtica y plena alegría, que se manifiesta en la Resurrección de Cristo. Esta alegría se expresa al llegar el *καιρός*, el “tempus salutare” o “tempus acceptabile” y se

³ Ex. 19, 13.

⁴ Ex. 19, 16; 20, 18.

⁵ Num. 10, 2. 8. 9. 10.

⁶ Ps. 47, 6; 98, 6.

⁷ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* II, 1, 1 (ed. M. Aubineau, en *Sources Chrétiennes*, n° 187, p. 122).

⁸ Juan Crisostomo, *Catech. Bapt.* I, 1 (ed. A. Wenger, SC n. 50 bis, p. 108, 1).

⁹ Juan Crisostomo, *Hom. in Is.* 6, 1 (ed. B. de Montfaucon, 6, 98 B).

une a *εὐφροσύνη*, el gozo, que es Cristo mismo, según la expresión del Damasceno: “ha resucitado Cristo, el gozo de los tiempos”¹⁰. Crisóstomo expresa, con la doble palabra – *χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη* –, la alegría y el gozo salvíficos que se originan de “la gracia de Cristo”, del “don abundante del bautismo”: “preparaos en la alegría a acoger la gracia, para disfrutar de la abundancia del don”¹¹. Según eso, cuando Crisóstomo habla del *χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνης, καιρός* habla de la salvación que viene al cristiano por la Resurrección de Cristo y por el bautismo. Esa es, por otra parte, la genuina y auténtica alegría, según nos testimonia Teodoreto de Cirra: “únicamente sería alegría la que, librándonos de los sufrimientos y tribulaciones, opera en nosotros la vida eterna”¹².

En otras ocasiones, la catequesis y predicación pascuales nos presentan la alegría como el fruto del la luz que se derrama en los corazones, por la iluminación de que han sido objeto los bautizados – *οἱ νεοφώτιστοι* – y la liberación pascual: “resplandeciente brilla el cielo iluminado por el coro de los astros y más resplandeciente el universo, al levantarse el lucero matutino, pero más aún rebrilla esta noche y se regocija – *ἀγάλλεται* – por la victoria de Dios, nuestro salvador”¹³, nos dirá emocionadamente Hesiquio de Jerusalén. La luz aparece aquí como un condicionante de la alegría, siendo ambas inseparables de la victoria de Cristo resucitado, nuestro salvador – *σωτήρος ἡμῶν* –. Efectivamente, “la alegría – *ἐδραίνεται* – del género humano se produce por medio del que resucitó” – *διὰ τὸν ἀναστάντα* –. Y también aquí la alegría está en relación con “la victoria del rey universal, del Hijo de Dios” y con “la derrota del diablo por medio del crucificado”, ocurriendo todo ello en un hoy – *σήμερον* – escatológico, en cada Pascua del Señor¹⁴.

La alegría es además el connotativo imprescindible de la Resurrección y así, “este día constituye una proclama de alegría, porque en él resucitó el Señor, resucitando con él a todo el rebaño de Adán”¹⁵. Cristo, en efecto, “da vida, por medio de su Resurrección, a quienes estaban muertos y, por ello, ya desapareció de entre nosotros todo dolor, toda pena y todo llanto”¹⁶. Por eso, experimentan esta alegría salvífica hasta los que reposan en sus sepulcros. Así, el mismo Hesiquio, en una visión de novedad, contempla “un sepulcro abierto, un hombre resucitado, unos huesos exultantes de gozo – *ἀγαλλιώμενα* –, unas almas saturadas de alegría – *χαρομένας* –, a los hombres remodelados y a los cielos abiertos”¹⁷, porque “asciende el rey celestial, revestido de luz, por encima de los cielos y de la vida eterna”¹⁸.

¹⁰ Juan Damasceno, *Carm. in Pasch.* 15 (ed. W. Christ – M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 218 (PG 96, 840 C)).

¹¹ Juan Crisóstomo, *Catech. Bapt.* II, 31 (ed. A. Wenger, p. 150).

¹² Teodoreto de Cirra, *Carm. in Is.* 57, 18 (ed. A. Mohle, 2, p. 370).

¹³ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 1, 1–14 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 62).

¹⁴ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 5, 3 (p. 66).

¹⁵ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 6, 1–3 (p. 66).

¹⁶ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 5, 15–16 (p. 66). Cf. *Is.* 35, 10.

¹⁷ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 5, 5–9 (p. 66).

¹⁸ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 5, 10–13 (p. 66).

La alegría tiene que ser expresión típica del cristiano en la celebración de la Resurrección. Así lo siente, con toda vehemencia, el autor de la Homilía Pascual V, considerada por los códices, erróneamente, como del Crisóstomo y así lo expresa con palabras de los Salmos: “este es el día que hizo el Señor, alegrémonos y regocijémonos en él”, repetido con frecuencia en la predicación y en la liturgia pascuales¹⁹. También aquí la alegría está en íntima conexión con motivaciones salvíficas, puesto que aparece unida a los términos *ζωή* y *φῶς*, y la repetición insistente *αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα* nos sitúa en la perspectiva temporal de la resurrección y en la proyección escatológica del día de la salvación. Las implicaciones salvíficas aparecen aún más realzadas en el siguiente texto del Pseudo Crisóstomo, que expresa cuál tiene que ser la postura del cristiano ante la Pascua: “ya no lloramos a Adán, la primera de las criaturas, sino damos gloria al segundo Adán; no reprochamos a Eva, la transgresora, mas proclamamos bienaventurada a María, la Madre de Dios; no nos apartamos del madero, sino que llevamos sobre nosotros la cruz de Cristo; no sentimos miedo de la serpiente, antes bien vivimos el temor del Espíritu Santo; ya no nos abajamos a la tierra, sino que corremos hacia el cielo; no nos hallamos fuera del paraíso, antes bien tenemos nuestra morada en el Seno de Abraham . . . y, por ello, cantamos espiritualmente: este es el día que hizo el Señor, alegrémonos y regocijémonos en él”²⁰. Todas estas manifestaciones cristianas arrancan de la alegría – *χαρά* –, son connotativas de la Resurrección – *τῆς ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα* – y se coronan en la explosión de la alegría cristiana – *ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν* –, para dar como fruto la luz que es salvación – *φωτίζεται τοὺς νεοφωτιστοὺς* –.

La alegría que es fruto de la Resurrección tiene en el cristiano connotaciones salvíficas, porque en ella se han producido los siguientes efectos de salvación, según la visión del Pseudo Crisóstomo: rescate de Adán; liberación de la aflicción para Eva; estremecimiento de la muerte inmisericorde; resurrección de los muertos; derrota de la potencias infernales; abrirse de los cielos; brotes floridos de resurrección por todo el universo; crecimiento de los lirios de los nuevos iluminados; extinción de los pecados; rotura de los lazos del demonio; dispersión de sus ejércitos y, oponiéndose a todo, la alegría de todos los creyentes²¹.

La alegría pascual es, asimismo, fruto de la cruz, según la entiende Hesiquio de Jerusalén: “Cómo cantaré el gozo que nos viene por ella!”²². Es esa alegría – *εὐφροσύνη* – de la que, sobre este monte, se embriagarán los hom-

¹⁹ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Hom. Pasch.* V, 1, 13; 2, 1–2; 2, 2–7; 3, 15–17. Cf. Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VI, 1, 19; 2, 7–8; VII, 1, 3–4; 1, 10–11; 4, 10–11 (ed. M. Aubineau) y Ps. 117, 24.

²⁰ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Hom. Pasch.* V, 1, 3–15 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 319).

²¹ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Hom. Pasch.* V, 3, 1–15 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 322).

²² Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* II, 1, 5. Seguimos en este punto la interpretación de M. Aubineau, *Homélies Pascales*, Sources Chrétiennes, n. 187, Paris, 1972, p. 133, n. 10, el cual entiende *ἐν αὐτῷ σταυρῷ*.

bres”²³, porque “a todos los árboles les proclamó el profeta una alegría inextinguible, por medio de la cruz, y así, en ella, han rebotado de alegría todos los árboles del bosque”²⁴.

Las relaciones que implican los conceptos “muerte, pecado” y “tristeza” aparecen puestas de relieve, en el *kérygma* pascual, por sus opuestos “resurrección” – “alegría”, en donde aparece más vívida la connotación salvífica. Desde la Biblia, la mujer ha sido considerada como la ocasión del pecado en el mundo y, con él, de la muerte. El mensaje de la resurrección se ofrece, en compensación, en primer término, a las mujeres, como si ellas hubieran de ser ocasión de alegría para la humanidad. La predicación y la catequesis insisten en ese aspecto. Así, el Pseudo Crisóstomo afirma: “al igual que el primer pecado lo introdujo en el mundo una mujer, así ésta comunica vida al mundo. Por lo que también las mujeres escuchan el sacro mensaje: ‘alegraos’, para que se extinga la pena primigenia por medio de la alegría de la resurrección”²⁵. Y también Leoncio de Constantinopla: “puesto que por una mujer floreció el dolor, el Señor, de nuevo, hizo brotar la alegría por medio de una mujer, para que se cumpliera la palabra: ‘donde abundó el pecado, sobreabundó la gracia’”²⁶.

Esta conexión de la mujer con la alegría pascual llega a su culmen en la Homilía de Juan, el Obispo de Berito, cuyo tema central es la alegría. El Obispo Juan pone en estrecha correlación los términos “Luz”, “Vida” y “Alegría”, expresándolos como sinónimos del nombre de Cristo: “a las mujeres sumidas en llanto dos ángeles, revestidos de luz y resplandecientes, les comunican la grata noticia. Hasta con sus rostros refulgentes y rebosantes de alegría, les anunciaban que la Alegría del mundo había resucitado, reprochándoles que siguieran creyendo que la Vida se ocultaba todavía en un sepulcro y por buscar al Viviente entre los muertos, puesto que ha resucitado ya la Luz después de tres días”²⁷. Las mujeres, en este acto, participan de la alegría y del gozo de la Resurrección – *χαίρειν* – y “deben comunicar a los discípulos la buena nueva de la Resurrección”²⁸. Para las mujeres, el efecto del mensaje es inmediato: “reciben consuelo y hacen cesar su pena”²⁹. En continuidad, los pastores de la gracia y administradores de la palabra son eslabones de la cadena que, en la resurrección, se inicia “proclamando en la alegría” – *ἀγαλλιώμενος ἀνακράζω* – el³⁰ mensaje gozoso de la Pascua.

²³ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *In Is.* 37 (ed. Faulhaber, p. 75, glos. 13–14).

²⁴ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *In Ps.* 95, 12 (PG 55, 774).

²⁵ Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.* VI (PG 59, 744, 1, 55–58).

²⁶ Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VI, 3, 8–10 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 372).

²⁷ Juan de Berito, *Hom. Pasch.* IV, 4–13 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 297).

²⁸ Juan de Berito, *Hom. Pasch.* IV, 1. 16.

²⁹ *Ib.*, 1. 20 (p. 298).

³⁰ *Ib.*, 1. 24 (p. 298).

B. *Alegría cristiana y fiesta pascual*

La alegría se manifiesta para el cristiano en la fiesta cristiana y también, en este sentido, abundan los textos del *kérygma* pascual que consideran la Pascua, como la fiesta cristiana por antonomasia y, en consecuencia, la alegría que de ella dimana como la más genuina manifestación del vivir cristiano. Así, el Pseudo Crisóstomo pide a los fieles: "quien se sienta piadoso y amante de Dios acuda al disfrute de las celebraciones pascales, que entre alegre en el gozo de su Señor"³¹. En efecto, "de esa alegría reciben recompensa tanto ricos como pobres"³².

La idea de la fiesta cristiana aparece diversamente expresada en los Padres. Unas veces, se la denomina *ἐορτή*, *ἐόρτασμα* y se la compara a la fiesta que el pueblo hebreo celebró como prólogo de su liberación y que, después, continuó repitiendo como representación siempre renovada de la liberación de la esclavitud de Egipto. Así la considera el Pseudo Crisóstomo: "celebran los judíos la fiesta de la Pascua, como memorial de su salvación de Egipto y liberación de sus primogénitos de la muerte; nosotros, en cambio, festejamos en esta Pascua nuestro rescate cumplido de la muerte y nuestra liberación de la esclavitud del diablo"³³.

Esta fiesta de la Pascua atrae a su celebración no sólo a los cristianos, sino a la creación entera: "es la fiesta del universo, la celebración del cosmos y, por ello, la alegría de toda la creación"³⁴. Por eso, es la creación entera quien debe festejarla, porque en ella está su salvación, como hermosamente expresa el Pseudo Crisóstomo: "celebren esta fiesta los cielos de los cielos, proclamando la gloria de Dios; célebrenla los ángeles y arcángeles de los cielos y toda la milicia celeste; célebrenla los coros de los astros . . .; célebrela el espacio infinito; célebrela la salinidad del mar, honrada con la huella de Dios; célebrela la tierra, purificada con su sangre; célebrenla, en fin, todas las almas de los hombres"³⁵.

Como en las fiestas solemnes, la festividad de la Pascua hay que celebrarla entre resplandores de antorchas³⁶, con vestido limpio y con manto de fiesta resplandeciente³⁷, con traje de bodas y lámparas de vírgenes³⁸, que

³¹ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Serm. Catech. in S. Pasch.*, init. (PG 59, 721).

³² *Ib.*, c. 722, l. 4-6.

³³ Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.*, IV, init. (PG 59, 731). Cf. Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.*, V, 1 (PG 59, 731, l. 19-24). P. Nautin, *Homélies Pascales, II. Trois Homélies dans la tradition d'Origène*, Sources Chr., n. 36, Paris, 1953, *Hom. de Pasch.* I, 1 (p. 55); I, 3 (p. 55. 16) y Gregorio Nacianceno, *Orat.* I, 3 (PG 35, 397).

³⁴ Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.* VI, 5 (PG 59, 744 in fin.).

³⁵ *Ib.*, VI, 1 (PG 59, 736).

³⁶ Hesiquio de Jerusalén, *Hom. Pasch.* I, 1, 10-12 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 62).

³⁷ Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VII, 2, 13-21 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 432).

³⁸ Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.* VI, 5 (PG 59, 745).

esperan alegrarse con la alegría del esposo, cuando oigan su voz³⁹, para llegar al disfrute pleno de la fiesta, a la mesa abastada, al caliz de la alegría y del gozo⁴⁰, al alimento que libra de toda angustia y dolor⁴¹.

C. *Alegría salvífica, liberadora del dolor y de la aflicción*

Este es el último aspecto que queremos destacar en la alegría cristiana, como connotativo de salvación: la liberación de la humanidad de la aflicción y del sufrimiento⁴². Ante tal situación, el cristiano no puede manifestar ningún síntoma que haga triste — *μὴ λυπήσῃ* — el día pascual, sino que debe cantar movido por Dios⁴³, como si el canto constituyera la manifestación suma de la alegría del espíritu embargado por la seguridad de su salvación. La pena y el sufrir quedan lejos; sobre ellos, se impone, jubilosa, la alegría cristiana de la Resurrección. La actitud del cristiano está en oposición al duelo y al llanto: “los judíos, por su incredulidad, deben vivir en la aflicción; nosotros, en cambio, los hijos de la fe, alegrémonos y gocémonos”, nos exhorta Leoncio de Constantinopla⁴⁴, porque en la Resurrección de Cristo nos llega la salvación, porque “donde hay alegría, no puede ya subsistir el dolor”⁴⁵.

Con estos aspectos, connotativos de salvación, que hemos subrayado, creemos que a los dos significatos que atribuye Lampe⁴⁶ al término *χαρά*, como alegría mundana y alegría espiritual, se puede añadir, desdoblado este último, el de alegría salvífica y connotativa de salvación.

³⁹ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Hom. de Pasch.* I, 18 (ed. P. Nautin, p. 70. 15). Cf. *Io.* 3, 29.

⁴⁰ Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.*, VI, 2 (PG 59, 738).

⁴¹ Ps. Crisóstomo, *Serm. Catech. in S. Pasch.* PG 59, 722. Cf. Ps. Crisóstomo, *In S. Pasch.* V, 2 (PG 59, 736).

⁴² Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VI, 2, 16 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 370). Ps. Crisóstomo, *Hom. Pasch.* V, 3, 2 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 322).

⁴³ Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VI, 2, 14 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 370).

⁴⁴ Leoncio de Constantinopla, *Hom. Pasch.* VII, 5, 1; 6, 1 (ed. M. Aubineau, p. 438).

⁴⁵ Eusebio de Alejandría, *Serm. in Resurrect.* 18 (PG 61, 735).

⁴⁶ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968² s. v. *χαρά*.

The Virgin Birth in Hiberno-Latin Theology

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Recently the virginal conception and birth of Jesus by Mary has emerged as a minor but controversial theological topic.¹ This paper will investigate one aspect of the historical development of the question, the treatment of the Virgin Birth in Hiberno-Latin theology, that is, the Latin theology of the Irish *patres* from the beginnings of Irish Christianity to the Carolingian Renaissance. Because many of the Hiberno-Latin texts are unfamiliar to patristic scholars and many are still unedited, this paper will rely upon citations of texts with brief commentary.

As *ultimi habitores mundi*², the Irish stood in awe of the achievements of classical, Mediterranean Christianity. Irish theology was duly conservative, primarily exegetical and heavily dependent on the great Latin Fathers. The uniqueness of Hiberno-Latin theology lay not in its originality but rather in the emphasis it gave to certain themes and interpretations. It had no distinct "theology" of the Virgin Birth; rather, the Virgin Birth was treated like all important scriptural passages, that is, it had to be interpreted theologically. The thaumaturgical element, a formidable problem for modern exegetes, was accepted as historically true by the Irish. Their concern was with the theological significance of Mary's virginity.

The first treatment of the topic appears in *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, a seventh-century document attributed to an Irish Augustine. The author was concerned as to whether God had violated the laws of nature by permitting his Son to be born of a virgin. It was unthinkable God would do such, so an explanation was found.³

Qualiter apes sine patribus fotu materni corporis tantummodo crescunt, et omnia illius modi volatilia fetus suos taliter concipiunt. Sed et multae aves absque maribus ova gignere possunt. Et talem conceptum in multis piscium generibus esse physiologi aiunt. In sola quoque

¹ Cf. Raymond E. Brown, "The Problem of the Virginal Conception of Jesus", *Theological Studies* 33 (1972) 3-34; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Virginal Conception of Jesus in the New Testament," *TS* 34 (1973) 541-75; Alan C. Clark, "The Virgin Birth: A Theological Reappraisal," *TS* 34 (1973) 576-93; and the bibliographies to these articles.

² The phrase was used by Columbanus, *Epistula V*, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker (Dublin, 1970), p. 38.

³ Text in PL 35, 2149-2200; citations from col. 2193.

carne sine patre vermis nascitur, cui se Dominus hac de causa similem dicere per prophetam non indignatur (Ps 21 : 7). Quod ergo in multis rebus consueto more Dominus operatur, quid naturae contrarium dicendum est, si quando ipse voluit, ut in virginali utero Spiritus sancti dispensatione filius sine viri coitu nasceretur?

By contemporary standards, this is deplorable theology, but by Early Medieval standards, it is quite sound. Antique science, utilized by Early Medieval scholars, accepted spontaneous generation. No less than Augustine has interpreted *vermis* as Christ.⁴ Thus, Irish Augustine could support his exegesis with the authorities of an Old Testament reference, a great theologian and contemporary science. Modern exegetes are rarely in so enviable a position.

Probably from the same period is *Expositio Quattuor Evangeliorum* of Pseudo-Jerome, a term applied to the anonymous author whose work has survived under the name of Jerome. The section dealing with Matthew's gospel follows Jerome in asking why Jesus was born of a virgin espoused to a man rather than just born of a virgin.⁵

Desponsata mater eius: Id est, pro quattuor causis, ut non lapidaretur ut adultera, et ut in fugam haberet solatium, et genealogia Christi per Ioseph, ut partus celaretur diabolo. . . inventa est ab Ioseph in utero, non in vulva ut mulier, sed ut virgo, habens de Spiritu sancto, id est, factus ex Spiritu sancto, sicut ipse facit pomum super lignum, et Evam de osse Adae.

The four causes are taken from Jerome. The latter passage echoes familiar patristic interpretations as well as Irish Augustine.

Many early manuscripts of Jerome's *Commentarius in Mattheum* had the phrase *solatium mariti*.⁶ *Maritus* was a rather strong word, and the sixth-century Gallic exegete, Pseudo-Theophilus of Antioch, substituted *vir*.⁷ As will be seen, Hiberno-Latin theologians, with one exception, assiduously avoided *maritus* and substituted alternate phrases lest Mary's virginity be in any way questioned.

In a mid-eighth-century work attributed to Bede and aptly named *Collectanea*, there are three references to the Virgin Birth.⁸

Dic tres dies investigabiles? Lex in utero Moysi, et Iohannes in utero Elizabeth et Christus in utero Mariae.

There is no indication as to why these three are chosen as *investigabiles*. The second reference says that the Virgin Birth is one of three things which de-

⁴ *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. XXI, ii, 7, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 38, 125.

⁵ Text in PL 30, 531–90; citation from col. 552. For the date and provenance of the text, cf. Bernhard Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter", *Sacris Erudiri* VI (1954) 236–37.

⁶ This reading is in many early manuscripts and was accepted by the Maurists, D. Vallarsi and by J. P. Migne who used Vallarsi's edition. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen who edited the text for *Corpus Christianorum* accept only *solatium*. Cf. CCSL 77, 10, note to line 76.

⁷ *Commentarius in Quattuor Evangelia*, PLS 3, 1284.

⁸ Text in PL 94, 539–62; citations from cols. 543, 548, 550.

ceived the demons, along with Christ's suffering and death, and his descent into hell. Finally, there is an intriguing if unscientific play on words with the Old Testament.

Perpende, ergo, si vales, quomodo rubrum mare virga divisum est, quomodo ex petrae duritia percussione virgae unda emanavit, quomodo Aaronis virga sicca floruit, quomodo ex eius genere veniens virgo concepit, quomodo et in partu virgo permansit, quomodo quatri-duanus mortuus iussione suscitatus, ligatis manibus et pedibus de sepulchro exiit, quem post mortem solvi Dominus per discipulos iussit; quomodo idem Redemptor in vera carne atque ossibus resurgens, clausis ostiis, ad discipulos intravit.

A commentary on Luke from the circle of the Virgilius of Salzburg, dated to the late eighth century, includes a number of themes. It follows Pseudo-Jerome in listing the four causes for Mary's espousal to Joseph. The only real difference is the use of the phrase *solatium viri*, again avoiding *mariti*. This commentary also uses literally a poetic phrase of Zeno of Verona to explain how Mary had become pregnant. Zeno had written *per aurem intrat Christus in Mariam*.⁹ The Hiberno-Latin writer cited this and offered biblical support¹⁰.

Dominus tecum: Haec est Christi conceptio in utero virginis per aurem. Cur per aurem concipitur? Quia fides ex auditu est. (Rom 13 : 10)

The Virgin Birth is also incorporated to explain a text which refers to the Holy Spirit.

Et virtus altissimi obumbravit tibi: Vmbra autem a re et lumine formatur. Hoc est, a corpore virginis et fulgore divinitatis.

A commentary on Matthew of the same date and location and probably by the same author, includes similar elements, for example, the four causes, here using only *solacium*, and the *conceptio per aurem*. There is also an allegorical interpretation of Mary's virginity.¹¹

Maria autem ecclesiae gentium figuram tenet quia redditum est initium corruptibile per Evam. Nunc per Mariam incorruptibilis finis renovatur dum ab ea nascitur Christus.

A short, strangely-titled text, *Prebarium de Multorium Exemplaribus*, cites Mary's virginity only as an example for others. *In novo Christus capud virginum, feminarum autem Maria. Ipsa averix earum*.¹² This text is also from the eighth-century Salzburg circle, as is the next, the *Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum* of Pseudo-Isidore.

This is modelled after Isidore of Seville's work of the same title and purports to give brief biographies of prominent figures of the Old and New

⁹ *Tractatus* I, 3, x, 19, ed. B. Löfstedt, CCSL 22, 28.

¹⁰ *Commentarius in Lucam, Scriptores Hiberniae Minores* pars II, ed. Joseph F. Kelly, CCSL 108 C, 7, 8.

¹¹ Vienna lat. MS 940, fols. 13^r–141^v; citation from fols. 23^r, 24^v. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, pp. 242–45.

¹² Edited by Robert E. McNally, S. J., in *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores* pars I, CCSL 108 B, 153–71; citation from p. 167.

Testaments. It does not contain any new information or insights but is a handy compendium of Irish views on Mary's virginity.¹³

Virgo sancta, virgo feta, virgo ante partum, virgo in partu, virgo post partum, filium quem genuit creatorem credidit, et patrem habuit, et Dominum adoravit, salutationem ab angelo suscepit, et mysterium conceptionis agnoscit, partus qualitatem inquit, et contra legem naturae obsequii fidem non renuit. Facta est mater viri sine copulatione mariti, mater infantem lactavit, et virgo incorrupta permansit.

This is heavily dependent on Isidore's capsule biography of Mary¹⁴, and it contains one of the few Hiberno-Latin references to the famous *ante partum, in partu, post partum* formula.

Four other Matthean commentaries of the late eighth century also take up familiar themes. A text probably composed in Ireland and now preserved in Wurzburg is concerned only with the four causes of Mary's espousal. It follows Jerome; here the phrase is *solatium viri*.¹⁵

A short commentary entitled *Ex Dictis S. Hieronomi* also includes the four causes. It uses *solacium*, with no appended genitive.¹⁶

A longer commentary, now preserved in Munich, also takes up the four causes, using *solacium* alone, but then turns to a more difficult theological question, possibly a reflection of the Filioque controversy.¹⁷

Intelligimus conceptionem eius non de humana coitu sed <d>e Spiritu sancto esse. Errant quidem in hoc loco et dicunt si Filius de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine natus est, ergo Spiritus pater est Filii. Cum respondemus Spiritum sanctum non esse patrem, sed contra et manifesta origo sancti Spiritus est Pater et Filius.

The fourth Matthean commentary, contemporary with the third and also preserved in Munich, contains verbatim some of the same passages as the third commentary.¹⁸

An extremely large work, dealing with all the books of the Old and New Testaments, has separate commentaries on Matthew and Luke. The commentary on Matthew includes the now almost inevitable list of the four causes, but here the phrase is a new one, *consolationem viri*. It also includes some new material on Mary's espousal to Joseph, and a very curious etymological explanation.¹⁹

Cur Maria dicitur coniux Ioseph cum non sit? Et cur ex Maria Christus natus est et non ex alia? . . . Ideo coniux Maria dicitur Maria quia sponsa est sicut dixit Dominus per Moysen, Si quis invenerit virginem desponsatam in campo et vim faciens dormivit cum ea moriatur quia humiliavit uxorem proximi sui. Et ideo ex Maria et non ex alia natus est Christus quia

¹³ Text in PL 83, 1275–94; citation from col. 1285.

¹⁴ PL 83, 148.

¹⁵ *Eine Würzburger Evangelienhandschrift*, ed. K. Koeberlin (Augsburg, 1891) p. 19.

¹⁶ Text in CCSL 108 B, 225–30; citation from p. 229.

¹⁷ CLM 6233, fols. 1^r–110^v; citation from fols. 31^v–33^r. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, 253–54.

¹⁸ Text in CLM 6302, fols. 29^v–46^r; citation from fols. 33^v–34^r. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, pp. 254–55.

¹⁹ Text in Paris BN lat. 11561, fols. 1^v–217^v; citations from fols. 140^r–140^v. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, pp. 223–30.

Maria in mando obtulit suam virginitatem Deo. Cur sponsata et non sponsa? Quod inter sponsam et sponsatam et dispensatam? Id est, sponsa quando sponsatur. Sponsata quando in manum traditur. Dispensata quando corporaliter coniungunt.

There is also a piece of information borrowed from the apocryphal tradition.²⁰

In qua etate concepit Maria? In xii annis ut dicitur, Sancta Maria, mater Domini, xii annorum erat quando ab angelo Domini Gabrihele salutata. Mortua autem annorum xlvii.

The commentary on Luke takes up the question anew and borrows the answer from *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*.²¹

Quod aperit vulvam sanctum Domini vocabitur, id est, omnis partus aperit vulvam in coitu viri et in nascendo? Christus vero non aperuit in coitu viri. Ideo, dicit propheta: Ego vermis et non homo. Id est, vermis non inter patrem et matrem concipitur, sed ex terra. Sic Christus ex patre in caelo tantum et ex matre tantum in terra quando ex partu editus.

A collection of homilies from North Italy, possibly Bobbio, devotes much space to Christ's birth, but its observations on Mary's virginity are all drawn from earlier sources. There is a reference to the four causes, and a new phrase is introduced, *solatium custodis*. There is another reference to *conceptio per aurem* and a play on the words *virga* and *virgo*. Finally, there is the celebrated patristic dictum, *ante partum, in partu, post partum*.²²

All the texts previously considered date from the late eighth century or earlier. In the ninth century the renaissance associated with Charlemagne flowered in Frankish domains. Irish scholars played an important role in this renaissance; part of their contribution to it was the production of biblical commentaries.

Iosephus Scottus was a friend of Alcuin and the author of an *abbreviatio* of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah. Iosephus' commentary on Isaiah 7: 14 (*ecce virgo concipiet*) condensed Jerome's commentary but added nothing original. He concentrated on virginity as a sign from God and on the significance of the name Emmanuhel.²³

The Carolingian scholar, Smaragdus of Saint Mihiel, made use of an otherwise unknown writer named Frigulus. Bernhard Bischoff has examined the fragments attributed to Frigulus in Smaragdus' work and suggested that this author had written a commentary on Matthew. He further suggested this Frigulus was Irish.²⁴ Our own investigations of the fragments of Frigulus' work have supported Bischoff's suggestion that he was Irish²⁵, so we will include Frigulus' treatment of the Virgin Birth.²⁶

²⁰ On the Apocrypha in Ireland, cf. David Dumville, "Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73 (1973) C, 299–338; Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975).

²¹ Paris BN lat. 11561, fol. 162v.

²² Text in Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, Cod. LXVII (64), fols. 33r–81v; citation from fols. 36v, 37r, 38v. I am grateful to Fr. McNally for letting me use his transcription of this text.

²³ Text in CLM 6296, fols. 1–201; citation from fol. 24r.

²⁴ B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, pp. 247–50.

²⁵ J. F. Kelly, "Frigulus: An Hiberno-Latin Commentator on Matthew", *Revue Bénédictine* 91(1981), 363–373.

²⁶ Fragments of Frigulus printed in PL 102, 1119–1122; citation from col. 1119.

Ecce angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph, dicens: Surge et accipe Puerum et Matrem eius. Non dicit tuum Puerum, neque mulieris, sed speciali privilegio solius Pueri nomen ponitur.

The great scholar Sedulius Scottus wrote a *Collectaneum in Mattheum* which includes a few references to the Virgin Birth. There are the usual four causes, but Sedulius is the only Irish scholar to use the phrase *solatium mariti*, possibly because he moved in more educated circles where any alteration of Jerome's wording would be noticed. Sedulius reinforces this reading in a commentary on another passage:

Inventa est autem in utero habens: A nullo alio quam Ioseph qui licentia maritali futurae uxoris pene omnia noverat.

His other references stress that Christ was born not of carnal concupiscence but of *gratia Spiritus sancti*, and he cites Augustine for support of Mary's virginity.²⁷

Mater immaculata, mater incorrupta. Natus in caelis sine matre et in terra sine patre.

From this period are other Hiberno-Latin commentaries which may have been affected by the theological discussions of the Carolingian Renaissance. But since this is indeterminable, we will treat them simply as representative of the Hiberno-Latin tradition.

A commentary on Luke, composed not later than circa 850, has the unique title *Historiaca investigatio evangelium secundum Lucam*. Its observations on the Virgin Birth are brief but to the point.²⁸

Disponsatam viro: Inde verior virginitas viro custodiente. Iosephus salvator lingua Egip-tica, figurat filium qui nascitur. . . . Benedicta tu inter mulieres: Id est, que tu auferes obprobrium Eavae. Hic benedictio habundantia est corporis Christi que hic Maria figurat ecclesiam.

A commentary on Matthew wrongly attributed to Bede and probably of Irish provenance offers some new interpretations.²⁹ It too refers to the four causes and uses the phrase *solatium ministerii*, the first time this appears. This commentary has also altered the tradition of the four causes. It has *Christus quasi fornicationis filius despiceretur* substituted for *partus celaret a diabulo*. It has changed *origo Mariae monstraretur per generationem Ioseph* to *genus Christi per Ioseph ostenderet*. However, the next paragraph explains that it was the custom of biblical writers to trace generations by males, and it goes on to say that this device (the Virgin Birth) fooled the devil. Apparently the author decided not to break too strongly with tradition.

In another passage the author offers an insight uncommon to Hiberno-Latin theology and possibly another reflection of the Filioque controversy.

²⁷ Text in Berlin, Staatsbibl. Meerm. MS. 56, fols. 1-190; citations from fols. 11^v, 12^r, 12^v. Sedulius cites Augustine *Sermo* 187, IV, 1 (PL 38, 1001 A).

²⁸ Text in CLM 6235, fols. 49^v-65^v; citation from fols. 50^r-50^v. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.* pp. 260-62.

²⁹ Text in PL 92, 9-132; citations from col. 12.

Inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu sancto: A Ioseph in utero eam habere dicit inventam; et licet quasi specialiter dicat de Spiritu sancto, tamen credere debemus quod hominem Iesum non solus Spiritus sanctus, sed tota Trinitas in utero Virginis formavit. Ideo namque specialiter quasi de Spiritu sancto dicit, quia illum Deus Trinitas formavit in Virgine; qui adventu suo donum Spiritus sancti in se credentibus large ministravit.

A large commentary dating from the mid-ninth century and now at Orleans³⁰ offers no new theological insights but it does continue a process begun by the last commentary, namely, it expands the treatment of the four causes. It does not list the causes but does include all of them in a general discussion of Christ's birth. However, this commentary also attempts to explain the causes. Mary was espoused to Joseph not only that she might escape punishment as an adulteress but also *Ne Herodi et Iudaeis excusandi praebetur occasio quod natus ex adulterio persequeretur*. There is also an explanation, based on grammar, that the Spirit could in no way be thought to have mated with Mary in the fashion of the pagan gods. Matthew's text reads *in utero habens de Spiritu sancto*. The commentary explains,

In utero, non in uterum accipiens. Id est, non aliunde acceptum sed interius veniente Spiritu sancto habitum.

The last text we will consider is a collection of homilies from the late ninth or possibly even the early tenth century and known as the *Catechesis Celtica*.³¹ It includes the four causes, citing only *solacium*, and offers another allegorical interpretation of Mary's virginity, associating her virginity with the justness of Joseph.

Per Ioseph autem et Mariam a Galilea et a Nazareth ad Bethlem ascendentes, iusti et virgines, a volubilitate mundi et a florida conversatione huius vitae per contemplationem mandatorum Dei ad maturos fructus praeiorum caelestium ascendentes, ostenduntur.

The author obviously was less concerned with the sense of the text than with associating virginity and contemplation, two goals of presumably monastic listeners or readers.

The Hiberno-Latin exegetes whose work we have been citing did not treat of the Virgin Birth per se but always as part of a larger question, the Incarnation. From this perspective, our isolation and investigation of selected passages does not present the whole picture. On the other hand, the Irish did develop certain methods and concepts for understanding the question so that we can refer to a distinct Hiberno-Latin treatment of the Virgin Birth.

Perhaps most important is that the Irish, like modern exegetes, recognized that the thaumaturgical element is less important than the theological

³⁰ Text in Orleans MS 65 (2), pp. 1-269; citations from pp. 25, 26. Cf. B. Bischoff, *art. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

³¹ Text in Vat. Reg. lat. 49, fols. 1^r-53^r; citations from fols. 30^v, 48^r, 48^v. I am grateful to Fr. Robert McNally for letting me use his transcription of this text. Cf. also Andreas Wilmar, "Catecheses Celtiques", *Analecta Reginensia*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican City, 1933) 29-112.

significance of Mary's virginity. Thus they devoted themselves to theological explanations, whether literal or allegorical. They stuck closely to the text, investigating key words and how they were used in context, for example, *disponsatam* and *in utero*. They referred to the Old Testament, the classical Fathers and contemporary science. Their theology was conservative but sound. The Irish *patres* made a definite, if limited, contribution to the historical development of this intriguing theological question.

Prolegomena to a structural analysis of ancient Christian salvation

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The idea of salvation has held, practically from the outset, a major place, in the Christian church. The concept *σωτηρία*, the model *σωτήρ*, the verb *σώζω* are found abundantly from the letters of Paul to the last documents of the Patristic age. Similarly, the concept "soteriology", the model of a "redeemer myth", the designation of christianity as an Erlösungsreligion, have for a long time been basic models in research into ancient Christianity. And yet, there is hardly any agreement as to what "salvation" actually is, or was, either in antiquity where different concepts of salvation stood side by side, from Mark, Luke and John to Arius, Athanasius, Augustine and Cassian, or in modern scholarship, from Cardinal Newman to Harnack and Seeberg. While the concept of a redeemer myth has remained a useful research tool for some, this very term is scoffed at by others; and while the primal issue between Arius and Athanasius, for instance, has often been seen as one between ontology (Arius) and soteriology (Athanasius), the same controversy is evaluated differently by Groh and Gregg. It was an accurate description of the evidence and of the scholarship, when Donald Winslow coined the term "soteriological jungle" (see below, p. 394).

I propose that the discrepancies, contradictions and confusions in the salvation language of the ancient church belong to one basic "salvation schema", a structure of language, thought and action that makes no sense in terms of a consistent theory of salvation, but that can be successfully analyzed in terms of binary components. Even though the statements about salvation appear confused, they reveal a consistent subsurface structure, and are part of a symbolic system which becomes comprehensible when we examine its polarizations.

1. In order to discover a structural system, such as salvation might reveal, it will be wise not only to look for the content of a sentence in which "salvation" appears, but for the relation between sentences in which "salvation" appears. The contents of two salvation-sentences might differ, but there might be a relation between the sentences which can be specified.

2. We might discover a common underlying dynamic even in two statements which are quite contradictory to each other on the surface level.

3. A person might speak about salvation when he speaks about something else. The issue and the problems of salvation might be present in sentences

and statements that do not contain the word-group *soteria* (*to elect, to heal, to gain*).

4. A person might combine two different salvation statements because he wants to communicate something that is not contained in either of these two statements.

5. The word *soteria* could function on several levels, ideological as well as political. To talk about salvation might mean a different thing for the bishop than for the layman who hears the bishop. The use of the word *soteria* may not function only in one way.

6. If we are faced with conflicting statements and related models, we must look for specific social, historical and existential causes. When a Christian makes two heterogenous statements about salvation, he may do so because he has two different experiences.

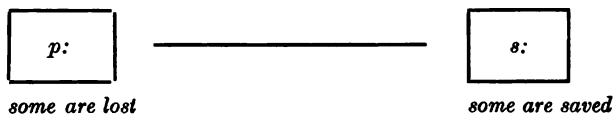
7. Language is action, not merely reflection. We must try to find out to which degree man reflects and to which degree he acts, as he employs his language of salvation.

8. In a major religious movement, it does not suffice merely to examine social, ideological, legal and ethical models. A symbolic system not only operates with models of language but with models of vision, with iconic units.

The following four points are merely an outline of the problems.

I

Searching for a salvation schema in the texts of the primitive Christian church, we detect three basic patterns which are employed time and again, not only by different writers but by one and the same writer. The first pattern contains the primal alternative, implied in the original use of the word, between "salvation" and its counterpart, non-salvation, or (as Ph 1 : 28 formulates it) perdition, an alternative between healing and non-healing, health and sickness, remaining sick and getting healed, joy and damnation, blessing and cursing:



In Lk 6 : 9 (cf. 19 : 10): is it allowed, on a sabbath,
to *destroy* a person (a soul) or to *save* him?

In I Cor 1 : 18: the word about the cross is foolishness to those who are <i>lost</i>	it is the power of God for us who are <i>saved</i> .
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The polarization is found in another form in the exclamation of the disciples during the storm (Matth. 8 : 25):

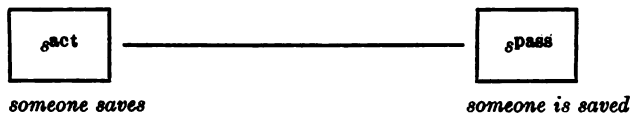
a distinction, a separation, between people, between values, between issues, between times. The primary separation is between two kinds of people:

some people are lost, sick, drowning, they die, they are seduced, they live in sin, they are judged, they end with blasphemy on their lips

some people are saved, they are healed, they do not drown, they will be in paradise, even today, they will be cleansed, they live, they are made new, they will live in the Kingdom.

To sophisticated soteriological minds, trained by centuries of theological discrimination, such a distinction sounds trite, simplistic. Indeed, simplistic it is. There exists in ancient Christianity an alternative between salvation and damnation, salvation and perdition, an alternative that appears in many forms and that can be traced through all the NT texts from the Synoptic gospels to the Book of Revelation.

A second pattern that can be isolated in primitive christian texts distinguishes between an acting, or active, component (*saving*) and a passive component (*saved*). It consists of two forms:



or, in the neutral form:

<i>something saves</i>	<i>something is saved.</i>
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The first consists of personal, the second of impersonal models. The two can be mixed (*somebody saves something, something saves someone*). I list, on the left side of the alternatives, in abbreviated form:

s_{act}

God **saves** the Son (Jn 12 : 27)
 God **saves** those who believe (I Cor 1 : 21)
 God **saved** us (II Tim 1 : 5)
 God **saved** Christ (Hebr. 5 : 7)
 Christ came to **save** sinners (I Tim 1 : 15)
 Jesus **saves** his people (Matth. 1 : 21)
 The son of man came to **save** (Lk 19 : 10)
 if I (Paul) may **save** some (Rm 11 : 14)
 that I may **save** some (I Cor 9 : 22)
 you will **save** yourself and those
 who hear (I Tim 4 : 16)
 your faith has **saved** you (Mk 5 : 34)
 through the words you and your
 house will be **saved** (Acts 11 : 14)
 there is no other name under which
 we can be **saved** (Acts 4 : 12)
 the prayer of faith
 will **save** the sick (Jm 5 : 15)

On the right side,

g_{pass}

Jesus says to God: Father save me (Jn 12 : 27)

Christ the High Priest is saved (Hebr 5 : 7)

Paul is saved (I Cor 1 : 18)

the Christians are saved (I Cor 15 : 2)

the believer (Acts 16 : 31)

the gentiles (I Th 2 : 16)

the demoniac (Lk 8 : 36)

the people (Matth. 1 : 21)

a human being (Mk 3 : 4)

the spirit (I Cor 5 : 5)

no flesh (Matth. 24 : 22)

the cosmos (Jn 12 : 47)

I have only listed sentences where the word group *salvation* appears. These texts do not contain any kind of classical soteriology. Both of the components contain personal as well as abstract models, God, Christ and Paul on one side, Christ and Paul and the Christians, spirit and cosmos on the other side. The mediator appears on both sides, but so does Paul.

The examples do not give any answers to later soteriological problems, such as the relation between God and Christ, or salvation by Christ or by works. But the texts have one common denominator: something happens (or happened, or shall happen) to someone. It happened to Christ and to Paul. It shall happen to the Christians. Just as in the first pattern the content of salvation was not clear, so the agent of salvation is not clear. What is clear is the relation between *saving* and *saved*. A change is implied. An event. A deed. The modern observer may claim, from his own dogmatic presuppositions, that in all of them God is the agent of salvation. By implication this may be so. But the texts do not say so. The texts clearly name God in some of the examples and not in others; they name prayer and faith in others; and that puts an entirely different face on soteriology. The structure is ambiguous, and the ambiguity is well expressed in the text of II Tim 2 : 4: he wants to save all – so that I may save some. That example is late, deutero-Pauline. It is not more ambiguous than the material presented in the two tables above.

A third primitive christian pattern can be isolated, in which a distinction is made between people, deeds, models *from which* man is saved, and people, deeds, models *to which* man is saved:

g_{from}

we are saved from

g_{to}

we are saved to (toward)

Acts 2 : 40-41 :

let yourself be saved *from*
this generation of darkness

into the community in which
three thousand were baptized
on that day

II Tim 4 : 18 :

the Lord will save me
from every evil work

and preserve me unto
the heavenly kingdom.

To this duality belong all healing stories of synoptic gospels and of John.
Man is saved

from sickness, paralysis, demons

to health

and the change is expressed by the phrase: "your faith has saved you",
Mk 5 : 34, 10 : 52, Matth. 9 : 22, Lk 7 : 50, 18 : 42. The pattern can deal with
concrete physical events, as in the story of Peter walking across the water,
when Peter was, in fact, saved (Matth. 14 : 31-32)

from the water

into the boat

but it can also contain theological models, as in Rm 5 : 9-10:

from wrath

to a state of redemption

The pattern appears in many transformations which employ metaphors of
running, changing, hoping. A good example is Ph 3 : 13-21 which has, for
instance, the following three transformations:

leave things behind

reach for things which are before us

(3 : 13)

change our vile body

that it may be fashioned like

unto his glorious body (3 : 21)

there are enemies

I press toward the mark for

whose end is destruction (3 : 18-19)

the prize (3 : 14)

Like the former two, so also this third pattern rises from the heart of the
primitive Christian experience. Jesus came to heal people, to bring them
from sickness unto health. He brought the disciples from Galilee to Jerusa-
lem and he was to lead them back to Galilee (Mk 14 : 28). Paul's life's work
was to lead people from their present (Jewish or gentile) life toward the day
of Jesus Christ (Ph 1 : 6). The terminology fluctuates. We have to deal with
images as well as with words. Not only verbs like "to save" but also "to
heal", "to gain" (I Cor. 9 : 20-22). The components belong to various kinds
of models. There is physical change: Jesus saves the 5000 from hunger.
There is social change: The Jews are saved as they become Christians. There
is existential change; toward hope (Acts 27 : 2) and eternal life (Matth.
19 : 17). But all components belong to one underlying dynamic: Christians,
in our case Christian texts, communicate to others that man can (or did, or
should) change from negatively described people, forces, actions, states of
being, to positively described people, forces, actions or states of being.

This trifold structural salvation schema represents the frame in which the
ancient church, the Christian within that church, could function and grow,
and through which man could find what he was promised, a new sense of life.

For *newness* is indeed the first common dynamic behind these three pat-
terns. Two forces work against each other, perdition and salvation. The

most ancient Christian texts do not make it unequivocally clear from what the Christian was being saved, or had been saved; himself, sickness, the world, the Pharisees and Sadducees, the prince of this world, sin, error. Nor is it unequivocally clear to what he has been saved, or was being saved; God, Christ, faith, community, health, eternal life. Yet as we take the three structural patterns together, a picture emerges. Given the alternative between salvation and its opposite, man had a chance. Somebody had come, was coming. Men could go, went, were going from one to the other. There was "old" and there was "new" and there was movement from one to the other, there were agents that helped man in this movement, there was a community to receive man.

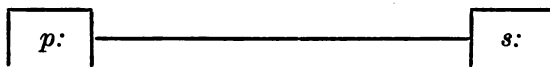
The dynamic of the schema was *change*. *Social change*, from the Jewish world at large to the Jewish-Christian sect, from the diaspora community to the Christian community, from the gentile culture to the Christian sect. *Ideological change*, from traditional beliefs and values to the Christian beliefs, to creeds and stories and liturgical formulae, from darkness to light, from wrongly understood scripture to a new understanding of scripture. *Existential change*, from fear of death to expectation of resurrection and eternal life. *Mythic change*, from the reality in Satan and the prince of this world and darkness to the Kingdom of God, the church, Jesus Christ, the Spirit.

The dynamic expressed the move toward a *uniqueness*, of belief as well as of a movement. What happened here did not happen elsewhere, in no other name. But here it did happen, concretely, today (Lk 19 : 5), once (Hebr. 6 : 4). It was no innocent play: the savior over life and death was judge. Some people will not make it (Matth. 24 : 20).

The schema can be documented from, and hence worked for, the people behind the oral traditions of the synoptics as well as the sophisticated individuals like Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It could be used by the pictorial communication of, say, Mark as well as by the expository language in Romans. We do not ask at this moment, if the patterns were believed totally, if the carriers of these sentences meant to communicate other things in addition to what we have stated. As the sentences stand, they were the backbone to any antique *Erlösungsreligion*. They gave man a way to look at his past (we were lost), to his fellow believer (we are saved) and to the rest of the world (believe, and you might be saved!).

Within such salvation schema, the term *soteria* soon became an abstraction, a word symbol that could be used without outside, complimentary component. The Christian did not have to spell out in what his salvation lay and who the agent of this salvation was. It was simply salvation. *Salus*. The term is vacillating, ambiguous. It leaves open the subjects and objects, the means and goals of salvation. It implies that people know what the term points to. Perhaps they do. Perhaps they do not. *Soteria* implied a great many things, as even the earliest texts indicate: a new recognition (Lk 1 : 77), a new kind of life for Greeks and Jews (Rm 1 : 16), a new uniqueness

II



there was another chasm
where people were hung up
by their tongues;

by he healed them.

These texts are somewhat later than the ones given above but they document the extraordinary popular sadism in imagining the alternative before mankind. In its ultimate judgmental quality, if not in its crudity, the popular vision is paralleled by the sophisticated North African Tertullian whose *Exhortation to Chastity* leads either (13)

to concupiscence
and there is no paradise in that

or paradise.

Another transformation of the schema was the autobiographical construct in which the past becomes a tortured, terrible time in which man is lost, against the present where he is saved (Clem. *Rec.* I 3ff. and Clem. *Hom.* I 3ff., and of course Augustine, *Confessions*.)

The alternative has many transformations and meanings. I only mention, among others, the harshness of the martyr's choice (Act. Just. 5):

the most terrible
judgment seat of our Lord

"our salvation"

(and "our salvation" means, of course, the "victory" of the martyrs, their death, their reward); the poetic beauty in Ignatius' alternative in which (Ign. Eph. 19-20):

magic was abolished

we shall not die but
live in J. Chr. forever

the ethical alternative in Ath. *De Inc.* 3:

if they transgress
they must suffer death

if they remain good
they have life in paradise.

It is important to mention an event which had a profound influence on the future of christianity. At the beginning of the fourth century, with Constantine's victory over his foes, victory actually had come (Lact. *De Mort.* Pers. 1)

foes are destroyed
the enemies lie low
torturers die under torture

the clouds of the past are
dispelled
God the Almighty has
manifested his power.

The exuberance ceased to exist rather soon, but the idea that indeed with the Constantinian age something new had arrived changed the pattern for the rest of the patristic age. Perdition and Salvation had been politically resolved with Constantine, and that conviction, no matter how illusory it was, came as a second component beside the age of Jesus when, also, victory was believed to have come. We shall return to this problem later.

As for the second pattern, *sact-spess*, the ambiguities to which we pointed before continued throughout the entire patristic age. They produced the major ideological conflict, the christological and trinitarian controversies of the 4th and 5th centuries. The controversy is clearly an attempt to resolve in which way *sact* was God and Christ. The controversy also arose because the Christians never successfully combined their salvation schema with the also

present creation schema. We do not have to dwell on this conflict, except to point out one important thing. The fourth century Christians tried to resolve the ambiguity, the vacillating structural, mythic, intuitive pluralism of the original christian *sac* component. The result was not a solution but a transformation of the component into somewhat more philosophical models, one essence, three persons. But responsible for that transformation were two factors which have to be separated from each other. On the one hand, the people who transformed early Christian and enforced Nicene and post-Nicene models, were the intellectuals who demanded a resolution of the contradictory and unsatisfactory pre-Nicene content structure. On the other hand, the people who responded to the change, intellectuals or non-intellectuals, were people who demanded an absolute primacy of divinity in the *sac* component of the salvation pattern. In a sense, the basic structural relation remained the same, and it remained the same even for Arius. Salvation was still a deed by someone (even though it was hard to say simply and unequivocally who the agent was), done to someone else. And that someone else was still the Christian, in the church, believing in the salvatory schema, living it, acting it out. Some bishops got deposed, others committed crimes because of the disagreements. The salvation structure as such was not changed in the age of Constantine. Only centuries later did the early Christian schema, under powerful influences from outside and inside, begin to collapse. But that development lies long after the period under investigation.

In the evolution of this second pattern, another significant set of transformations can be traced. Even in NT texts, the active agents of salvation were not merely God and Christ, but Paul. He tried to save, convert, as he puts it: "to gain" (I Cor 9, 20) people. Even for Paul, there was a personal involvement, an element of power and authority, at work in his transmission of salvation: even if an angel were to proclaim another gospel . . . (Gal. 1 : 8)! The human authority, already at work in the primitive time, is constantly sharpened, augmented, clarified during the consecutive two centuries. "Where the bishop is, there is the catholic church." (Ign. Sm. 8. 2). The traditional interpreter of patristic material is quick to protest against any "soteriological" meaning behind such words. He is surely wrong. He has been trained to separate theological categories from concrete political, social, ecclesiological ones, ignoring the fact that a soteriological statement is a concrete one, born of a situation, and the situation is rooted in, and part of, the dynamic of power and conflict. "If someone is in Christ, he is a new creature," this Pauline phrase is rooted in the social reality of Paul and of his communities. Paul had joined that community. It brought him agony, beatings, hatred, jail. The Ignatian sentence goes farther only in degree, not in kind. Instead of the apostle, the "bishop"; instead of the emerging primitive congregation, the "church", whatever Ignatius understood under these terms. Ignatius demanded obedience to the bishop the way Paul had demanded obedience. For both, it was obedience to Christ. Yet for both, obedience

to Christ also meant obedience to their person in the church: "even if an angel from heaven were to proclaim another gospel . . ."

Cyprian's often quoted sentences make the character of the transformation clear. "You cannot have God as your father, if you do not have the church as your mother." (De Unit. 5). If this is not a statement on the salvation of the christian, what is? After all, in the same treatise, the church is the ark, and the people in the ark, ever since the primitive christian age, are the people who are saved. The model of the boat goes back to the story of the boat on the Sea of Galilee. What happens, in this development, is that the *sac* components receive more authoritarian weight, more hierarchic weight. The bishop has become the elite representative of the Christians. The transformation from early Christian to middle patristic texts indicates clearly the rise of episcopal power, the growth of numbers, but the same structural schema is at work.

The salvation pattern can lead to militancy. Cyprian speaks about Christ looking down on his soldiers fighting. He uses the Pauline metaphor about the "helmet of salvation". And ahead of the soldier lies the "joy of eternal salvation." (Ep. 58.8). This transformation into a political, half a century later even military, aggression was surely a serious change from the primitive apostolic salvation schema. Here lies the transformation that could turn the Christian religion of salvation into an ideologial support for war and murder in centuries to come. It is at times a shock for Christians to realize that a similar primitive structure of salvation might lie behind both religious attitudes. A structure of change can serve in more ways than one. To preserve the structure is in itself no assurance of moral consistency.

However, the transformations also serve the opposite of war. Antony sells his belongings. Virginitiy is praised as highest good. From Pachomius to Augustine, Christians live a life of discipline, create special communities, praise celibacy. To be sure, asceticism could surely be employed in the service of the episcopal hierarchy, as Athanasius demonstrates. Can. 18 of Elvira shows a very close relation between asceticism and episcopal power. But there are groups of Christians leaving for the Egyptian desert who do not play the game of clerical power, but who enact the salvation pattern in their own, anchorite, individualistic, world-denying fashion.

Behind the *sac* component of this pattern, we can trace a threefold structural ambiguity:

- a) the ambiguity between: "God saves the world" and "Christ saves the world";
- b) the ambiguity between: "God (or Christ) saves man" and "man is to his fellow man a savior";
- c) the ambiguity between: "you are saved by someone" (i.e., God, Christ, Paul, the bishop, the church) and "you are saved by what you do" (i.e., belief, prayer, ascetic life, poverty, virginitiy).

Behind *spass* is hidden, as I shall show in Part III, the most explosive and

structurally most discordant polarization in the schema of ancient Christian salvation.

As for the third pattern, *from* – *to*, the polarity of change and differentiation, here are some examples: Athanasius, *De Inc.* 8:

that he might revive men
from death

by their appropriation of
his body and by the grace
of the resurrection.

Ignatius, *Tral.* 7:

from impure

to pure

Clem. Rec. II. 71:

unclean

clean

Clem. Rec. II. 18: (as a metaphor for the step from ignorance to reason):

you enter a smokefilled
room

and open the door and
let the sun-light in

Apostolic Constitutions (VI 30):

from Jewish washings

to reading the books, singing
for the dead martyrs, offering
the Eucharist

and also (V 15):

from madness of polytheism

to true monarchy.

In popular acts, the alternative in the arena was (*Act. Thecl. et Pauli*):

to be saved from the
nakedness among beasts

to being clothed miraculously

Methodius has both a mythic alternative (*Meth. Symp.* VIII 12)

dragon

virgin

and, like the Gospel of Thomas, sexual change, (VIII 8):

from female

to male.

I want to identify four ways in which ancient Christians understood, or used, such a salvation pattern:

- a) The Christians created constantly a *social* polarization. The Jews only had a dumb lamb; we have the blood of a new covenant (*Ath. Fest. Letter* 4.3). There were imaginary foes in the past, Pharisees and Sadducees, Simon the Magician. There were foes in the present, the Valentinians, the Judaizers, the Catholics (for the Donatists) the Donatists (for the Catholics).
- b) There is a constant *credal-ideological* polarization. Many of the texts were written because someone (Athanasius, Irenaeus, Ignatius), meant to talk people into accepting the right faith and not be deceived by erroneous ideas. The Nicene church wants to force people to move from heresy to orthodoxy. Constantine would help to enforce such desire.
- c) There is an *existential* polarization. People desperately want to go from death to life. From fear of corruptibility to an assurance of resurrection, eternal life, immortality.
- d) There is also a constant polarization of *life style* and *social order*. The Christian went from Jewish washing to Christian washing. From the Sabbath to the Day of the Lord. From Fasting Mondays and Thursdays to Fasting Wednesdays and Fridays. From Circumcision to Baptism. He no longer went to Temple and Arena, he went to church, basilica and eucharist. The bishop of Rome meant to force the churches in Asia Minor to move from their Easter cycle to the Roman Easter cycle.

The material, of course, would easily fill a volume. I simply want to point out some significant aspects. There exists a double vacillation between these ambiguities of the pattern. Vacillation goes on within one and the same

issue. For example, Paul of Tarsus, had at least three separate existential hopes: he wanted to be with Christ (Phil 1 : 23); to remain alive for the sake of the church (Phil 1 : 24); resurrection of the dead at the parousia (I Cor 15 : 20ff.). Paul, in fact, has a fourth kind of hope, a mystic experience fourteen years before in the third heaven (II Cor 12 : 2ff.). And as Paul went to explain what physical resurrection really was, he fell into the metaphor of the seed, which would indicate one more type of expectation after death. The debate, whether Paul, or many other Christians of the early church, believed in physical or spiritual resurrection, in immortality, or recreation of the body, misses the point. Immortality, resurrection, "to be with Christ" were interchangeable components over against death, lostness, alienation.

A second vacillation goes on between different polarizations. For example, Athanasius was fighting a social battle, for his metropolitan see in Alexandria, against Jews and Arians and all kinds of other Egyptian foes, against rival metropolitan and episcopal groups and individuals. The salvation schema is surely part of that battle. But Athanasius was also fighting for a concept of salvation that had its own inner consistency (whether the modern interpreter agrees with the premises and hence with the degree of consistency or not): if Christianity is a religion of salvation, then the savior has to be the divinity itself. Athanasius also fought his own spiritual battle, and again, it is beside the point how successful he was in this. He admired Antony, he had a high regard for virginity, he no doubt lived a certain discipline in his turbulent career.

The examples just quoted come from two highly intelligent leaders of the ancient church, three centuries apart. Every one of the texts is *addressed* to other Christians (Romans, Corinthians, Egyptians), or to rival Christians (Arians), or to specific individuals (Philemon, Serapion). As we examine the ancient Christian salvation schema, we must take into consideration that the overwhelming majority of texts were written by a member of the elite, the apostolic, episcopal, intellectual or ascetic elite, and not by the laity. The texts transmit an insight, a story, a recollection. Somebody should hear, should change, should be attacked, or be comforted. When we have, as in the Apocrypha, some access to the average Christian, a much more simplistic, at times even grotesque vision of salvation and its dynamic appears. The primary early Christian texts reveal the concern of the elite.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the extant early Christian salvation texts of the elite are part of the emergence of clerical power. This power is expressed in terms of control and submission:

admonish people
that they are saved

be submissive to the
bishop and to each other
as Jesus Christ was to
the Father, and the
Apostles were to Jesus Christ
Ign. *Magn.* 13

Ign. *Pol.* 1. 2

The two statements are made here to a fellow bishop, there to the laity

of Magnesia. They both contain a hierarchical trend: control and submission, authority and order. Salvation is inseparable from obeying someone and controlling someone, and it is significant that Ignatius has Jesus Christ, the mediator, in both roles. There was no agreement in the ancient church as to the exact nature of authority, between apostolic and presbyterial, episcopal and conciliar, finally between metropolitan and patriarchal authority. Paul, the elders, Justin Martyr, Pachomius, Leo of Rome, Cyril, Origen, all had different ideas of authority. But the trend is unmistakable. The more the church received power, the more arose the need to spell out the specific forms of control. See Elvira, see the Nicene controversy. It is no coincidence, that in the same age in which the elite control over the church reached its goal, the battle for the correct meaning of salvation broke out.

It would be a mistake not to spell out one crucial aspect in this relationship between the patterns of salvation and the patterns of control, namely the element of fear. We have pointed on several occasions to the alternatives between paradise and hell, to punishment and reward, to eternal joy and eternal torture. The struggle between orthodox and heretic is on the same level as that between Jacob and Esau, said Cyprian: you may lose your birth right (Ep. 73. 25). The unjust and intemperate shall be punished by eternal fire, said Justin Martyr (Apol. II. 1). The serious crime shall be punished by the church's not giving communion to the evil-doer, not even at the end, demanded the bishops of Elvira (*can.* 1 etc.). The salvation schema functioned because people were afraid and susceptible to control.

III

Only now can we turn to the fourth structural problematic of ancient Christian salvation language. It is the most serious one, qualifying and modifying the previous patterns. What I have presented thus far represents the base for any antique religion of salvation, Christianity, Isis, Mithra, Cybele. Man is taken from this world into a symbolic new world of myth, liturgy and community. Priests, mystagogues, leaders take him, through initiation, into special sacred places where he receives new life, and enjoys banquet and rebirth. The difference between these and the fourth christian pattern of salvation made out of the christian movement an entirely different religion. The specific nature of Christian salvation not only lay in the church's political and cultural drive, and in its aggression, exclusivity and intolerance, but in a salvation pattern that created, practically from the first decade on, a great deal of havoc and agony and thereby a great deal of dynamic. The pattern consists of two statements about man's salvation:

*g*past

we have been saved

*g*future

we shall be saved

The duality was present in Synoptic texts:

the girl arose and walked around;
she was twelve years old (Mk 5 : 42)
today, salvation has come
to this house (Lk 19 : 9)
today, the savior
was born (Lk 2 : 11)
they recognized him (Lk 24 : 31)

in the Gospel of John:

I have told you that my joy
may be perfect in you (Jn 15 : 11)

and in Paul:

we have been justified
and have peace with God (Rm 5 : 1)
we have died with Christ
we were buried with Christ

the law of the spirit
has made me free (Rm 8 : 2)

no sign shall be given
to this generation (Mk 8 : 12)
today you shall be with me
in the paradise (Lk 23 : 43)
he is not here
he is risen (Lk 24 : 6)
and he disappeared (Lk 24 : 31)

I would have much to tell you
but you could not tolerate it
now (Jn 16 : 12)

we shall be saved (Rm 5 : 10)

we shall live with him (Rm 6 : 8)
so we might walk around
in newness of life (Rm 6 : 4)
God will make your mortal
bodies alive (Rm 8 : 11)

The first sentence says: something happened, to me, to us, to you, to them. What happened consists of many forms, physical or symbolic events, arrival of Christ, health, salvation.

The second sentence says: something shall happen. It does not say when, today, soon, in the future, when Jesus will return, when the paraclete will be sent, when the end and last judgment shall come. On one hand: *your faith has saved you* (Matth. 9 : 22). On the other hand: *the one who will endure to the end shall be saved* (Matth. 10 : 22).

We find, in fact, two salvations. One is a past event. People were changed (II Cor 5 : 17). A star shone and magic was being dissolved (Ign. Eph. 19). The other event lies in the future, resurrection, parousia, judgment, to be with Christ. It will come like a thief in the night (Matth 24 : 36), in a moment, at the last trumpet (I Cor 15 : 52), nobody knows the hour (Matth. 24 : 36), the Lord is close (Phil 4 : 5).

One can explain the duality by creating some kind of a soteriological system. Christ has saved man, but the fulfillment lies in the future. Such an explanation may have functioned for needs of later Christians, but it does not do justice to the polarization expressed in the texts. One can also point toward the Stoic and otherwise antique doctrine of moderation, of the mixture between virtue and vice, the *paideia* of the Greeks, found indeed in Irenaeus, Origen and many of the later theologians. But educational progress and moderation do not give justice either to the extraordinary polarity between these two salvation sentences, which do not say: "Christ did it already, and he will finish his work at the end", and which are not statements about intellectual or ethical growth.

We get closer to the problem by taking seriously the textual expressions themselves, and by placing them into their concrete historical context. The

Christian movement began with certain events and words. A man from Nazareth lived, spoke, assembled disciples. Something happened. People heard and saw. Paul had seen (I Cor 9 : 1). The author of the gospel of John spoke about seeing (3 : 11). The women who came down from Galilee saw (Lk 23 : 49). The person they saw, spoke to, or heard about, spoke about the future, about the kingdom of God, about resurrection and return. People who were around him, and who followed him, spoke about the future. Scholars shall never fully agree as to what is authentic either in the life of Jesus or in the words attributed to him about the future. But one thing is beyond doubt: no matter the exact historical sequence and the accurate attribution of certain words to Jesus, the church began as a movement of people who looked *back* to the Jesus who expected the kingdom to *come*. The structural polarity is therefore the result of, and absolutely intertwined with, the primal experience, social as well as linguistic, at the movement's beginning:

we have seen:

mine eyes have seen your salvation

(Lk 2 : 29)

she had seen the Lord (Jn 20 : 18)

have I not seen

the Lord Jesus

(I Cor 9 : 1)

we shall see:

they shall see God

(Matth 5 : 8)

we shall see him as he is

(I Jn 3 : 2)

there (in Galilee) you shall see him

(Matth. 28 : 7)

without which no man shall see the
Lord (Hebr 12 : 14)

However, even these sentences are not merely statements about actual past events and words about the future. The past has already become symbolic. Lk 2 : 29 is an early Christian hymn. Jn 20 : 29 is John's interpretation of resurrection. I Cor 9 : 11 is the statement by a person who had not lived with Jesus. The hermeneutic process began at once: words and deeds that went back to the time of Jesus were recalled, understood, augmented, reshaped, translated by the people who had not known Jesus. The words and expectations about the Kingdom became part of the same creative process. Memory and creativity went together, and a pattern was created that juxtaposed a salvation that happened to a salvation that was to come.

In order to understand this pattern we have to isolate its two components. Each of them was spoken within a frequently inexpressed but implied polarity. On the left side, the statement about a salvation that has come to the Christians, to the world, was, even in the age of Paul, qualified by an awareness that this salvation has not really come as said. In an uncomfortable way, something of the perdition, the non-salvation was operative in the present:

*s*past

you are (were) saved

you are sanctified,

we shall judge angels

The Lord took bread . . .

(I Cor 11 : 23 ff.)

*p*present

but you do not act it

but some of you are thieves,

drunkards . . . (I Cor 6 : 11)

many among you are weak

(I Cor 11 : 30)

you were sincere and
innocent
no one should possess
anything

but now . . . (I Clem. 2 : 5)

but since many of you have
possessions (Clem. Hom. 15 : 9)

The ancient church continued this pattern through its entire history. The time of the apostles was a better time than the present. Then there were signs and miracles, which no longer occur today. The church created its canon out of this division between the better primitive christian past and the present that was not of the same value. ,

But there is a second polarization which we can also trace back to the very earliest texts. The present is indeed difficult, but the future will be different. There will be justice, final mercy, salvation. While the present is problematic, a mixture between salvation and perdition, the future will be pure salvation :

$s + p^{\text{present}}$

*things are not as they
should be:*

s^{future}

*there will come a final
salvation:*

For instance,

the church in Corinth has a
dreadful sinner and should
not tolerate him, let alone
boost
(I Cor 6 : 1 ff)

now we see through
a glass darkly

or the eschatological parables :

wheat and chaff

or the writings to the churches in Asia Minor :

the church in Laodicea
worthy to be spewed
out of my mouth (Rev. 3 : 16)

they should surrender him to
Satan so that his spirit
can be saved
(I Cor 5 : 5)

but then face to face
(I Cor 13 : 12)

harvest (Matth. 13 : 24 ff.)

the one who conquers will
sit with me beside my throne
(Rev. 3 : 21)

The entire eschatological dynamic, from Matth. 24 to Did. 16, and through all the eschatological passages of later times, belong to this distinction. But the emerging ethical, and penitential, developments similarly are part of the same divisions :

although the gates of mercy
have been closed

there are certain sins of daily
life to which we are all liable,
and if there was no pardon for them,
there would be no salvation

God allowed some opening,
namely one single
additional penance (Herm. *Mand.*
II 2.5)

and there will be pardon
for them through the inter-
cession of Christ with the
Father (Tert. *De Pud.* 19)

The alternative not only was developed within the penitential framework but in general ethical models as well,

when you are sunk
in the waves of sin

clutching to the plank
will rise you up (Tert. *De Poen.* 4)

In both of these sub-patterns, the past-future polarization is broken up by the present, a difficult present, mixed, at times outright bad. The fourth structural pattern of the salvation schema appears like the following:

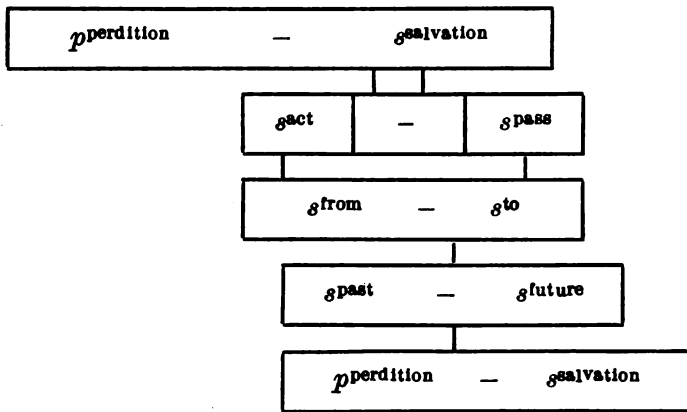


Even in this picture, counter-dynamic elements have to be considered. For instance, the statements that the past was worse and the present is better (Rm 7-8, *Clem. Rec.* 13), or the prophecies that the future first will be terrible again (Matth. 24).

But why should this structural complexity indicate a qualification? Simply because it interrupts the liturgical and mythic sequence of a full fledged salvation religion: Christ is risen; if someone is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old has passed away. Paul had founded one community after another – only to see them torn by strife (I Cor 1:12). He had to learn the hard way that he could not be healed altogether (II Cor 12:16). What he saw in the communities was at times ugly (I Cor 5 and 11). And half a century later, the man who wrote to the churches in Asia Minor saw good things (Rev. 1-3), and he saw bad things, so he was surely being realistic in assigning real change, real solution only to the future (Rev. 21-22). In a way, the full change which was contained in the mythic and ritualistic language of salvation, had not come. People were certainly given a new identity, a new sense of life, a new community and a new ideal. But newness was intricately mixed with conflict, with ugly discord (I Clem. 2ff.), with rivalry even between major apostles (Gal 1-2). The mythic sequence was, in fact, not true. Or it was only partially true.

As we watch the centuries of growth, from the apostles to the age of Nicaea, we discover that the starting point for the whole mythic system, the first alternative between perdition and salvation, returns in the midst of the salvation people. Christians threw rather ugly anathemata against other Christians, against Valentinus, Marcion, Arius, Apollinaris, Nestorius. The canons of Elvira, eighty-one of them, not only disciplined some of the believers but threw many out mercilessly. North Africa, and soon after, Egypt, was in uproar because whole christian groups slandered each other, to the point of murder. What started as a mythic construct of newness ended in the same agonizing mythic and social conflicts with which the movement had begun, except that the conflict between inside and outside by the time of Nicaea had become the conflict among Christian believers. The end differed from the beginnings only in degrees, in its militancy, in its political means

and scope. The conflict arose from the salvation schema that contained all the kernels of turmoil:



This qualification and modification of the salvation sequence was not the result of a seminar in patristic and New Testament soteriology. It was the result of sometimes half-conscious, repressed feelings. It has a great deal to do with the problem of illusion versus social and ethical honesty, a problem that poses itself for any religion, or movement of salvation. For example, the church of Nicaea claimed that it only "vindicates irreproachable characters" (can. 9). That sentence is simply not true. Look at Eusebius of Caesarea, look at Athanasius, on either side of the christological conflict. Now nobody was to point this out, at least not in council procedures. Nobody would relate the incredible statement of can. 9 of Nicaea to soteriology. Linguistic processes evolve in a much more subtle way. Because such statements were felt, must have been felt, only as partially true, salvation statements were qualified. Hence, the future. Hence, the optative. Hence the doctrines and practices of penance, from Hermas to Cassian.

Because salvation statements were qualified, and were not taken in a pure and uncompromising way, the early Christian idea of salvation led to, and was part of, so much anxiety. A religion of salvation promises rebirth, initiation, new life, banquet, joy. Instead, the Christian history of the first four centuries was one of constant hate and schism and curse, along with all the glory, joy and beauty. The qualification of the salvation language points to, and reflects a great deal of tension. Strange observation: that the saved should be so tense. Nietzsche's famous dictum comes to our mind: "they should look more saved, should we believe in their salvation." Our paper has shown that anxiety is indeed part of the salvation structure altogether. The schema would not be so confused, so torn up, if it had not been so. Behind the glorious dynamic of Paul lay an uncertainty that goes through all his writings, from Romans 7 (even if he were to speak only about his past,

my schema has shown that the past is involved in the present!) to his very position as an apostle (II Cor. 10ff.) and to his final admission that he has not reached the goal, but that he was running after the prize still (Phil 2). Behind the dynamic of Augustine, four centuries later, lay a similar anxiety, about his past, about grace, about the Donatists whom he meant to extinguish, about the Pelagians he meant to stop.

Christianity brought a schema along, that represented, with its Jewish past, and with the intellectual and existential astuteness of its founders, a broken system. The patristic development is not a "fall" from New Testament times, but only a sharpening of the conflict. To be sure, with the rise of episcopal power, with the growth in numbers, the anxiety would increase. With the victory over the pagans, the conflict would be internalized, the victim had to be found inside, instead of outside, the churches. But at heart, the qualification was present by the year fifty. Otherwise Paul could have not written, that he did not come to baptize, but to preach the gospel (I Cor. 1. 17). The qualification of salvation belonged to the very schema of Christian salvation.

That the Christian would qualify his own salvation was expressed in one of the crucial models the ancient church perpetuated, namely the double reversal of the death and life metaphor:

he who loses his life	shall gain it
and he who wants to gain his life	shall lose it

The first set is perfectly comprehensible, given the sequence of death and rebirth. The second set qualifies the Christian's search for precisely that life promised in the first couple. The double sentence expresses the kind of qualification we found in the whole schema. The Epistle to Diognetus formulates the qualification in another way:

the Christians have a common table	and yet not common
they obey established laws	and in their own lives surpass the law
every foreign land is to them a fatherland	and every fatherland a foreign land

The qualification and ambiguity of salvation acted as the ever present counter-agent in the Christian religion's rise to power. One cannot build a hierarchy on the conviction that the one who wants to gain his life will lose it. The Christian salvation schema contained, tolerated such qualification. The duality may have made people anxious. It also made the churches vital.

IV

The ancient Christian salvation schema has a center, the model of the *savior*. Without considering the Savior as a mythic model, as an icon, an analysis of the soteriological language would not only be incomplete but outright misleading. The Savior not only illustrates social and ideological presuppositions, as a one-sided intellectualistic observer might assume, but carries the system.

Early Christianity has, at the center, the person of Christ. This person combines the elements we outlined in the previous three parts. He was born and he died. He rose, in the past, and he shall return, in the future. He became man (an act of Incarnation) and he suffered (an act of redemption). He suffered and he won. He cried out and he conquered. He was God and he was Man.

The myth of the Savior combined those particles which the ancient church, and the individual in that church, experienced in tension. The tensions present in the Savior model helped to support one schism after another. The church never fully agreed on the description of its savior. It did not have to. He appeared as one. He had a name, even though the code names were in constant transformations from earliest to latest times: Son of Man – rabbi – Son of God – Word – God – Pantocrator. But iconically, at a given moment, the God-Man figure was not a conglomerate of words; it was one in name, in shape. The Christians had, of course, a whole string of saving models attached to the Savior, intellectual, political, disciplinary, sacramental, mystic. But they did not, they did never say: we have a number of saviors that communicate different salvations and speak to different salvation problems. They had one savior.

The savior was, then, the mythic center that carried the insoluble problems of thought, society and discipline. It was the figure that carried the tension between history and myth. Christ was, originally, the Jesus of Nazareth, an historical person. He was, through the entire period, spoken of as this historical person; the Christians knew and perpetuated the deeds and words of the Gospels. For this synchronic introduction, it does not matter to which degree the mythic elements arose and from where. Nor does it matter exactly how and when the particle of divinity grew, and how the relationship to God the Father was thought of by the early Christians. The model of the savior was historical and mythic, a Jewish rabbi and an incarnate God.

But the savior model contained another unification of components. From earliest times, he was a person. He was born. He was crucified, as the creed always maintained, under Pontius Pilate, and thereby put into a specific time of history in the Empire under Tiberius. But the savior was also spoken about in impersonal words. He was Word, he was spirit, he was Light: Word, Spirit, Light are impersonal models. So is Truth. So is Way. The

Savior combined person and abstraction. As people talked about him, they had two alternatives: either that of historical re-enactment (telling the story of the gospel, repeating, exegeting, reliving the historical deeds), or of theological reduction (seeing their savior as a model of the mind, a symbol of value and meaning).

In an extraordinary fashion, icon and idea come together in the model of the ancient Christian Savior. I am still speaking about the icon of the mind, the mental image, the visual model. "I am the light of the world." A person says these words. Light does not speak. When the Christians heard these words, they heard them spoken; hence they tied in their vision of "light" with the vision of the person saying "light".

As we try to understand this duality between icon and idea in the Savior, we are dealing with a phenomenon that is related to art, i.e., to visual imagination. It is the nature of art that it cannot be separated into content and form. If it is separated into these two particles, it ceases to be art, and it becomes understood, science, art history, art criticism, philosophical investigation, i.e. what I do here in this analysis. The savior model belongs to the world of art because it combined discordant elements and it shaped these elements into a vision. The savior of the Gospel of John, of Ignatius, of the Gospel of Truth, of the Christian liturgy, of the earliest hymns, was both theological content and linguistic shape.

And here lies one more problem of ancient Christian salvation, between the "savior" as theological truth and the "savior" as artistic form. It reveals itself in the ancient Christian iconoclastic dilemma. Tertullian did not want art, because it would lead to idolatry. The canon 36 of Elvira did not want pictures on the walls of Spanish churches. Eusebius of Caesarea did not send Constantine a picture of Christ. The iconic problem in the ancient church had many roots, the Hebraic tradition against images and the contempt of art in Graeco-Roman philosophical circles. Whatever the reason, Christianity was caught in a dilemma as serious as that between myth and history: from Elvira to the iconoclastic controversies of later times, people demanded pictures of Christ even though the leaders did not like them. In fact, the very original model of a savior, of the son of man, of the risen Lord, was a mental picture. A vision. An icon of language. We do not have sufficient evidence about the first two centuries of Christianity. We do know that despite Tertullian's polemic in *De Idololatria*, pictures were created, c.f. the church of Dura Europos, and the Good Shepherd in the Lateran Museum. We know that despite canon 36 of Elvira, the Constantinian age produced pictures (see the catacombs). The very prohibition indicates that pictures were being made. From the Constantinian age on, a rich iconographic tradition is documented.

It is to this iconographic tradition we must turn, because it throws some light on the problems raised in this outline. The visual iconic art expressed the salvation-perdition alternative with which we began this analysis. In the

ivory of the British Museum, the betrayal of Peter is portrayed beside Christ carrying the Cross, and the hanged Judas is next to the crucified Christ. In the sarcophagus of St. Peter's Grotto, Jesus curses the fig tree and heals the woman with the issue of blood. In the mosaic of Apollinare Nuovo, Christ separates the sheep from the goat. This last model, more than any other and repeated in countless variations, to the Church of Torcello and the Sistine Chapel, has put before the Christians the vision of damnation and salvation out of which the entire salvatory schema grew and to which it addressed itself.

• Visual iconic art takes on the great dichotomies we pointed to. Polycarp spoke about Christ as King and as Lamb (*Mart. Pol.* 9. 3). The polarity can be traced everywhere. The savior figure is Pantocrator, figure of imperial might, divine, with the eastern symbol of political divinity, the halo. But he is also the Lamb, symbol of suffering and sacrifice. And now, the iconic world takes these two symbols, victory and defeat, power and suffering, and creates out of them an order of its own. In the cupola of San Vitale, the Lamb is carried by four angels. It becomes a cosmic entity. Close by, on the side wall, we find the priest-king, Melchisedek, with the sacrificial symbols. The sacrifice is cosmic, power is sacrificial. The order of art creates a relation between the two. The icon arose from two sides of our experiences. To be sure, the trend in the icons went toward power. They are next to the Justinian court. They served the clerical, priestly, structure of the church. There was a long way from the rabbi in Mark to the pantocrator of Ravenna, and between the two lies the emergence of the church as an imperial world power. But the savior still stands in the center.

Or take another example. In the triumphal arch of Classe, the image of the pantocrator is next to the Gospel symbols. The personal icon is seen beside the symbolic icon. In the apse of Classe, the figure of Apollinaris (a person) stands in the midst of the sheep (abstract), the church. Above the magnificent cross, the symbol of the transfigured Christ (abstract) stands above the concrete bishop Apollinaris, and the *horizontal* of the lower part (Apollinaris and the sheep) contrasts with the *vertical* of the total composition: the cross is above the bishop, and the hand of God above the cross. The polarization is even present in the cross itself which has the name Jesus written on it. In the structures of Classe verbal and abstract, person and idea are woven into each other.

That process is not merely present in Ravenna, built when the dynamic of Christianity had shifted toward the Byzantine empire. In the catacomb of Priscilla, salvation is represented, in good diaspora tradition, as the icon of the three men in the fiery furnace. In the catacomb of Domitilla, Christ appears as a person. Sarcophagi show at times symbolic salvation, as in the many Jonah specimens (Santa Maria Antiqua), but they also show the savior himself (Vatican Grotto). Santa Maria Maggiore depicts in the nave the sequence of old Israel, surely with some soteriological goal in mind; it pre-

sents in the apse the story of the birth and youth of Jesus. The church creates a visual space for the Christian, between nave and apse. The tension, of course, is not merely one of iconic art, but goes back to the very beginning of Christianity. Paul spoke about Christ in terms of an historical figure. He also spoke about him in terms of Old Testament models, Abraham and Adam.

The savior model in all its divergent trends, is at the center of the salvation schema. The savior is youth (the epiphany sarcophagi and mosaics of Ravenna), baptized youth (the baptisteries of Ravenna). But the Savior is also adult, pantocrator (San Paolo f.l. Mure), Teacher (Pudenziana), law-giver (Mausoleum of Constantia). In the orthodox baptistery of Ravenna, the polarity is between the baptized Jesus and, below, the adult apostles; below the apostles on the four corners, the empty throne; on the throne the folded gown. Baptism is an event of the past, the empty throne points to the future. The baptized wears no clothes; on the empty throne, the purple gown is folded. The mosaics contain polar images of youth and age; past and future, they play with vulnerability (nakedness) and power (the imperial robe). The church itself has a double past, one indicated by the apostles and another by the baptismal christological scene.

And that baptismal scene points to the issue of paganism in ancient Christianity. Beside the baptized stands not only John the baptizer, but the river god Jordan. The icon takes along the pagan past, just as in earlier figures, Orphic elements had been incorporated in the Christ representations (the Ostia sarcophagus, the Aquileja mosaic). The iconic problem was not that much different from the linguistic one in which also pagan elements were constantly incorporated in Christian speech.

In all these variations of the ancient Christian salvation complex, one model stands in the center of both language and vision, society and cult, ideology and art. This model was a *multisema*. It was the code for a broad range of experiences, desire, ideas, social structures. It was expressed in words and in visual shapes. It had personal and communal meaning, it created order.

The model also destroyed order. In Corinth, Paul protested bitterly that the Gospel about Jesus Christ which he had preached led to schism, Apollos, Cephas, Paul, Christ. By the time of Athanasius, and even more so Nestorius and Cyril, the model of Christ was operative in the disruption or breaking up the Christian community. Christ was not merely the model for unity, but for disunity. The age of Chalcedon was not different, in that respect, from the age of Paul. What changed was merely a shift in emphasis; a result of numerical change and of political success. The external perdition had been conquered, the Graeco-Roman cosmos was becoming Christian. But the victory of salvation was Pyrrhic. The schisms became worse, and Jerome, Cyril and Augustine were as full of anxiety as Paul, Clement of Rome and Ignatius had been. When, by the time of Constantine, the persecu-

ted had become the persecutors, the political potential in the salvation schema had come to the fore.

The savior model revealed and supported the extraordinary ambiguity as well as dynamic of ancient Christianity. It could serve clashing groups simultaneously: The baptismal scenes of the Arian and of the Orthodox Baptisteries at Ravenna are, iconically, identical. The savior model could support political resistance and rebellion: Christ is our Emperor, said the martyrs of Scilli to the Roman Court. The model could support autocratic power: Constantine had himself buried with the twelve apostles around him, a final display of religious imperial might. The model could lead to political adjustment and pacific subordination, in the lamb of submission, and in the princely good shepherd of Byzantium. It could point to culture, in Justin's "teacher-Christ" or in the teaching master of Santa Pudenziana. But it could also support counter-culture, in the image of the Savior who left his family and went into the wilderness, into poverty. Christianity grew within a primal tension between religion as canopy for the status quo, and religion as a tool and platform for social and intellectual change. The icon-model-myth of the savior is a perfect example for that conflict.

Christ as δ νόμος $\epsilon\mu\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ in Clement of Alexandria and some trends in current theology

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Several years ago I read various communications to this Conference on the concept of the $\text{Νόμος } \epsilon\mu\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ in ancient Greek philosophy and in the early Fathers. Since then the importance of Law and the nature of the authority of Law have become urgent and disputed questions, not only in Theology, and it seemed to me that the lines I was trying to follow at that time have now a new importance and relevance. I also venture to think that it can now be seen that the ancient concept of the $\text{Νόμος } \epsilon\mu\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$, 'The Living Law', has something of value to contribute to Christian theology. It was, in fact, an unfortunate mistake when, after Clement of Alexandria, the concept and its associated theology passed out of the main stream of Christian thought. This was no doubt due in part to the increasing popularity of Logos theology after Origen and in part to the desire of Christians to present Christianity as a new beginning, *sui generis*, a complete break with or at least decisive re-interpretation of past philosophy, which now showed the real meaning and end of that philosophy.

For this purpose the Logos philosophy of Philo Judaeus lay ready to hand for an Alexandrian theologian as a basis for the theology of a divine-human mediator between God and man, since Philo had both a full Old Testament and Jewish background and also a wide knowledge of Greek philosophy. As it was understood by Philo there could not be two instances of the Supreme Logos – the Logos was unique as the Mind of God, though it might have many manifestations and subordinate logoi as the dynamic and formative principles or powers of creation.

Clement of Alexandria, though he preceded Origen as the head of the Catechetical School there, was it seems an Athenian and he was steeped in the Classical systems of philosophy and in Classical literature, as his writings show. He also knew Philo and his Logos theology, probably more than he wished to acknowledge, as his excerpts, adaptations and modifications indicate, but he sometimes approached Christian theology from a different angle from Origen – the angle not so much of Christology and the Person of Christ, though this was inevitably involved, but of authority and validity in religion and morals.

Theology and the development of doctrine rise out of controversy and debate. The first great controversy in the Christian church centred round the

Jewish Law and its bearing upon the admission of the Gentiles. It naturally also came to involve the question of the status, interpretation and authority of the whole Old Testament. The classic setting of this debate is the Council of Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles about the middle of First Century A.D. and the Letters of St. Paul are contemporary evidence of the nature of the debate and of the course the arguments took. Both the Acts and Paul show that it was a burning question and vital issue at the time and cut very deeply into the Jewish-Christian community and its conscience. It is clear that the Council of Jerusalem did not settle the controversy, since we already see signs of its continuation in the Acts¹, or at least of uncertainty of interpretation in the case of Peter and Barnabas in the Pauline Epistles². It would therefore be likely to be a live issue into the Second Century and an important element in the early formative years of Clement's theology.

The Jewish Christians were in a dilemma about the Law. It was a large and revered part of their Jewish inheritance and tradition. In addition much of it was intrinsically good. Yet it also included things like circumcision and elements of ritual and ceremonial law which could mean nothing to Gentiles outside the Jewish tradition and might well be offensive or apparently silly. If Gentiles were to become Christians, they must obviously be relieved of these elements and yet the value and the authority of the Law must be defended. It could not be scrapped, as Paul argues in Romans VII. 12: "Therefore the law is in itself holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good We know that the law is spiritual".

The Council of Jerusalem tried to formulate a practical solution to enable the missionary work of the church to continue. It also involved an honest facing of the facts by the Jews. This is stated by Peter in Acts XV. 10 when he challenges the Council "Why do you now provoke God by laying on the shoulders of these converts a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?" Neither the Apostles nor their ancestors had been able to keep the Law. What right then or reason had they to impose it on the Gentiles? The Gentiles should be allowed from the start to profit by the Jews' own experience. This is accepted by James and the Council and incorporated in the circular letter sent to the Gentile churches, in which the Apostles disclaimed any desire to be burdensome in this matter³.

Yet the law was revered and good and it would be good for the Gentiles. This must therefore in some way be brought home to the Gentiles and accepted by them. There could be no rejection or abrogation of the Law. For this reason the Council insisted on the four injunctions against idolatry, strangled meat, blood, – and fornication or sexual immorality as elements basically and intrinsically good and to be observed. The decision of the Council was a decision on general policy, not of enforcement, a 'social contract' for which

¹ XVI 1–3.

² Gal. II 11–14.

³ Acts XV. 28.

acceptance had to be won gradually and patiently. Paul for his part argued the case and defended the Law logically, especially in the Epistle to the Romans, with a precision which shows how far Paul was from desiring a total abrogation, whatever he may have felt about circumcision and an unintelligent approach to some of the Law's provisions. The problem was so difficult and yet rooted in the origins of the church that it was not likely to be settled in a few decades in a rapidly expanding community, continually bringing in new pagans unfamiliar with the Jewish background of the Old Testament or with the Old Testament itself. It might take new forms as personalities and circumstances change but it persists in the disputes with Marcion and the Gnostics to the time of Clement.

Clement approaches the problem of the Law from at least as much a Greek position as a Jewish. He knew that law and lawgivers had been a subject of great interest in Greek philosophy and literature from Plato to the Antigone, as well as in political idealism and experiment. He saw parallels with the Jewish Law and Moses its Lawgiver. He naturally turned, for the final solution of the problem, to the history of Greek speculation on the Law and on the basis of its authority. This led to a curious parallel with the Jewish conclusions about law-keeping summed up at the Council of Jerusalem, and to an interesting approach to Christology.

A dominant trend in Greek speculation had been the quest for the Sage or Sage-King, the perfectly wise and good man. He himself would need no external law but he would establish the laws or be the norm by which other men would be guided. But after centuries of thought and search the Greeks had been forced to the conclusion that such a perfectly wise and good man could not be found. It was in fact as impossible to live the life of perfect knowledge, and so of perfect virtue, as it was to keep the Jewish Law. In the Greek schools of philosophy this had come to be as definite and accepted a conclusion as was the decision of the Council of Jerusalem that all past and present Jews had failed to keep the Law, and that it was useless and unjust to impose it on the Gentiles, since it would be equally impossible for them to keep it. It is noteworthy that it is St. Luke, or at any rate the author of Luke-Acts, who gives this careful account of the Council of Jerusalem and its decision about the impossible burden of the Law for all Jews, for he was the most Greek of all the authors of the Gospels and shows evidence of familiarity with the Sage-King, Living Law, speculation.⁴

But for Clement, the heir of both traditions, a new element intervenes at this point. Jesus had lived and taught in Palestine. He fulfilled for Christians the Jewish conviction that there would one day be one who would keep the Law perfectly – the Messiah. He came to fulfil all righteousness⁵, to keep and advocate the perfect keeping of the Law⁶. It was the faith and experience

⁴ *Studia Patristica* VI p. 188ff. "*Νόμος Ἐμψυχός*: Marcion, Clement and St. Luke". – *Studia Evangelica* II p. 628ff. "A Motif of Greek Philosophy in Luke-Acts".

⁵ Mt. III 15.

⁶ Mt. V.

of Christians that he *had* so done. Here then for Clement was also the Sage. He *had* been found⁷.

Clement naturally goes on to interpret the Messiah in terms of the philosophy of the Sage and to fuse the Jewish and Greek traditions while loudly claiming the superiority, antiquity and authority of the Bible. This he was able to do in terms of the concept of the Sage as Living Law, *ὁ νόμος ἐμψυχος*, which Greek speculation had developed. No known man had matched up to their picture of the Sage – if any did, he would be the Law that is living, *ὁ νόμος ἐμψυχος*. Obedience to the laws of perfect nature would not be ‘second nature’ to him, not perfectly learnt and acquired by effort, but his whole nature from start to finish. At each stage of his development he would be perfect for that stage and so he would grow up into the perfect man in all respects. He would be living in accordance both with the Law of Nature in the Universe, God’s law in creation, and with the law of his own nature, equally God’s law in creation. He would in fact be living in accordance with, and following, the law of God written into all creation, without any consciousness of compulsion or obedience at all.

In both the Hebrew and the Greek traditions the emphasis had been on ethics and conduct – the Jewish Law and lawkeeper sought the holy worship and service of a holy God, and holiness they came to interpret as righteous living according to the Law and God’s commandments therein. The Greeks sought the perfectly just and moral life lived by the one who has perfect knowledge and therefore knows how to live the perfect life of virtue. This directed their speculation towards practical issues concerned with conduct and living and to the investigation of the nature and basis of the authority of law, rather than to metaphysical theorising about the divine nature or the union of human and divine natures.

In previous communications I tried to trace the origin and history of the concept of “The Living Law” and ideas associated with it⁸. It seems to have been prevalent in Neo-Pythagorean circles in the First Century B.C. from such authors as Ecphantus, Diotogenes, Sthenidas and Archytas⁹ and appears in Cicero as *lex animans*¹⁰. It was taken up by Philo in his theology of the Patriarchs and made a leading concept in his interpretation of Moses as Lawgiver. For Philo, who on account of his idealising the ancient patriarchs, does not seem to have had the usual Greek conviction that such a sage could not be found, Moses was *ὁ νόμος ἐμψυχος* par excellence¹¹.

Clement of Alexandria takes up this concept of the Sage as the Living Law in the *Stromateis* and applies it to Jesus, showing how Jesus alone, not

⁷ *Studia Patristica* VI p. 188ff., especially 191–2.

⁸ *Studia Patristica* Vol. I Pt. I p. 515 “The Philonic Patriarchs as *Νόμος Ἐμψυχος*”. – *Studia Patristica* IX p. 88 “The Basis of Ethics: Chrysippus and Clement of Alexandria”.

⁹ *Studia Patristica* Vol. I Pt. I p. 515ff. – *Studia Patristica* IX p. 88ff.

¹⁰ *Studia Patristica* IX p. 90.

¹¹ *Studia Patristica* Vol. I p. 515ff. – *Studia Patristica* IX p. 88ff.

the Sage, not Moses, really fills the bill. He gives each element in the tradition a Christian turn and interpretation¹². Jesus is by his personality and life self-evident, self-authenticating as the Living Law. In a previous communication I tried to show how Clement attempted to argue and prove this in *Stromateis* II. 18. 3–19. 4¹³.

I would like to suggest that it was an unfortunate turn when theology eventually after Clement moved away from this concept for the interpretation of Jesus to that of Logos, from νόμος ἐμψυχος to σὰρξ γενόμενος, with the ensuing logical definitions of the relationship of the two natures in Christ. The whole of this process has been critically examined by Professor M. F. Wiles in "The Remaking of Christian Doctrine" and needs no further emphasis here. But it is worth noting that it is a common charge brought against Christianity in one form or another by many who are not pre-eminently theologians that Christianity laid too much emphasis on the intellectual and too little on the emotional, as Dr. Jack Dominion has alleged with regard to his sphere of psychology and marriage – or too concerned with the finer points of an academic theology than with either living or living religion. From a consideration of the New Testament we could conclude that Jesus was more concerned with conduct and ethics and their pattern and authority, than with metaphysics and logic.

Obviously any interpretation of Christ has to satisfy what Professor Wiles calls "the central core of faith", "that in the death and resurrection of Christ God had worked effectively in history to transform once for all man's status (or at the very least man's potential status) in relation to God"¹⁴. This immediately involves the doctrine of the Atonement and in some forms of this doctrine law has always held an important place. Professor Wiles makes some interesting remarks about this law. He says "it cannot be understood as something that exists on its own over against God It can only mean those principles which are necessary for the achievement of the genuinely personal realities which are God's purpose for the world. Moral evil disrupts social harmony the social framework of God's intended order"¹⁵. But the normal ideas of fixed penalties enforced by law make no sense in relation to God's dealings with the world, even analogically understood. Professor Wiles argues from this that "the need for a once-for-all objective act" to meet God's demands is "inappropriate" and "lacking in cogency".

Clement, and indeed some of his pagan predecessors, had seen and forestalled these difficulties when they found that the only full and satisfactory obedience lay in *being* Living Law. If it be said that such a conception is

¹² *Studia Patristica* IX p. 88 ff.

¹³ *Studia Patristica* VI p. 191–6; *Studia Patristica* IX p. 88; *Studia Evangelica* II p. 628 'A Motif of Greek Philosophy in Luke-Acts'.

¹⁴ *The Remaking of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 62–3.

¹⁵ pp. 65–6.

subjective and lacking in the historical once-for-all effects of the Atonement, there is evidence, as I tried to show in earlier communications, of a belief in redemptive effects wrought by the Living Law both in Philo's theory of the rôle of the Patriarchs and also in the Neo-Pythagorean concept of the Sage-King. They had a continuing redemptive, harmonising, reconciling, transforming effect on the souls of men by virtue of what they were¹⁶.

To some extent this was due to suffering and sacrifice in their lives, which would involve the acknowledgment that suffering is no derogation from perfection and that it is therefore compatible with God's nature, as well as part of his will for the created world and men. Professor Wiles argues that this was not as impossible an idea for the ancients, as it is normally held to be. He refers to Hosea's suffering love of his disloyal wife, which Hosea seems to regard as parallel to Yahweh's suffering love for his disloyal people¹⁷. Professor A. A. Long in his book 'Hellenistic Philosophy' shows that total impassivity was not regarded as an essential element in divine perfection¹⁸. Such an analogy as that of Hosea between his love for his wife and God's own love for men, and the evidence of belief in redemptive suffering in Philo, the Neo-Pythagoreans and the Stoics would therefore not be impossible.

I suggest that it might have been better for the long-term development of Christology and Redemption doctrine, if the uniqueness of Christ and his divinity had continued to be seen in the light of this personal, dynamic, biological-ethical concept of Clement and ancient philosophical tradition rather than in terms of the Logos. To interpret Christ in terms of Logos philosophy necessitated making what was an impersonal, logical and static concept into a personal concept of a unique kind by the logical construction of a new kind of personality and existence built out of the mind of God, which was itself reasonably called Logos. Such a construction of a personalised Logos could hardly be regarded as anything else than 'a second God'. What else to anyone but a theologian could a second mind of God be? The Living Law on the contrary is a 'natural' concept, no less unique, no less perfect, with cosmic reference, God-equal and yet involving no such processes as Kenosis or formal legalistic interpretations of the Atonement. These, while they seem formally to satisfy God's honour and the repayment due to him for our disobedient infringements of his will and commandments, may at the same time seem to be an insult to his intelligence and an intolerable limitation on his compassionate love. The whole law of God in creation is actually fulfilled in living, by the Living Law, as it is otherwise only lived by God. The one therefore who so lived is equal to God and divine.

Such a concept and such an interpretation of Christ would more easily fit into our modern way of interpreting the universe, and God's working in it, in

¹⁶ *Studia Patristica* Vol. I Pt I, pp. 520–521.

¹⁷ pp. 71–2.

¹⁸ pp. 206–7.

the light of natural science as a universe governed by laws, all ultimately in theory open to our knowledge. In our multi-racial and multi-cultural world when all religions are it seems to have parity of esteem, it would meet the need for a new faith in Natural Law and its authority, and for a new understanding of its place in religion.

La διαλογία des Marcelliens dans le *Panarion*, 72

C. RIGGI, Rome

En rapport avec la commémoration récente du XVI^e centenaire de la mort de Marcel d'Ancyre, je me suis proposé d'en rappeler la personnalité discutée¹, à la lumière de la recherche, ζήτησις, épiphanienne dans le *Panarion*, 72. C'est par cet écrit, composé comme on le sait vers l'an 377, que nous apprenons la date de sa mort: depuis environ deux ans, ἀπὸ δύο ἐτῶν . . . ἢ πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω (72, 1)².

Les expressions auxquelles recourt Epiphane sont plutôt ambiguës³. Il accuse Marcel d'avoir donné aux Ariens l'occasion de l'assimiler à Sabellius (condamné en effet avec Marcel dans la troisième formule du synode *in encaeniis*) et à Navatus (égalé à Marcel par un fragment attribué à Ammonius par la chaîne de Cordier sur saint Jean). Mais il avoue en même temps que sa conception trinitaire n'était pas, d'une façon évidente, gâtée par l'hérésie monarchienne, ὀλίγην δέ τινα ἔνοιαν ὑπέφαινεν οὗτος . . . De plus, il semble déplorer que sa pensée si peu hérétique ait soulevé, à son propos, tant de questions, διὸ πολλή περὶ τούτου ζήτησις γέγονεν (*ib.*)⁴.

Ces expressions ambiguës, et d'autres que nous rencontrons par la suite, semblent, toutefois, s'éclaircir par le sourire que le saint de Salamine vit briller sur le visage d'Athanase, en réponse à l'interpellation qui lui avait été

¹ Cfr. *Panarion*, *haer.* 72, 1, GCS 37/255: ἀλλ' ὁρθῶς αὐτὸν βεβιωκέναι καὶ φρονήματι αὐτὸν ὁρθῶς ἔχειν . . . La réalité de l'hérésie sabellienne, comme on sait, après Nicée fut représentée par Marcel d'Ancyre, dont les procès instruits s'appuyaient cependant moins sur des accusations de caractère strictement personnel que sur des motifs d'ordre théologique. Ce fait ne semble assez remarquable, parce qu'il nous explique la sympathie dissimulée d'Epiphane sur la personnalité de l'évêque d'Ancyre, du reste vigoureux défenseur de la foi orthodoxe et apprécié homme d'Eglise, injustement peut-être déposé et exilé pour sa fermeté contre les Ariens. Enfin, le canon I du second concile œcuménique à Constantinople en 381 le condamna comme hérétique; le concile de Sardique l'avait justifié, au contraire, de toute accusation d'hérésie, cfr. *Epist. synod. Sardic. Or.* 2.

² Il mourut donc vers 374, cfr. J. Quasten, *Initiation aux pères de l'église*, Paris 1963, vol. III, p. 288.

³ Même le concile de Sardique (343-344) avait reproché à Marcel de « mêler l'erreur de Sabellius, la malice de Paul de Samosate et les blasphèmes de Montan en un système confus », cfr. CSEL 65, 50.

⁴ Cfr. la susdite encyclique de Sardique, selon laquelle Marcel avait avancé ses propositions « en manière de recherche », et il n'avait jamais prétendu ni que le Verbe de Dieu tenait son commencement ni que son royaume aurait une fin, o.c. 6, CSEL 65/117-118.

faite concernant le personnage contesté. Athanase lui aurait ainsi fait entendre que, bien que Marcel d'Ancyre eût prêté la flanc à la dite accusation, en raison de « ce qu'il avait vomi depuis le début, ἀξὺ παραχῆς ἐξήμνησεν », celui-ci ne s'était pas toutefois éloigné beaucoup de l'orthodoxie, ἐν ὀλίγῳ (73, 1, et cfr. 72, 4: μὴ μακράν).

Cependant, à mon avis, les dites expressions s'éclaircissent encore davantage lorsque Epiphane, parlant de l'apologie écrite par les Marcelliens vers 373, a l'air de s'en remettre à leur διαλογία, c'est-à-dire à la *figura sententiae*, qui selon lui enchaîne le discours avec une structure logiquement agencée⁵, et qui, donc, a porté aussi les Marcelliens à argumenter correctement, en modifiant des expressions qui étaient contraires à la vraie foi, ἕτερα παρὰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας (72, 1).

Mais Marcel avait-il, lui aussi, rectifié ses expressions théologiques qui frisaient l'hérésie sabellienne, ὥς ὑπὸ τὸν Σαβέλλιον τῷ φρονήματι (ib.)? Quelle a été alors sa cohérence dialectique, dans ses discours d'apologie, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀπολογία διαλογία (72, 12)? S'était-il vraiment éloigné petit à petit du langage monarchien, à mesure que l'occasion se présentait, en vue d'éviter les condamnations de l'Eglise, ἵνα μὴ ἐκπέσῃ διὰ τῆς καθαιρέσεως τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐπισκόπων συλλόγον (72, 4)? Ou bien avait-il suivi, dans ce cas, une « économie »⁶ trompeuse d'adaptation, convaincante encore que lui même n'en était guère persuadé, ἵνα παρακρύψῃ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐρηθέντα (ib.)?

Tels sont les problèmes que le *Panarion* nous pose tout en les laissant, à première vue, en suspens. Cependant, dans l'article qui fait l'objet de cette enquête, nous pouvons, peut-être, trouver la clef du mystère: pour argumenter, les Marcelliens employaient comme arme coutumière la διαλογία, qui, selon le lexique épiphaniien, n'enveloppe jamais un discours de formes trompeuses⁷. Dans une διαλογία parfaite, les disciples de Marcel ne pouvaient pas dissimuler une théologie hétérodoxe par une « économie » trompeuse d'adaptation⁸; et Marcel, lui aussi, dut mûrir sa pensée en vertu d'une évolution intérieure, suite à des approfondissements ultérieurs⁹.

⁵ Cfr. C. Riggi, « Dialogé » come « figura sententiae » nel *Panarion*, Augustinianum 1974 (14), pp. 549–558.

⁶ Cfr. G. W. H. Lampe, *A patristic Greek lexicon*, s. v. οἰκονομία.

⁷ Tel, pour Epiphane, le discours d'Aèce, qui n'est pas construit par la διαλογία du biblique *genus dicendi simplex*, mais par la διαλεκτικὴ πλάνη des discours sophistiques.

⁸ Cfr. *haer.* 72, 12, GCS 37/267: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀπολογία διαλογῆς ἔσφαλται τινα . . .

⁹ Marcel peut-être a été peu à peu convaincu par les critiques de ses adversaires — bien que, orthodoxe d'intention, il ait versé dans l'hérésie. Cfr. M.-D. Chenu, dans « Dictionnaire de théologie catholique », tome 9, 2 partie s. v. *Marcel d'Ancyre*, c. 1997: « Tout occupé de la consubstantialité, il néglige les autres éléments de la tradition chrétienne . . . , il élabore une spéculation suspecte . . . Athanase eut raison d'abandonner un partenaire compromettant; et, tout en insistant sur les différences qu'Eusèbe lui-même, son adversaire, marquait déjà dans son rapprochement entre Marcel, Paul et Sabellius, *De eccl. theol.*, III, 6, on ne peut nier la parenté de sa doctrine avec les formes diverses du modalisme monarchien. Dieu est une monade, absolument une, indivisible, c'est de là qu'il faut partir, et non d'une pluralité divine, selon les opinions propres d'Origène ».

En vérité, comme l'insinue l'expression *δτι* du paragraphe 4¹⁰, qui évoque peut-être non des renseignements fondés, mais seulement des notices hypothétiques, Epiphane ignore ce qui a pu induire Marcel à un langage théologique ambigu, parce qu'il peut se référer seulement à des bruits sur sa mauvaise réputation. Dieu seul le sait, écrit Epiphane¹¹; mais enfin il ne veut pas juger Marcel sur les apparences, abandonnant la question aux savants, *τοῖς φιλομαθέσι* (72, 12).

Il nous est donc permis d'en chercher la solution. En réalité, Epiphane, en répétant les accusations des Orientaux, ne veut pas pour autant se compromettre ni avec les ennemis de Marcel, tels Basile le Grand et d'autres Pères opposés au consubstantiel, ni avec les Nicéens, tels le pape de Rome et d'autres Occidentaux amis d'Athanase et de Marcel. Il se borne, d'une part, à confesser de n'avoir pas réussi à pénétrer dans tant de questions subtiles, *λεπτολογήματα* (72, 10); d'autre part, il ne souligne jamais l'absence ou la présence des traits trinitaires ou christologiques qui, à son avis, devraient intégrer ou changer la doctrine des Marcelliens et de Marcel.

Epiphane ici se pose en polémiste, *οικονομίας ἕνεκα*, pour des raisons de stratégie ecclésiastique; mais implicitement il juge Marcel en le présentant sous son vrai jour, celui de l'économie. On ne peut se tromper sur ses expressions inspirées de la figure de la tapinose si courante chez lui. En outre, l'auteur du *Panarion* donne quelques réponses implicites, même sur la théologie de Marcel. Après tout, même la disposition de notre article n'est pas défavorable à une doctrine, comptée parmi les hérésies seulement parce que soupçonnée de sabellianisme.

Le monothéisme trinitaire de Marcel n'est pas présenté, par Epiphane, comme gâté par des teintes modalistico-monarchiennes, tel qu'on pourrait le lire dans les fragments recueillis par Klostermann dans le GCS¹², ou comme l'a souvent remarqué Loofs¹³, dont la thèse est loin d'être démontrée. Ayant omis, dans son exposition, de citer des documents négatifs, Epiphane se limite à proposer: 1) l'apologie composée par Marcel d'Ancyre en 341, dans une épître au pape Jules contre les antinichéens qui l'avaient accusé d'avoir pensé contre la foi (72, 2); 2) l'antilogie composée par Acace de Césarée contre Marcel, citée là où Acace rapporte, en les réfutant, des paroles de Marcel contre Astérius; 3) l'apologie des disciples de Marcel qui demandaient la communion des confesseurs exilés à Diocésarée.

On ne trouve pas grand' chose à reprendre dans le premier document; le second est cité, mais sans des blâmes particuliers pour Marcel; le troisième n'est pas de toute façon repoussé, bien que Marcel, peut-être, n'aurait jamais

¹⁰ Cfr. GCS 37/259: ἡ *δτι* μὲν τῷ λιβέλλῳ ἐκόσμησεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους...

¹¹ Cfr. *Panarion*, haer. 72, 1, GCS 37/255: καὶ τὰ μὲν κρύφια τῆς ἐννοίας θεῶ ἐγνωσται...

¹² E. Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 4, Berlin 1906, pp. 183–214.

¹³ F. Loofs, *Die Trinitätslehre Marcells von Ancyra und ihr Verhältnis zur älteren Tradition*, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin 1902, pp. 764–781.

signé la confession de ses disciples. Bien plus, l'antilogie d'Acace est citée avec des réticences significatives. A mon avis, ce silence d'Epiphane sur les brèves paroles de Marcel est bien éloquent, encore que soit limité l'argument du silence. L'auteur du *Panarion*, en effet, se limite à rapporter les expressions de Marcel, qu'il fait suivre toutefois d'une longue contestation d'Acace, sans rien y ajouter. En outre, l'apologie des Marcelliens est louée en tant qu'appuyée sur une logique sérieuse, ouverte, disponible et consciente, qu'il appelle *διαλογία*. Dans cet écrit, donc, Epiphane dut retrouver la structure déjà présente dans l'apologie composée par Marcel en 341 car le discours rédigé vers 373 maintient à peu près le même procédé d'adaptation, dans les limites du juste milieu entre Arius et Sabellius.

En réalité, Marcel peut-être n'aurait pas partagé le jugement d'Epiphane concernant le troisième document. On pourrait interpréter de cette façon l'expression *αὐτὸς μὴ κατεληφώς* de 72, 10, en référant l'*αὐτός* à Marcel et non à Epiphane, et en interprétant l'expression dans le sens que jamais l'évêque d'Ancyre n'aurait pu signer la confession de ses disciples, ce qui aurait signifié qu'il ratifiait ce que lui-même avait expressément condamné. Toutefois, Epiphane cueillit bien l'esprit de Marcel, dans la *διαλογία* « économique » de ses disciples ; bien plus, en apercevant le même esprit d'adaptation dans la disponibilité à se rétracter sur les trois *πρόσωπα* et à condamner la doctrine originaire du *πλατυσμός* et de la *συστολή* (72, 11), il devait considérer le premier document conforme à la spiritualité de la profession de foi écrite par les Marcelliens, lorsque ceux-ci composèrent cette apologie pour les confesseurs de Diocésarée en 373.

Mais il ne nous apparaît pas non plus que leur chef de file, ni avant son apologie, écrite pour le pape Jules en 341, ni après des nouveaux ajustements, que nous pouvons soupçonner, ait condamné la doctrine susdite de la dilatation et de la réabsorption, ou la terminologie monarchienne s'opposant aux trois *πρόσωπα* (72, 11). Peut-être, Marcel n'a-t-il jamais appelé puissance personnelle, *δύναμις ἐνπρόστατος* (*ib.*) le Logos du Père ; il est certain cependant qu'il n'a jamais « anathématisé ceux qui appelaient le Fils dilatation et réabsorption ou énergie du Père », comme effectivement font ses disciples dans le troisième document susdit (72, 11).

Epiphane, ici, ne nous dit pas si les disciples ont suivi l'« économie », c'est-à-dire la voie d'adaptation, tracée par leur maître. Mais pour lui, la doctrine des Marcelliens ne mérite pas d'être condamnée comme hérétique, bien que leur apologie en ait déclaré les erreurs. Ces paroles, assez sophistiquées, se réfèrent à tous les Marcelliens. Si, en réalité, ils n'avaient pas fait des erreurs contre la droite raison ou contre l'esprit de paix, pourquoi les avoir obligés à faire des apologies ? ¹⁴.

Et pourtant, il est possible qu'Epiphane, en effet, réfère ces paroles comme un lieu commun des apologies et des antilogies, parce que le fait de devoir se

¹⁴ Epiphane écrit ces paroles dans le premier paragraphe, en les référant seulement à Marcel.

défendre, ne pouvait pas, pour lui, signifier ni que Marcel avait été en faute, ni qu'il s'était avoué coupable, ni même que son langage était plein de *λόγοι τινές ταρασσόντες*, c.-à.-d. plein de confusion et d'erreur¹⁵. En outre, si Marcel ne mérita jamais, selon Epiphane, d'être condamné en raison de son entêtement, même le susdit contexte hypothétique doit probablement être interprété dans un sens bienveillant, comme une *hypothèse* antimarcellienne, dont l'apodose concernant les apologies est sûre. On peut y voir un sourire compréhensif, caché comme sous le visage d'un bourru bienfaisant: les silences d'Epiphane, dans sa structure expositive (qu'il appelle aussi *διαλογία*)¹⁶, on le sait, sont souvent très éloquents.

Certes, l'évêque de Salamine ne dut pas partager l'accusation d'Acace concernant le langage, à son gré presque antropomorphique, de Marcel, comme si celui-ci avait conçu l'image du Père sans mouvement ni vie, comme celle qui sort des mains d'un peintre ou d'un sculpteur. Ici, surtout, le silence de notre théologien de l'image¹⁷ apparaît éloquent: il s'abstient d'adhérer ouvertement aux critiques de l'homéen Acace contre Marcel, mais il est certain qu'implicitement il stigmatise, comme inconvenante, sa négation de l'image *ἀπαράλλακτος*¹⁸. Pourtant, il sait bien que Marcel observe les règles du langage théologique, par le recours à l'affirmation, à la négation et à l'éminence; que tout au plus il a péché par un excès opposé, usant d'un langage qui parle de Dieu sans les réserves requises.¹⁹

En premier lieu, en effet, Marcel d'Ancyre s'interdit, autant que possible, l'usage des appellatifs bibliques: Fils, Fils Unique, Premier né, etc. Ensuite, il nie la licéité du vocable hypostase pour le Verbe, parce qu'il estime ce mot contraire à l'affirmation de la monarchie divine. Enfin, Marcel radicalise l'exigence de nier en affirmant d'une façon éminente, jusqu'à réduire le concept de vie divine à la dialectique du *πλατυσμός* et de la *συστολή*, de la dilatation et de la réabsorption. Du Verbe ainsi conçu comme *δύναμις*, Marcel fut très loin de nier la vie, le mouvement autocinétique, coéternel au Père. Bien plus, il défendit la vie supériorité de l'image du Père, jusqu'au point d'accuser les Ariens d'avoir conçu l'idée d'un Verbe de seconde catégorie,

¹⁵ Cette expression d'Epiphane est répétée dans les 1^o et 4^o paragraphe, et le retentissement des deux discours me semble l'écho du même *τόπος*.

¹⁶ Cfr. *Haer.* 20, 4 et mon art. cité sur la *διαλογία*, p. 556.

¹⁷ Cfr. C. Raggi, *Il linguaggio teologico in Epifanio di Salamina*, dans Vari, *Il linguaggio teologico oggi*, Milan 1970, pp. 173-204.

¹⁸ Cfr. *haer.* 72, 6 ss., GCS 37/260-264.

¹⁹ Les Occidentaux se rendirent compte que le contexte de Marcel, au point de vue doctrinal, énonçait enfin des principes exégétiques orthodoxes. Saint Basile, chef de file des Orientaux, demandait à Athanase de faire condamner la doctrine de Marcel comme « pernicieuse et hors de la vraie foi », *Epist.* 69, 2; mais on sait que le pape d'Alexandrie, quand on lui parlait de Marcel, se contentait de répondre par un sourire, en dévoilant un esprit non prévenu par les jugements fâcheux portés sur Marcel par les verdicts tenaces des Orientaux. Epiphane ne parle pas d'une diverse position d'Athanase après l'incident de Photin, cfr. *Fragment historique*, II, 21, PL 10/650, Feder, p. 146.

c'est-à-dire d'un autre Verbe de Dieu, d'une autre Sagesse et Puissance: *ἕτερον αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι, ἕτεραν σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν* (72, 2).

Ainsi même dans le second document, la polémique de Marcel contre Astère semble structurée selon les règles qu'Epiphane appelle de la *διαλογία*, en se référant peut-être à la structure, synergiquement balancée et harmonieuse, du langage biblique, et particulièrement du psautier, *iucundum Deo eloquium*²⁰. En effet, l'évêque d'Ancyre veut aussi lui, tout compte fait, faire une confession de louange en célébrant l'ineffabilité de Dieu. Bien que la *διαλογία*, sur laquelle se développe la polémique de Marcel contre Astère, ne fût peut-être pas complètement acceptée par l'évêque de Chypre, sa structure logique et théologique n'est pas très différente de celle louée par Epiphane. En effet, Marcel niait l'image du Père avec une certaine logique, ou cohérence, en rapport avec sa doctrine qui concevait Dieu d'une façon trop abstraite. De la susdite *διαλογία* il avait surtout la disponibilité à la vérité, l'approfondissement dans le for intérieur et extérieur du message biblique, l'amour respectueux de l'investigation théologique, en ce que Dieu est susceptible de recherches.

En fait, ce langage honnête n'est pas toujours juste et correct, parce qu'il contient tant de résonances de la gnose valentinienne et peut-être du mépris platonicien de la matière²¹; mais son dynamisme ontologique de la dilatation et de la réabsorption du Logos, bien qu'il ne se tienne pas à l'écart du danger d'hérésie, n'est pas loin de la *logos-theologie* alexandrine; et en conclusion, Marcel ne fut jamais le négateur *vitandus* des trois hypostases divines, ni l'incorrigible héritier du monarchianisme sabellien, ni le contestateur obstiné de la doctrine catholique du Verbe-Image.

Cohérent par rapport à sa propre conscience et dans le dialogue avec les autres, il fut cependant une pierre d'achoppement pour les Orientaux. Pour les Occidentaux, au contraire, il fut un défenseur de la Monade Indivise, dont Epiphane peut louer l'esprit de dialogue, méthodiquement disponible à se ranger avec l'Eglise, c.-à.-d. la *διαλογία*.

Epiphane confesse son insuffisante compréhension, sans prétensions. Mais, enfin, son dialogue polémique avec l'évêque d'Ancyre se structure en esprit de bienveillance: sans opérer la fusion des griefs occidentaux et orientaux, mais ancré toujours à l'« économie » d'Athanase.

²⁰ Cfr. *Ps.* 103 (104), vv. 34-35.

²¹ Cfr. *haer.* 72, 9, GCS 37/263: *ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα ταῦτα ἀφανίζει ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ...*

Baptism of Desire in Ambrose and Augustine

W. G. RUSCH, New York

Baptism of desire (also known as baptism of charity, baptism of faith, conversion of the heart) is a topic of renewed interest and discussion in contemporary Christian theology because of the present awareness of other world religions and of the minority status of the Christian faith in this religious pluralism. In our day "baptism of desire" includes God's vast action to save and sanctify men outside the visible limits of the church. It is regarded as a means to assert simultaneously both the affirmation of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, since it does not bring its recipients into full membership in a believing community, and the notion that individuals cheated by time and space are not automatically denied God's mercy.¹ Thus persons who through no fault of their own do not know Christ or the church, yet desire God and are moved by his grace, may attain salvation because their faith in God is counted for them as the baptism of desire.

The antecedents of this concept and its earlier evolution are discernible in the history of Christian thought. Thomas Aquinas speaks of the desire for baptism (*desiderium baptismi*) and its sufficiency for salvation.² Pope Innocent III taught an identical view, as did the Council of Trent.³ But a reading of these texts discloses that the idea of "baptism of desire" has not always been understood by its present definition. In the medieval period and earlier, the notion of baptism of desire was applied to a person who had heard the gospel and desired to be baptized, but died before receiving the sacrament. Baptism of desire provided the possibility of salvation for such a person. The conditions were contrition, or perfect charity, accompanied by a wish for baptism. If these were present in an adult catechumen, he was justified even before the reception of baptism. Therefore if he was deprived of baptism without any fault of his own, he attained eternal reward. This earlier usage of the term had no direct connection with the salvation of those who were ignorant of Christianity. Such a view would have been unthinkable until the

¹ Gregory Baum, "Baptism of Desire" *Sacramentum Mundi*; ed. Karl Rahner *et al.* (New York, 1968), I, pp. 144-6.

² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3 a. 66, 11; 3a 68, 2.

³ These texts are conveniently collected in Henry Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari under title *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* (St. Louis and London, 1957), pp. 388, 413, 796. See also *DTC*, II, 2, 2239 seq.

discovery of the New World raised the question with some urgency. Until the fifteenth century the usual assumption was that the entire world had been evangelized.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the origins of this more limited understanding of baptism of desire. The first explicit reference to such teaching is found among the writings of Ambrose of Milan in his *De Consolatione Valentiniani*, also entitled *De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*.⁴ This moving funeral sermon was preached in late July, or more likely August of 392, when the body of the young Emperor Valentinian was brought to Milan for burial.⁵ Ambrose was genuinely fond of Valentinian. In fact he was on route to baptize the Emperor who was in Vienne, when he learned of his sudden death, probably murder. In the sermon Ambrose refers to these events. He is addressing Valentinian's sisters Justa and Grata⁶:

51 Sed audio vos dolere, quod non acceperit sacramenta baptismatis. dicite mihi quid aliud in vobis est, nisi voluntas, nisi petitio? atqui etiam dudum hoc voti habuit, ut cum in Italiam venisset, initiaretur; et proxime baptizari se a me velle significavit et ideo prae ceteris causis me acciendum putavit. non habet ergo gratiam quam desideravit, non habet quam poposcit? et quia poposcit, accepit. et unde illus est: Iustus quacumque morte praeventus fuerit, anima eius in requie erit.

52 Solve igitur, Pater sancte, munus servo tuo, quod Moyses quia in spiritu vidit, accepit; quod David, quia ex revelatione cognovit, meruit. solve, inquam, servo tuo Valentiniano munus quod concupivit, munus quod poposcit sanus, robustus, incolumis. si affectus aegritudine distulisset, tamen non penitus a tua misericordia esset alienus, qui celeritate temporis esset, non voluntate, fraudatus solve ergo servo tuo munus tuae gratiae, quam ille numquam negavit qui ante diem mortis templorum privilegia denegavit, his urgentibus quos revereri posset, adstabat virorum caterva gentilium, supplicabat senatus: non metuebat hominibus displicere ut tibi soli placeret in Christo. qui habuit Spiritum tuum, quomodo non accepit gratiam tuam?

53 Aut si quia solemniter non sunt celebrata mysteria, hoc movet, ergo nec martyres, si catechumeni fuerint, coronantur; non enim coronantur, si non initiantur. quod si suo abluuntur sanguine et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.

On the basis of these sections of *De Consolatione Valentiniani*, it is clear that Ambrose does teach a doctrine of the sufficiency of baptism of desire. Ambrose states that Valentinian received the grace he desired. Nevertheless, the prayer in section 52 could imply that the measure of that mercy is not as great as that which would be received by the sacrament of baptism. Also Ambrose connects baptism of desire with the concept of baptism of blood. The commonplace teaching of the church by his day that martyrs are washed by their blood seems to supply a precedent for the thought that piety and desire also can wash the unbaptized.⁷ Note section 53. In addition Valentinian

⁴ P. L., XVI, 1347-84 and Thomas A. Kelly, *Sancti Ambrosii Liber De Consolatione Valentiniani: A Text with a translation, introduction and commentary* ("The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies," Vol. LVIII; Washington, D. C., 1940).

⁵ Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ Latin text is from Kelly, *ibid.*, pp. 216-7.

⁷ Baptism of blood as a substitute for baptism of water is a common point of view by the fourth century. It is also considered a remedy for sins committed after water baptism. See

was a catechumen. Whether Ambrose would have extended his teaching of baptism of desire to those not so enrolled is an unanswered question. The quotation from Wisdom of Solomon 4 : 7 at the conclusion of section 51 is an obvious attempt to find a scriptural basis for baptism of desire, but only a forced exegesis of the passage could lend support to Ambrose's position. As far as I am aware this is the only place in the Ambrosian corpus where baptism of desire is expounded.⁸

It is not surprising that the next reference to baptism of desire in patristic literature is from the pen of Augustine. The relationship between the two men and Ambrose's influence on the Bishop of Hippo are well known.⁹ In *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* 4, 21 Augustine agreed with Cyprian's earlier teaching that martyrdom is a complete baptism for catechumens.¹⁰ He then comments on Cyprian's interpretation of Luke 23 : 43 in the next chapter.¹¹

22 Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem de latrone illo, cui non baptizato dictum est: hodie mecum eris in paradiso, non leve documentum idem beatus Cyprianus adsumit, quod etiam adque etiam considerans invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest, neque enim latro ille pro nomine Christi crucifixus est, sed pro meritis facinorum suorum, nec quia credidit passus est, sed dum patitur credidit. quantum itaque valeat etiam sine visibili baptismi sacramento quod ait apostolus: corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore confessio fit ad salutem, in illo latrone declaratum est, sed tunc impletur invisibiliter cum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.

The argument of the closing sentence in this passage is repeated by Augustine in *De Baptismo* 4, 24 and 25 in a briefer, but essentially identical form.

Thus while Augustine accepted Cyprian's view of martyrdom as a substitute for baptism, he realized that Luke 23 : 43 does not support that position. Therefore Augustine states that faith and conversion of the heart as well as martyrdom may compensate for the want of baptism when there has been no occasion to receive it. Augustine does not quote Ambrose's sermon here, although it would have contributed to his argument. This does not conclusively prove that Augustine did not know Ambrose's views on this matter. *De Baptismo* was written in 400 and 401, some eight years after Ambrose's

Hans Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen, 1908), pp. 414 seq. and 481 seq. and Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Subsidia Hagiographica 20; 2nd ed., Brussels, 1933), Chapter I.

⁸ Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 288 suggests these three sections of *De Consolatione Valentiniani* should be compared with Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, 3, 14 and *De Virginibus* 3, 34. I am not able to find any direct allusion to baptism of desire in these texts.

⁹ Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1967), Chapter 8. Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur Les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1968), esp. Chapter 3. F. Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop: Religion and Society at the Dawn of the Middle Ages*, trans. B. Battershaw and G. R. Lamb (New York and Evanston: 1965), pp. 570-2.

¹⁰ Cyprian, *Epist.* 73.

¹¹ Latin text is found in *P. L.*, XLIII, 107-244 and *Œuvres de S. Augustin* 29: Quatrième Série: Traités Anti-Donatistes III (Bruges, 1964).

sermon on Valentinian.¹² It is clear that Augustine did not hear Ambrose deliver the sermon, for by 388 Augustine had returned to Africa and in 391 founded a monastery at Hippo. However he may have read a copy of it. Valentinian's death would have been a matter of interest in the western empire. Nevertheless, a direct link between Ambrose and Augustine on this matter cannot be demonstrated. In spite of this fact, Augustine's indebtedness to Ambrose for his explanation of baptism of desire cannot be excluded.

Like Ambrose's, Augustine's teaching of baptism of desire appears to be a development from what was, by then, the traditional view of baptism of blood. Also Augustine endeavors, as had the Bishop of Milan, to enforce this position on the basis of a Biblical text, in this case Romans 10 : 10. But here too the relevancy of this text to an alternative to water baptism is tenuous at best.

Subsequently Augustine did have some second thoughts about the crucified thief as an illustration of baptism of desire. This is clearly observable in Augustine's *De Anima et eius Origini*, 1, 11, written in 419, where he takes the thief's faith as martyrdom and thus baptism and in his *Retractiones* 2, 55 written in 427. But if Augustine entertained doubts about his example, it is not certain that he retracted his view, held in the year 400, that conversion of the heart could obtain salvation.¹³

Admittedly baptism of desire is not a major element in the teaching of either of these fathers. This perhaps suggests the reason for its neglect in scholarship devoted to Ambrose and Augustine. Nevertheless a careful reading of both fathers shows that in isolated instances they taught baptism of desire. Both bishops were struggling to take seriously God's mercy and wish of salvation for all, and yet maintain the necessity of water baptism. The importance and need for baptism are a constant theme in the literature of the first four centuries, especially the polemic against the delay of baptism until death.¹⁴ Ambrose and Augustine saw hints of ways out of the dilemma in the Bible. For example, besides the quotations from Wisdom of Solomon and Romans mentioned above, Augustine on occasion referred to Cornelius in Acts 10 as an illustration of one who had the Holy Spirit before baptism and yet did not reject the sacrament.¹⁵ But the Biblical texts did not yield a direct answer for them.

¹² Brown, *ibid.*, p. 184 and p. 222.

¹³ Augustine's comment in *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 3, 84, written in 419 would be compatible with baptism of desire: "invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse et profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis: visibilem vero sanctificationem, quae fit sacramento visibili sine invisibili posse adesse, sed non prodesse." However, his comments in *Contra Julianum* 4. 8. 42-46, written in 421 or 422, and in *De Correctione et Gratia* 14. 44, 15. 47, written in 426, could indicate a move away from an affirmation of baptism of desire.

¹⁴ For a convenient collection of texts in English translation see Andre Hamman, ed., *Baptism: Ancient Liturgies and Patristic Texts* ("Alba Patristic Library," Vol. 2; Staten Island, N. Y., 1967). For views of Ambrose and Augustine see Brown, *ibid.*, pp. 106-107, 222.

¹⁵ Hamman, *op. cit.* p. 203 and Augustine, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* 4, 22.

An additional resource was available to them in the tradition of the church which by their day had made provision for martyrs who through no fault of their own had not been baptized or who had sinned after water baptism. Yet this too did not resolve their difficulty, for Ambrose in a pastoral situation and Augustine, at least in theory, had to face the question of the fate of the believer who had been denied baptism and martyrdom. Like Scripture, baptism of blood did not solve the question posed to Ambrose and Augustine here, but it could offer a suggestion as did the Bible.

Besides both these resources of certain Biblical texts and the exception to water baptism by martyrdom, Ambrose and Augustine had some guidance in the earlier literature of the fathers that a way to salvation besides water baptism and martyrdom was being sought. Tertullian in the *De Baptismo*, 12 written between 198 and 200 speaks of the problem in regard to the apostles and seems to allow a baptism of desire on the part of the apostles if they were not baptized. In the *Passio ss Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, 7 the description of Dinocrates may be another example of an attempt to find salvation if water and blood baptisms were denied. Other likely texts might be found in Origen and Cyprian.¹⁶

It could be that Ambrose took up these earlier questings and, on the basis of Scripture and the tradition furnished by baptism of blood, made the decisive step of clearly acknowledging the sufficiency of baptism of desire. If this is correct, Ambrose merits credit for a higher level of theological creativity than has usually been accorded him and we have in Augustine one more evidence of his indebtedness to his father in the faith. Or if both Ambrose and Augustine independently reached this decision, here is not only new data for a greater theological talent on Ambrose's part than has been suspected, but further collaboration of the already acknowledged genius of Augustine. Only continuing searches through earlier patristic literature will confirm or deny these theses. In either case baptism of desire was a teaching that did not gain unanimous approval in the early church. Gennadius, who died between 492 and 505 denied it in *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* 41 and 74.¹⁷

¹⁶ For suggestions, see Jules Corblet, *Histoire du Sacrement de Baptême* (Paris, 1881), Vol. I, p. 152.

¹⁷ For other patristic references see Corblet, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–6.

Cyril of Alexandria and the apple of Discord

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My theme is, in substance, doctrinal and serious at that. My title, though, relates to a heathen myth. When, so the tale goes¹, Thetis married Peleus, Eris (Discord) was excluded from the list of divine guests at the Wedding-breakfast. She arrived, all the same, unbidden at the door only to be denied admittance. Angrily she flung down on the table amidst the assembled company an apple inscribed 'a present for the most beautiful goddess'. The consequent disruption of festivity was all she could have wished for and to settle the rival claims of the goddesses Zeus appointed Paris, son of Priam, as umpire. From his judgement stemmed the whole long quarrel of Greece with Troy.

Theodoret relished a neat literary allusion and to this tale he refers in a celebrated letter to John of Antioch. Bidden by John to rebut Cyril's twelve anathematisms, a copy of which John had sent him, he expresses himself horrified at their Apollinarian sentiments and pained that Cyril should "dare to anathematize people who decline to blaspheme along with him, if these productions are actually his and one of truth's enemies has not composed them in his name and flung them, like that legendary apple, into our midst, fanning aloft the flame of discord"². Cyril characteristically did not relish the harmless, if frivolous, reference. Theodoret, he says in the letter to Euoptyus accompanying his rejoinder, bishop of Cyrus ("that is what they say the little town is called") "should have exercised himself in the inspired scriptures, should have mentioned only the holy Bible and thus produced a suitably reverent disquisition instead of presenting us with musty old fairy-tales. He sees fit, indeed, to liken my words to the apple of Discord, perhaps to show off his learning. We are in consequence exceedingly amazed at his approach – it is clear his considerable capacity for erudition has made him aware of the apple of Discord and Paris son of Priam into the bargain"³. The irony is heavy but Cyril may perhaps be allowed to have upstaged his opponent in this little interchange. Bishops of Alexandria do not jest and do

¹ I allow myself the liberty of conflating Hyginus *Fabulae* 92 (ed. H. I. Rose pp. 68f) Libanius *Fabulae* 27 (*Opera* ed. R. Foerster, viii pp. 50f) Lucian *Dialogi Marini* 5 (*Opera* ed. C. Jacobitz i, pp. 122f).

² *Ep.* 90, A. C. O. 1, 1, 6 pp. 107f.

³ A. C. O. 1, 1, 6 pp. 110f.

not descend to profane trivialities. Did Theodoret have anything deeper in mind when he likened the anathematisms to the fabled apple and by implication Cyril to Discord herself? I doubt it. It is a witty piece of malice and, whatever its other merits, in one respect at least the comparison was to prove inept. Discord's apple caused a war that lasted merely ten years. Cyril's anathematisms remained contentious far longer, if indeed they are uncontentious yet.

Let me first rehearse the main stages in the controversy over them down to the time of the Fifth General Council (553) which in a certain sense established them as a doctrinal standard of general validity by condemning opposition (and in particular the unfortunate Theodoret's opposition) to them. The anathematisms are attached to Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν)⁴ dispatched in the name of Cyril and a synod assembled at Alexandria in November 430. Nestorius received it on Sunday the 30th of that month⁵ along with a letter from Celestine of Rome dated August 10th⁶. The second paragraph of Cyril's letter gives Nestorius notice that he is to renounce his doctrinal errors within the ten days, laid down in Celestine's letter, from the date of receipt and adopt the orthodox, apostolic faith on pain of excommunication. The final paragraph of the letter consists of the twelve anathematisms Nestorius is commanded to assent to in proof of his orthodoxy. I do not need to underline the peremptory, not to say insulting, nature of the demand or the unwisdom, as it turned out, of Celestine in allowing Cyril such free rein in laying down what was *not* the faith of Rome and Alexandria. With them the doctrinal battle provoked in part by the extra-doctrinal matters touched on in that astonishing first paragraph of Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius* (Καταφλαραοῦσι)⁷ had now moved into a new phase. For Nestorius was to find his allies as Cyril had found his. Ironically, the anathematisms would help him. A day or two after receiving Cyril's letter Nestorius got a letter from John of Antioch (Cyril had sent him the relevant correspondence from Celestine together with his own to Nestorius) warning him to be cautious and reminding him of the example of blessed Theodore who, as Nestorius would recollect, had publicly retracted an unwise statement made in a sermon after Nestorius' frank criticism⁸. The admonition might well have fallen on deaf ears in any event. As it was, it came too late. In the face of Cyril's demands, caution and soft answers were patently inappropriate. Nestorius answered John by sending a copy of two sermons of his together with *capitula quaedam sive propositiones quae circumferuntur in regia civitate*, that is to say the anathematisms of Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν with or without (I think probably without) the rest of the letter⁹. John was converted to

⁴ A. C. O. 1, 1, 1 pp. 33 ff.

⁵ See A. C. O. 1, 2 p. 51, 33 cf. 1, 5 p. 39, 19 ff.

⁶ A. C. O. 1, 2 pp. 7 ff (Gk. trans. 1, 1, 1 pp. 77 ff);

⁷ A. C. O. 1, 1, 1 pp. 29 ff.

⁸ A. C. O. 1, 1, 1 pp. 94 f.

⁹ A. C. O. 1, 4 p. 8, 5 ff.

Nestorius' cause. He professed himself startled at their Apollinarian tone ('Apollinarian' together with 'Arian' and 'Eunomian' is to be the usual, I think quite unjust, epithet of complaint against them) and allowed himself to doubt whether they could be Cyril's: *quod ipsa compositio ab eius discrepet caractere multumque sint peregrina ab eis qui piam doctrinam discendo nutriti sunt*. The doubt was merely rhetorical, for he immediately circulated copies of the chapters to everyone capable of writing rejoinders including Andreas and Theodoret¹⁰. To these last Cyril produced his counter-rejoinders probably before going to Ephesus to attend the council appointed (in the imperial decree of November 19th)¹¹ for Whitsun 431.

If that council had taken place as intended there would no doubt have been a great debate about the status and content of the anathematisms. No such debate took place, for Cyril started in defiance of good manners¹², if not also of law and order, without waiting for the opposition to arrive and the assembly over which he presided listened, without dissent or comment, to the reading of the epistle *Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* on Monday June 22nd. It was duly inserted in the minutes along with Celestine's letter which had been delivered, as I said, at the same time. Two of the bishops entrusted with the delivery were called upon to report how they had handed the documents over to Nestorius and had been invited back for private discussion the following day. They were then shown the door and no subsequent answer from Nestorius was forthcoming¹³. No consideration was given to the particular doctrinal content of *Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* at this meeting of the council. If the heading of the *Ἐπίλυσις τῶν δώδεκα κεφαλαίων* in some of the manuscripts (it is also called a *ἐρμηνεία* in some manuscripts) is to be trusted, Cyril did offer an explanation or further clarification at the request of the assembly during his stay at Ephesus. The work was in circulation before September 431¹⁴. It does not feature amongst the minutes of any session. The reasons

¹⁰ A. C. O. 1, 1, 7 and 1, 1, 6 (along with Cyril's rejoinders) respectively. Besides "Nestorius'" *Counter Anathematisms* (A. C. O. 1, 5 pp. 247ff) there survives also a refutation of unknown authorship in Latin (A. C. O. 1, 5 pp. 287f) annexed to the Orientals' synodical confession presented by its seven delegates to Theodosius at Chalcedon (A. C. O. 1, 1, 3 p. 38, 10ff). Arethas' irreverent comments upon the battle between Theodoret and Cyril (printed by Schwartz) lighten the reader's burden e.g. (on the fourth Anathematism): *καὶ τί τοῦτο παραλλάττον τῆς Θεοδωρήτου περὶ Χριστοῦ ἀκριβολογίας; εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ δέκα τοῦ μία δέκα διαφέρειν λογομαχεῖν ματαιοῦμενοι*. Theodoret is not at his best here — fussy, donnish and (especially over 4) indiscreet. Much shrewder and more substantial is Andreas' refutation (unfortunately lacking replies to 2, 5 and 6). He had done his homework on Cyril, comparing passages in the documents available to him, quoting Cyril in *Ep. 1* and *Paschal Homily 17* against himself in the anathematisms. His observations on 12 are particularly sharp.

¹¹ A. C. O., 1, 1, 1 pp. 114ff.

¹² He claimed that John had instructed him to do so (*Apol. ad Theodosium* 18 A. C. O. 1, 1, 3 p. 83).

¹³ A. C. O. 1, 1, 2 pp. 36ff.

¹⁴ See A. C. O. 1, 1, 7 p. 78, 32 of pp. 77, 4. 17 and 78, 1.

for this humble role of *Τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* in the proceedings can in part be surmised and are in part obvious from the minutes of the session on June 22nd. I surmise that Cyril now fully understood the hostility that the chapters had aroused and though he might have wished to take his stand upon *Τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* as an exposition of the Nicene faith, for which it is in some ways so suitable, containing, as it does, that creed with commentary upon it, he decided that that would be imprudent. It was the much less suitable *Καταφλvaroῦσι* which was chosen for that role and all the bishops assented to that epistle's orthodoxy individually. Moreover Celestine never received a copy of *Τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* and it might risk the Roman alliance to emphasize the piece. But (and here I pass to what is obvious) Cyril could not now or ever pass over *Τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* and it had to appear in the minutes because it was evidence: (a) that Nestorius had committed an offence by not retracting and confessing the faith of Alexandria and Rome within the specified time; (b) that he had been given due notice of the fact that he was committing an offence; (c) that he had persisted in the offence. The sworn testimony of Pheidus, Theodotus and Acacius (which follows the report of the delivery of the letters on the 30th of November) that Nestorius had uttered blasphemies in conversation with them the previous Saturday underlines the last point.

The meeting on June 22nd took place before the arrival of the Roman delegates Arcadius, Proiectus and Philip. When the synod reconvened with them on Friday July 10th at Memnon's house the session was given over to reading Celestine's letter to the assembly (first in Latin and then, after a translation had been demanded, in Greek) and to establishing the credentials of the Roman delegates¹⁵. Next day¹⁶ the minutes of the meeting on June 22nd were read and the Roman delegates subscribed the deposition of Nestorius contained there, so committing themselves to the chapters only in the limited sense which the previous assembly had sanctioned. For the West the chapters had no special importance, were indeed unknown in Rome, until the time of Justin¹⁷.

For the Orientals, on the other hand, the chapters were the main bone of contention. When they arrived on June 26th to find the situation pre-empted by Cyril they assembled at John of Antioch's lodgings and proceeded to complain loudly that Cyril had engineered it all to avoid discussion of the blasphemous chapters. Memnon, Cyril and all in communion with them were declared deposed and excommunicate until such time as they should repent of their errors, anathematize Cyril's chapters and declare their fixed

¹⁵ A. C. O. 1, 1, 3 pp. 53ff.

¹⁶ *ibid.* pp. 59ff.

¹⁷ The evidence is usefully drawn together by N. M. Haring in "The Character and Range of the Influence of St. Cyril of Alexandria on Latin Theology (430-1260)" *Medieval Studies* (12) 1950 pp. 1-19. For Dionysius Exiguus' claim to present the first Latin version, see also A. C. O. 1, 5 (2) p. 236, 9ff cf Schwartz's observations pp. IIIIf.

adherence to the Nicene Creed without introducing any other creed or dogmatic distortion. Only then might they join in fraternal discussion with them to confirm the faith (not a word is said, incidentally, by them about Nestorius' deposition)¹⁸. Letters bearing the same message were dispatched to Constantinople¹⁹. The chapters are a principal ground of complaint and of division between Cyril and the Orientals.

They were to remain so. For Cyril would never withdraw them, though he expressed himself willing to expound them. He wrote to Theodosius to say how much he had wanted to be numbered among those charged with coming to the capital to report on the Council "first to see your Majesty, secondly to enter suit before you against the bishop of Antioch and expose him for the raving lunatic swayed by sheer madness he is in complaining falsely of the fact that I anathematized the chapters of Nestorius' blasphemies"²⁰. A year later, when peace negotiations were under way, he wrote to the centenarian Acacius of Beroea that by the grace of God many had been helped to an orthodox mind by his writings against Nestorius. "It is a perverse zeal shown by people, who ought to anathematize Nestorius' foul dogmas and separate themselves from his irreligion, to seek the nullification of what was written against him. What rationale does that have? Your holiness must appreciate the absurdity of the thing were we writers on behalf of orthodoxy to deny our own words and condemn our own faith instead! Unless, therefore, the writings against Nestorius or his unhallowed dogmas are sound, his deposition is empty, his sentiments are somehow orthodox and it is we who are in the wrong by not agreeing with him but, instead, writing the opposite of what he said despite the many volumes of Nestorius in circulation to the utter confusion and disturbance of the churches . . . The content of the chapters stands directed against Nestorius' blasphemies only" – not to establish the Apollinarian, Arian and Eunomian errors of which Cyril had always, as a Christian from his earliest years, been free. When peace and harmony were restored he was willing to satisfy not enemies but brethren that "what we have written in opposition to Nestorius' dogmas is all sound and absolutely consonant with the holy and inspired scriptures" and the Nicene Creed.²¹. Nothing came of this promise of further clarification of the Chapters. No doubt Cyril thought he had done enough in the rejoinders to Theodore and to Andreas and in the *Ἐπίλωσις*.

Refusal, though, to withdraw is not the same thing as persistent emphasis and one point at least he was willing in some measure to compromise on. The fourth anathematism (dealing with the method of interpreting the expressions in the New Testament) receives some modification in the Formula of Reunion agreed with John of Antioch and the Orientals in 433²². To this I shall return later.

¹⁸ A. C. O. 1, 1, 5 pp. 121 ff.

¹⁹ *ibid.* pp. 124 ff.

²⁰ A. C. O. 1, 1, 3 p. 88, 3 ff.

²¹ A. C. O. 1, 1, 7 pp. 147 ff.

²² A. C. O. 1, 1, 4 p. 17, 1 ff.

The compromise (if such it really was) involved in the Formula of Reunion caused some dissatisfaction amongst Cyril's supporters. That was nothing to the dissatisfaction caused to the Orientals by Cyril's refusal to disown the Chapters altogether. John of Antioch was unable to keep control, imperial authority was invoked and fifteen bishops lost their dioceses. They were not to be satisfied with the assuring propaganda that Cyril had set the Chapters aside by the Formula of Reunion²³. He, of course, could not and would not set them aside or explain them away for the reasons he gave to Acacius of Beroea: if the decisions of the Synod at Ephesus were valid then the anathemas stood.

The anathematisms could not be explained away. Moreover they had one effect quite unforeseen by their author at the time of writing: that they go beyond Nestorius himself and affect Diodore, Theodore and Theodoret, indeed the Antiochene school as a whole²⁴. When the doctrinal battle-front broadened in Cyril's later years and after his death the issue of their status was raised afresh. These stages of the controversy about them I will describe in most summary form. At the Latrocinium they were promulgated as authoritative²⁵ and their opponents Theodoret and Ibas condemned and deprived though these were to be restored at Chalcedon. There, in its session on Wednesday October 10th 451, Atticus of Nicopolis asked for a reading and examination of the epistle *Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* in view of the fact that Leo's Tome had been read and examined²⁶. The request was a reasonable one, for the celebrated line of Leo *Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante, quod Verbi est et carne exsequente quod carnis est*²⁷ will not harmonise easily with Cyril's chapters 3 and 4. The request was not refused but the discussion was postponed for five days and conveniently shelved. Leo had, of course, no reason to be aware of the contradiction. He takes no account of *Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* and it is as certain as can be in such cases that he had never read it. *Τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν* does not figure

²³ cf Theodoret *Ep.* 171 (A. C. O. 1, 1, 7 pp. 163f) and his letter to Helladius of Tarsus (A. C. O. 1, 4 p. 180).

²⁴ The observation deserves more space than I can now bestow on it. I point out: (1) Theological works of a learned kind did not circulate freely in antiquity. To ensure that books were read, copies had to be sent (by the authors, as a rule). Even that was, of course, no guarantee. (2) Cyril was not a learned *systematic* (he was an extremely learned *Biblical*) theologian, neat expositor of traditional Trinitarian doctrine though he was. Note the way Theodoret picks him up over the term *θεοφύρος* (see below in text) for example and how he could surely never have read Gregory Nazianzen's *Third Theological Oration* 8 and yet written baldly οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ διπλοῦς ὁ εἰς καὶ μόνος Χριστός (*Τοῦ σ' ἡ'* 8). (3) He probably did not receive the damaging extracts from Antiochene theologians till 438 when at Jerusalem. The first observations about Diodore appear in the first letter to Succensus (date uncertain, but somewhere between 433 and 438 probably).

²⁵ *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449* ed. J. Flemming p. 146. The manuscript unfortunately breaks there but it is clear they were read.

²⁶ A. C. O. 2, 1 p. 279, 3ff.

²⁷ Para. 94 in the edition of Silva-Tarouca.

as an authoritative document in the Chalcedonian Definition. This indefinite status and more particularly this disharmony between it and Leo's Tome was a principal ground of complaint on the part of the council's opponents. The complaint was to find some satisfaction in Zeno's Henotikon which tacitly rejected the doctrinal settlement of Chalcedon and accepted as authoritative the Chapters of Cyril²⁸. Anastasius' letter of 505²⁹ goes even further and rejects Chalcedon along with Leo's Tome on the ground that they are incompatible with Cyril's Chapters. With Justinian we reach the final stage of our sketch. The council of 553 condemned Theodore and his writings *en bloc*, the works of Theodoret against Cyril's anathematisms and the Council of Ephesus, and the letter of Ibas to Maris. It did not actually assert the orthodoxy and general validity of the Chapters; instead it condemned those who had written against them. It had no need to do the first for both Justinian and Vigilius maintained, what the assembled bishops at their sixth session affirmed, that they had been accepted and ratified by the Council of Chalcedon. Justinian writes to defenders of the Three Chapters: "In view of your statement that sainted Cyril was accepted by the Orientals because he interpreted his own Chapters, we are not surprised at your being so mistaken in the chapters you sent, seeing that you are ignorant also of what was written at the first Council of Ephesus. In fact sainted Celestine, the first Council of Ephesus, sainted Leo and the holy Council of Chalcedon accepted and ratified these very Chapters of sainted Cyril and sought no further interpretation of them"³⁰. Vigilius writes in the same way to Rusticus and Sebastian³¹. The historical reality was, of course, quite different. Men's minds moved easily enough from what ought to have been the case to what was the case without perceiving the size of the step.

The story, then, of the rise to authority of Cyril's anathematisms is an odd one. Produced with one specific aim, that of getting rid of Nestorius, they came to have a general validity capable of overthrowing established reputations and to be thought worthy of being justified by a historical myth.

The oddity is not reduced when we turn to look at them in detail. I translate from Schwartz' text (A.C.O. 1, 1, 1 pp. 40ff):

1. Whoever does not acknowledge Emmanuel to be truly God and hence the holy Virgin 'Mother of God' (for she gave fleshly birth to the Word of God made flesh) shall be anathema.

²⁸ ed. Schwartz A. B. A. W. 32, 6 (1927) p. 53, 27ff.

²⁹ Eng. trans. in P. R. Coleman-Norton *Roman State and Christian Church* vol. 3, no. 542, p. 951.

³⁰ *Drei Dogmatische Schriften Iustinians* ed. Schwartz (A.B.A.W., N.F.18 [1939]) p. 62, 24ff. The piece is to be dated 549/550 cf Schwartz's notes p. 115.

³¹ P. L. 69, 51. This was not the only myth current in the 6th century about the anathematisms. The explanation of the orthodox given to the Severans at the colloquy of 533 (A. C. O. 4, 2 p. 173) for the Council of Chalcedon's non-recognition of the Chapters is that it spoke of two hypostases. "They therefore declined to name it particularly so as not to be found contrary to him or to themselves".

2. Whoever does not acknowledge the Word of God the Father to have been substantially united with flesh and to be one Christ along with his own flesh, that is the same at once God and man, shall be anathema.

3. Whoever divides the subjects in respect to the one Christ after the union joining them together just in a conjunction involving rank i.e. sovereignty or authority instead of in a combination involving actual union shall be anathema.

4. Whoever allocates the terms contained in the gospels and apostolic writings and applied to Christ by the saints or used of himself by himself to two persons or subjects and attaches some to the man considered separately alongside the Word of God, some as divine to the Word of God the Father alone, shall be anathema.

5. Whoever has the temerity to declare Christ is a divinely inspired man and not instead that he is truly God as being one Son by nature, because the Word was made flesh and shared in flesh and blood like us, shall be anathema.

6. Whoever says the Word of God the Father is Christ's God or Master and does not instead acknowledge the same [Christ] at once God and man on the scriptural ground of the Word's having been made flesh, shall be anathema.

7. Whoever says that Jesus as man was made to act under the control of God the Word and that the glory of the Only-begotten has been annexed to another existing alongside him, shall be anathema.

8. Whoever has the temerity to assert that the assumed man should be worshipped along with God the Word, should be praised and be styled 'God', the one along with the other (the addition of 'along with' will always entail interpretation) and does not instead venerate Emmanuel with a single worship and ascribe to him a single act of praise because the Word has been made flesh, shall be anathema.

9. Whoever says that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been glorified by the Spirit, Christ using the force mediated by the Spirit as an alien force and having acquired from him the ability to act against foul spirits and to perform miracles on human beings and does not instead call the Spirit whereby he effected the miracles his own, shall be anathema.

10. Divine Scripture says Christ has been made 'High Priest and Apostle of our confession' and 'gave himself up for us as a fragrant offering to God the Father'. So whoever says that the Word of God himself has not been made our High Priest and Apostle when he has been made flesh and man as we are, but some different woman-born man distinct alongside him, or whoever asserts he made the offering for himself too instead of for us alone (for he who knew no sin did not need an offering) shall be anathema.

11. Whoever does not acknowledge the Lord's flesh to be vitalizing and to belong to the very Word of God the Father but to belong to somebody else alongside him joined to him by way of rank (i.e. possessing just some divine indwelling) instead of acknowledging it vitalizing, as we said, because it

has come to belong to the Word who has power to vivify everything, shall be anathema.

12. Whoever does not acknowledge God's Word as having suffered in flesh, been crucified in flesh, tasted death in flesh and been made first-born from the dead because as God he is Life and life-giving, shall be anathema.

First a word about the Greek text. The number of minor variants evident in the different conciliar documents which contain the anathematisms or parts of them is of no particular importance except to an editor. They owe their existence to the multiplicity of copies produced at the outset. Not only did Cyril proliferate versions, but so did John of Antioch "moving everyone to write against them who could"³².

What about the style of the anathematisms? John of Antioch, it will be recalled, allowed himself to doubt their genuineness on the ground that their *compositio* (representing, I assume, *συνθήκη*) differed from Cyril's *character* (*χαρακτήρ*?). John may perhaps have known some of Cyril's exegetical writings, some of the Paschal letters (apart from the 17th which he pretty certainly knew), the Thesaurus too perhaps. He could not have known the Dialogues on the Trinity (including the 6th which is broadly 'christological') for they were probably not yet in circulation³³. There are, indeed, broadly speaking two literary styles in Cyril: the first Atticizing with an unusual vocabulary of poetic words; the second, much more straightforward. He reserves the first for the cultured audiences of theologians and educated laity. The anathematisms were meant to be understood without effort and correspond with his second manner. It is not though, I think, this difference of literary style that John has in mind so much as the belligerent tone and contents of the anathematisms. At these he was, I believe, genuinely surprised. He did not appreciate the gulf separating Antioch and Alexandria any more than Cyril did.

How do the anathematisms relate to the rest of the letter? I propose to look at this in more detail but for the moment I want to note that a certain incongruity struck people in antiquity. In an alleged letter of Cyril, addressed to unnamed monks, 'Cyril' refutes the rumour that he wrote the anathematisms first and then added the preceding letter, having in the meanwhile changed his mind³⁴. I am inclined to think the rumour points first to the fact that the anathematisms circulated independently of the rest of the letter – Theodore and Andreas (though his rejoinder is incomplete) do not refer to the rest of the letter even when their arguments could have been strengthened by doing so and even though Andreas is fond of producing damaging quotations from Cyril's Letter to the monks of Egypt and Paschal Homily

³² A. C. O. 1, 4 p. 163, 35.

³³ See the first letter to Nestorius paragraph 4 (A. C. O. 1, 1, 1 p. 24, 29ff) – Written whilst Atticus was alive they have been read to bishops, clergy and interested laity *ἐκδόσῃκα δὲ τῷ οὐδενί*.

³⁴ J. T. S. 22 (1971) p. 430.

17. I think it is a safe assumption that they wrote their rejoinders with only the anathematisms before their eyes. Secondly, the accompanying letter does comment in a fashion upon all but one (the seventh) of the anathematisms and to some extent (but I do not want to exaggerate) draws their sting. That the rumour is, of course, false in the sense that Nestorius did not receive *Τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* complete in the form we now have it or that Cyril changed his mind in between writing the two elements is not open to reasonable doubt.

Let me now pass the anathematisms briefly in review looking specially at the relationship between each and the corresponding passage in the accompanying letter. The first deals with the title *Theotokos*³⁵. Its significance has been expounded in the preceding paragraph, the culminating dogmatic point as in *Καταφλαραοῦσι*. What adds something here in the anathematism is the explanatory clause 'for – flesh'. Though Cyril had no desire to shock the refined sensibilities of the Orientals, did not know he was going to do so, he did want to shock Nestorius. The clause does precisely that. The second anathematism affirms a union *καθ' ὑπόστασιν* of the Word with the flesh such that there is one Christ at once God and man. What Cyril meant by this is clear from paragraphs 4f of the letter, paragraph 3 of *Καταφλαραοῦσι* and the rejoinders to Theodoret and Andreas – not the technical sense the phrase was to be given in the fourth anathema of the Council of 533 (where it is glossed by the phrase *κατὰ σύνθεσιν*) but simply 'concretely' or 'actually'. Paragraph 5 opposes it to *κατὰ παράθεσιν, κατὰ μέθεξιν*; *Καταφλαραοῦσι* paragraph 3 to *κατὰ θέλησιν μόνην ἢ εὐδοκίαν σχετιχήν*, and to reject it implies the existence of two Sons. The function of the phrase is to exclude any kind of explanation Nestorius proposes to give of the union without offering any explanation of its own.³⁶ The third anathematism continues the same theme. Paragraphs 4f explain what is at stake. Cyril is not requiring Nestorius to repudiate the term *συνάφεια* itself (indeed he uses it himself in paragraph 5 before deprecating its usage with his next breath) but the minimising explanation of the union, as he saw it, offered by Nestorius' proposed forms of *συνάφεια*. What is to be asserted is a *φυσικὴ ἔνωσις* (explained to Andreas as meaning simply a 'true' union) i.e. *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*. The fourth anathema forbids the allocation of the

³⁵ It is false, I believe, to interpret Cyril as adumbrating later devotion to the person of the Blessed Virgin Mary whether that be thought a good or bad thing in itself. Were either of the two homilies 4 and 11 genuine there would be a case for such an interpretation. A. Ehrhard in "Eine unechte Marienhymilie des Hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien" (*Röm. Quartalschrift* 3 (1889) pp. 97–113) demonstrated that the two pieces were related and that no. 11 cannot be Cyril's. If the heading to no. 4 (A. C. O. 1, 1, 2 p. 102) is correct this cannot be Cyril's either. I see no good reason for rejecting the heading so far as it places the delivery of the piece after Cyril had left Ephesus. General tone and style aside, which surely stamp the sermon as non-Cyrrilline, I do not believe Cyril could have called the BVM the Word's own temple (p. 103, 5) – that is always elsewhere, *ni fallor*, Christ's humanity.

³⁶ See P. Galtier's observations in "L' 'unio secundum Hypostasim' chez Saint Cyrille", *Gregorianum* 33 (1952) pp. 351–398 esp. pp. 385ff.

New Testament expressions to two distinct *πρόσωπα* or *ὑποστάσεις*. The corresponding passage of the letter is paragraph 8. How loose Cyril's terminology is is evident from the different senses attached to *ὑπόστασις* here and in the preceding anathematism. When Cyril came to explain this anathematism to Theodoret and later his apparent withdrawal of it by the Formula of Reunion to Acacius of Melitene³⁷, he put the emphasis upon the denial of a duality of speakers or subjects of predication. That explanation corresponds fairly enough with paragraph 8. He never intended to deny that the statements were to be distinguished. He believed Nestorius taught a duality of speakers and this he wanted ruled out. The fifth anathematism has its slender counterpart in paragraph 4 which simply discounts the idea of Christ as an *ἀνθρώπος θεοφόρος*. Theodoret was to reply that the expression was respectable and classic – Basil had used it. The point was tacitly conceded. Cyril seems to have had only frail grounds for ascribing its use to Nestorius. The sixth corresponds with paragraph 5 of the letter which sufficiently explains it. It is silly or, rather, blasphemous (he writes) to talk of the Word's becoming God or master of himself. To Theodoret he quotes some words of Nestorius alleged to show he had used such language. The seventh has no counterpart in the letter. Perhaps it features here simply to make up the apostolic number of anathematisms. In its denial of any suggestion that Christ's manhood, the Temple taken from the Virgin, is an independent human being who can be made to function as a tool of the Word it is perhaps the closest to what one thinks of as characteristically 'Apollinarian' apologetic³⁸. Cyril offers to Andreas only the most tenuous proof that Nestorius spoke in these terms. A good deal more substantial is the quotation produced in paragraph 6 (along with this should be compared the similar quotation given to Andreas) in justification of the eighth anathematism. The parenthesis explaining *σύν* is absent in some manuscripts, but I have little doubt it is authentic Cyril. Behind the anathematism, and behind paragraph 6 of the letter, stands Athanasius' (as Cyril took it to be) Confession to Jovian quoted often by Cyril and underlined in the reply to Andreas. The first part of the ninth anathematism has its counterpart in the whole tenth paragraph of the letter; the second part has no corresponding feature there. Cyril was able to produce evidence that Nestorius had asserted both the propositions which fall under the ban. The tenth anathematism has its counterpart in paragraph 9, the eleventh in paragraph 7 of the letter; in both cases Cyril has a full dossier of damaging quotations from Nestorius. The last anathematism has its corresponding passage in paragraph 6 of the letter. What that paragraph contains, and the anathematism omits, is a reference to divine impassibility. The qualification which would have rendered it more palatable to Nestorius is surely left out of set purpose.

This brief review, then, brings me to the following observations. First,

³⁷ A. C. O. 1, 1, 4 p. 26, 15ff.

³⁸ Compare e. g. *Anacephalaecosis* 1 (Apollinaris ed. Lietzmann p. 242).

the anathematisms have a structure of their own which does not correspond in sequence with that of the accompanying letter. One of them, moreover, has no corresponding argument in the letter (the seventh) and another (the fifth) very little. Nor, of course, do they contain all the points made in the letter. The two structures are to some extent independent. Now if one proceeds to examine them independently the pattern of the letter is clear. The sections following the Nicene Creed down to paragraph 7 form an extended commentary on its second article and to these are attached the following paragraphs dealing with the New Testament sayings, Christ's High Priesthood, the relation of Christ to the Holy Ghost and ending with the term Theotokos leading neatly into the first anathematism. The pattern of the anathematisms, on the other hand, is as arbitrary as their number. There is, it is true, a kind of rough correspondence between their order and that of the series of extracts from Nestorius produced at Ephesus, but it is not close enough to be any significance. Secondly, the anathematisms do not contain at a number of points the vital qualifications to be found in the letter and to be made elsewhere as a matter of course.

The conclusions to be drawn to begin with are these. Two distinct but related intentions lie behind the two elements, anathematisms and accompanying letter. The aim of the anathematisms is abrupt contradiction of Nestorius' views or alleged views. They are a strictly occasional production, as unpalatable to Nestorius as Cyril could make them. The accompanying letter comments upon or grounds the anathematisms but has a broader range and modifies them, taking its stand on the Nicene Creed. These two aims correspond with the double requirement imposed by Celestine on Nestorius, a requirement he charged Cyril with making known to him: (1) to condemn his own blasphemous doctrine; (2) to affirm the faith of Rome, Alexandria and of catholic religion³⁹. The anathematisms correspond with the first half of the requirement, the accompanying letter with the second. He could not do the first and the faith of Rome, Alexandria and of catholic religion is so expounded that he could not do the second either. Cyril's skill lies in procuring just that result.

The anathematisms, then, do not from their very intention present us with the 'essential' Cyril as it were in nuce. But I cannot simply leave the matter there, for it is clear that they came to be seen as a vital part not just of his doctrine but of the whole Church's tradition. At the risk of taking up the role of Eris let me set them in these broader contexts.

The anathematisms issue from, are part and parcel of, a conviction central to Cyril: the conviction of the irrelevance of Christology. If Christology be defined with the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* as: "The study of the Person of Christ, and in particular the union in Him of the Divine and human natures", then Cyril has no Christology and did not believe there could

³⁹ Paragraph 7 (cf note 6 above).

or should be such a thing. This kind of enterprise is a world away from anything Cyril thought of the slightest significance. It is to leave the royal highway laid down by the fathers at the Council of Nicaea whose invisible president was Christ himself⁴⁰. The Nicene Creed said nothing about the mode of union, a mode Cyril unremittently maintained was mysterious and inexpressible. That there is a union of different things, subjects, natures or whatever, a union bearing some analogy to the union of body and soul in a single human being was his constant assertion. Unlike his highly imprudent ally, Theodotus of Ancyra, he taught that we could to some extent discern the united factors in the incarnate Word⁴¹. That speculation could throw much light on what the Bible and the fathers had left obscure he never believed. The Bible refers to the union in images. For example, the seventeen years of Joseph's age (Genesis 37 : 2) allow us to see the perfection of the two uniting elements: the perfect humanity complete with rational soul (the number 7) has been joined to the complete God the Word (the number 10)⁴². The two birds prescribed in the ritual for cleansing a leper (Leviticus 14) and the two goats of Leviticus 16 : 5ff signify, because in each case the victims are of the same kind, the one Christ under a pair of symbols, at once dying and living⁴³. The Biblical images and the Biblical statements interpreted along the lines established in the previous century during the Trinitarian controversies are what Cyril would have us stay content with⁴⁴. Take away the body/soul analogy⁴⁵ and there is nothing which Cyril offers to explain the nature of the union. But though there is no study of the Person of Christ in Cyril, there is a strongly-coloured picture of Christ the person – the Word through whom the world was made, who gave the Law on Sinai, who descen-

⁴⁰ The letter on the Nicene Creed, A. C. O. 1, 1, 4 p. 50, 13ff.

⁴¹ See his second homily A. C. O. 1, 1, 2 p. 85, 4f. Severus mentions that this denial of any distinction, even at the mental level, of the uniting elements in Christ caused confusion to the orthodox – *Ep.* 34, P. O. 12. 2 p 273. The succeeding passage in Theodotus's sermon, illustrating, from the Nile's being turned into blood and other similar O. T. examples, the way in which the Only-begotten could change whilst remaining the same, is a paradigm of what 'Nestorians' rejected.

⁴² *Glaphyra* in Gen. 6, 4 (PG 69, 293).

⁴³ The letter to Acacius of Scythopolis on the Scapegoat, A. C. O. 1, 1, 4 paragraphs 16 and 2.

⁴⁴ Compare also the other figures featuring in the *Scholia*: 9, the burning coal of Isaiah 6 : 6f; 10, the lily of Canticles 2 : 1, 11 and 14, the ark of the covenant covered with gold of Exodus 25 : 9f, 16ff; 16, the rod of Moses in Exodus 4 : 1ff and the brazen serpent of Numbers 21 : 9.

⁴⁵ *Scholia* 2 (A. C. O. 1, 5 p. 220) speaks cautiously and hesitantly on this analogy. "The soul lays claim to (*οικειοῦται*) all that belongs to the body, though, so far as its own nature is concerned, it has no share in the body's externally induced physical experiences. The body is stimulated to natural desires and the soul within feels these along with [the body] because of the union; but the soul does not share them at all though it takes the accomplishment of the desire to be its own enjoyment. Even if the body be hit by someone, say, or scratched with a knife, though it feels pain along with [the body] because its own body is suffering it suffers none of these inflictions itself in its own nature." [That is to say: the soul is not itself

ded to appropriate the human condition and renew it in himself, vanquishing evil, dying for us, giving us his life-giving flesh and blood in the eucharist. The Biblical Christ of religion dominates his thought; he has no use for speculative divinity which obscures him. In so far as Nestorius' christology (for he had one, as Cyril had not) does so and because (and here I verge on the highly contentious) if we are to have a christology perforce it must proceed along quite other lines than those of the school of Antioch, the recognition of the anathematisms as in some sense authoritative was both natural and right.

Let me put this last point another way. When John of Antioch wrote to the Orientals telling them of the recently concluded peace he said that Cyril "had interpreted the facts of the incarnation, drawing together the threads of the fathers' tradition for us, a tradition, if I may so put it, in danger of being well-nigh lost to mankind"⁴⁶. He was referring to the letter *Εὐχαριστήσωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ* with its cunning interweaving of Biblical texts and I do not doubt that he held Cyril himself, through the anathematisms in particular, responsible for the risk he mentions. He spoke the truth nonetheless about Cyril's writings in general. For Cyril's voice was the voice of tradition and it was raised in his anti-Nestorian writings, and especially the anathematisms, to say 'no' loudly and aggressively to a christology he thought mischievous. 'No' sometimes makes a positive contribution to a continuing debate though it disturbs its course as much as Discord's apple disturbed the fabled wedding breakfast.

knocked, scratched etc; it is the register of the sensations connected with the body's functions whether these be active or passive]. "But we say the union in the case of Emmanuel is beyond this. The soul united with the body must feel pain along with its own body in order that it may shun afflictions and bow in obedience to God. But in the case of God the Word it is absurd to speak of feeling the afflictions along with [anything] — the divine is impassible and not within our [condition]. Yet it was united to flesh possessing rational soul, and when the flesh suffers [the divine] was impassibly conscious of what happened to the flesh and, as God, obliterated the weakness of the flesh yet claimed them as belonging to his own body. This is what it means to say he hungered, was tired and suffered for us". — This is the beginnings of a christology (and its careful qualification of what is, in the end, the only available analogy, may be thought well-judged) but that is all.

⁴⁶ A. C. O. 1, 1, 7 p. 156, 31 f (quoted also by Cyril in the letter to Acacius of Melitene paragraph 21).

Soteriological "Orthodoxy" in the Fathers

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It has often been stated – too often perhaps – that it was the Fathers' experience and understanding of salvation which was the primary and determinative influence upon the development of their christologies. If this is true (as I am persuaded that it is), there is significant irony in the fact that so-called "orthodoxy" finds its fundamental terminological and credal articulation in a "doctrine" which attempts to elucidate who Christ *was*, and not in a "doctrine" which sought to express what he *did*. That the views of Arius and Apollinaris (and, to a lesser extent, those of Nestorius and Eutyches) were refuted and rejected by the oecumenical councils because they were seen as compromising the reality or possibility of a salvation wrought by God in Christ seems, on the basis of the evidence, clear enough. That this process eventuated in an increasingly narrowly defined *christological* orthodoxy is equally clear. But precisely the reverse seems to have held true for the Fathers' articulation of soteriology. Their views of how salvation had been effected, and of what it meant to speak of Jesus as Sōter, were diverse in the extreme. Students of the period are all familiar with the great variety of so-called "atonement theories" which proliferated in the second through the fifth centuries. And what one immediately discovers is that the soteriological language of the Fathers makes considerably greater use of mythic concepts than does their christological language. It is less precise; it is more patient of paradox and contradiction; it is more experientially oriented; it has a dramatic flavor of joy, enthusiasm and risk which ignores nice metaphysical distinctions and, remarkably, avoids polemical argumentation. Basically, when the Fathers spoke of the *person* of Christ, they attempted to stay within the boundaries of logical and rational categories (although this was of course ultimately impossible). But, when the Fathers spoke of the *work* of Christ, their words exploded the careful limitations imposed by logic and entered happily into the area of mystery, expressed through fluid imagery and ever-changing and ever-changeable concepts.

The heart of the primitive and as yet inarticulate Christian kerygma spoke of something which had been achieved by God through Christ. Only later did the implications of that kerygma demand fuller explication as it was proclaimed in an increasing variety of settings. What was once a vibrant soteriological functionalism gradually gave way, largely through the constant pheno-

menon of debate and controversy, to an ontological christology. The result, known to us all, was that christology, so intimately dependent upon soteriology, took center stage and the subsequent categories of "heresy" and "orthodoxy" came into their own. One cannot help but wonder whether the Christian kerygma suffered an irreparable loss during this process. When, for instance, the "orthodox" formula of Chalcedon (christological) was enjoined upon subsequent generations of Christians as the final word (both theologically and politically), soteriology was relegated to the function of threat or sanction. Or, as a subsequent Creed was to phrase it: *Quicumque vult salvus esse . . .* Had not a specific terminological formulation taken precedence over the lively content which that formulation sought, however inchoately, to express but could never define? And by disallowing other possible attempts to express that lively truth by means of a wider variety of terminological explications, did not one narrow formula replace many wide experiences, did not a creed become an object of belief rather than Him of whom the creed spoke, did not a definition get substituted for a relationship, and did not the "law" of orthodoxy put to flight the "spirit" of freedom?

It appears that there is an increasing number of patristic scholars who are no longer content to make use of their critical tools to determine as accurately as possible solely *what the Fathers said*, as if to suggest that because the Fathers said it the matter is settled. There is the need further to determine both *why* the Fathers said what they did as well as to assess what they said with critical attention to its implications vis-à-vis the Christian faith. Christological "orthodoxy" is a case in point. If the soteriological convictions upon which it depended were, as we have said, diverse in the extreme, should we not argue for the freedom to express our christological convictions in as equally diverse a manner? A narrowing of the legitimate arena in which our understanding of the person of Christ can be articulated inevitably results in an unhappy divorce of christology from its soteriological roots. That there was no such thing, among the Fathers, as *soteriological* orthodoxy seems to support this assertion.

Beyond this, it may also be suggested that the patristicist has the opportunity, if not the duty, to determine whether or not the categories themselves of heresy and orthodoxy are applicable to a doctrine or doctrines of salvation, and, if not, whether they should then be operative in the christological field. Why, for instance, are we more ready today to accept the language of justification than the language of sacrifice? Why are we more comfortably disposed to the language of personal relationship than to the language of satisfaction and propitiation? What leads some of us to react negatively to dramatic interpretations of Christ's victory over the demons and to react more positively toward his victory over sin and death? There is no soteriological "orthodoxy" to guide us, no credal assertions, no uniform tradition. We are free, then, not only to explore this wide open soteriological jungle but also to come to terms with our discovery of those subtle and often un-

recognized (or unacknowledged) influences which lead us to reject this view and accept that view, to compromise here or to modify there. In so doing, our terminological formulations will be as diverse as were those of the Fathers, our language as imprecise, our concepts as fluid, and our imagery as rich.

We will further discover that Christian truth, no matter on what level of sophistication, cannot be bound by narrow definitions, that truth is always beyond the grasp of verbal articulation. The rich tapestry of the Christian faith is not monochrome. As the lights and shadows play upon it and as our viewpoints shift, it too will change, sometimes modestly, often radically, yet it will always remain the same. Unity was almost a Platonic "ideal" for the early church, an ideal which suggested that, christologically, there was only one right way to say something. But the soteriology of the Fathers gives ample testimony to their ability to embrace multiplicity. Of the many exceptionally important implications of this fact, one stands out, namely, that the work of patristic scholars will become increasingly irrelevant until at least a significant number of us break with the traditional understandings of "orthodoxy" and approach the content of our shared faith in both the person *and* the work of Jesus Christ with the freedom to recognize the infinitely wider boundaries within which our common enterprise can take place, both conceptually and methodologically.

VII. PHILOSOPHICA

C. ANDRESEN
A. H. ARMSTRONG
É. DES PLACES
C. A. DISANDRO
R. GOULET
P. HENRY
A. LOUTH
G. MAY
E. F. OSBORN
J. PIGEAUD
J. F. PROCOPE
R. G. TANNER

The Integration of Platonism into Early Christian Theology

C. ANDRESEN, Göttingen

The topic this evening has the advantage of being very familiar to the audience. It belongs to the central subjects of patristic research; and theological involvement has been one of the important factors furthering this research. Of course I would not ascribe such involvement exclusively to the theologians *ex officio*. Occasionally it is also characteristic of the philosophers and historians of philosophy; the British scholarly world offers examples enough for this.

Only for the speaker this evening does the topic have a disadvantage. He has to lecture to experts. The church historian cannot compete with their highly developed special studies. He is more orientated toward the general lines of development; his presentation therefore resembles a rough woodcut. He covers the shortcomings with a cloak of silence. He commits a sin of omission and passes over in silence the many names of those to whom thanks are primarily due both for intensifying and also for expanding the research of Platonism. To be sure there is good reason for this silence. To a large extent the research has been done by symposiums, colloquies and study groups – the modern forms of organized scholarship. They have brought Platonism-research in the second half of the twentieth century to heights hitherto unknown. This is due especially to the continuity of dialogue in the research and among the researchers. We are also indebted to these study groups for the fact that we today, in contrast to earlier generations, do not stress so much the distinction between so-called Middle-Platonism and Neo-Platonism; we focus rather upon the unity of development.

However thanks to the reports and conference volumes we are in a better position to ascertain distinctions in motivation and goals between the various study groups. That is true in detail especially for the problem we are concerned about: the integration of Platonism into the history of early Christian theology. In view of the homogeneity of research interests characteristic for such present day – *venia sit verbo* – “Plato academies”, the subjective concerns of the scholars hardly play a role and therefore cannot be cited to

The original German text was translated into English by my former assistant Dr. William Reader, Göttingen, now assistant professor at the Central Michigan University; I would like to express my thanks for this here.

explain the differences. These are clearly connected with the diverse "discussion situations" determining the various study groups.¹

The concept "discussion situation" is the key-word for this evening's lecture. It is intended as an hermeneutical instrument which should enable us to do better justice to the process that integrated Platonism into the Christianity of late antiquity. Let us start hypothetically with two possible solutions. The one alternative would be diacritical. It would assess the integration process as a mingling of things incompatible; this alternative would thus reject the integration process. The other solution could be designated as synthetic because it sees in the integration of Platonism similar things being joined; this alternative thus affirms the integration process. It is obvious that the diacritical answer A is closer to a monologic-systematic way of thinking intent solely on loyalty to principles. By way of contrast the dialogistic discussion situation requires that one listen to the other person and

¹ The "Entretiens du Fondation Hardt" dealt with the subject of Platonism in three conferences: Vol. 3: "Recherches sur la tradition Platonicienne" Vandoeuvres 1955; Vol. 5: "Les sources de Plotin", *op. cit.* 1957; Vol. 12: "Porphyre", *op. cit.* 1965. — The study group of "Gregorians" was invited by (Mrs.) Prof. Harl of the Sorbonne in Paris first to Chevetogne (1969). Its "Acts du Colloque de Chevetogne" were published under the title "Ecriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse" by E. J. Brill, Leiden 1971. Following this Heinrich Dörrie issued an invitation to Münster (1972); the results of these discussions were published also by Brill, Leiden 1976 under the title "Colloquium Gregorianum II: Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie". Mr. van Heck and Mr. van Winden invited the study group to Holland for the third colloquium (acts not published). G. Stead arranged the fourth colloquium in Cambridge 1978, the acts were published by H. Spira — Chr. Klock, *The Easter Sermons of Gregory of Nyssa. Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge, Mass. 1981. — For Origen Mr. Crouzel took the initiative and issued an invitation to come to Montserrat (1973). The "Actes du 1^{er} colloque origénien de Montserrat" were published in the series "Quaderni di Vetera Christianorum" 12. The next colloquy on Origen took also place in Bari. These papers were published in the "Quaderni" no. 15 as "Origeniana secunda", Bari 1980. According to reports a research group concerned with Platonism in late antiquity has also been formed in the Scandinavian countries. — It is obvious that "colloquies" with continual topics like those mentioned produce a different "discussion situation" than those dealing only temporarily or infrequently in an institutionalized framework with Platonism during the time of the emperors. For example I am thinking of the conference of Royaumont (1969) within the framework of the "Colloques internationaux du CNRS"; its lectures and contributions appeared under the title "Le Neoplatonisme", Paris 1971. This is also treated in the conference report: Plotino — tradizionalista o innovatore? Conferenza du occasione del Convegno Memoriale dedicato a Plotino, Roma 1973 = = Atti dell' accademia dei Lincei 370. — To be sure, the specialists meet in a choice selection also here, but they face a discussion group which is far less informed. Finally the situation is still different where in the broadest sense of the word the goal is a "cooperative study group" like the "Groupe Romand de Patristique" which Willy Rordorf subsequently reported about (*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 22 (1973), 393–397). Ever since the autumn of 1971 this group has been investigating the origin, peculiarity and significance of Neoplatonic thought for the universities of Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel at their "Soirées patristiques" with various topics. Cf. the articles of the participants in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 22 (1973); also printed separately, Neuchâtel 1973. These observations on the present activity of research implies no evaluation regarding the effectiveness of that research.

thus that one also be willing to make concessions. Here synthesis presents itself as alternative B and as the advisable way out of the problem mentioned.

Adolf von Harnack has already spoken of these alternatives A and B in his "History of Dogma". He stated: "The question, what influence Neo-Platonism had upon the development of Christianity, is not easy to answer; for the relationships between the two can hardly be fully surveyed. Above all, different answers will be given depending on whether the concept "Neo-Platonism" is understood in a wider or a narrower sense. If one regards Neo-Platonism as the highest and most suitable expression for the religious hopes and moods which moved the peoples in the Graeco-Roman world from the second to the fifth century, then ecclesiastical dogma . . . can appear as a younger twin sister of Neo-Platonism brought up by her old sister, whom however she struggled against and finally conquered. The Neo-Platonists themselves designated the church theologians as intruders who had adopted Greek philosophy, but mixed it with strange fables" (I⁴, 1909, 823). In these sentences and as a whole in his classical work Harnack deprecates the diacritical solution A as a narrow-mindedness of Neo-Platonic confessionism. Still his formulation of the question has again become relevant and needs to be answered anew.

It received fresh relevance through Heinrich Dörrie. At a meeting of a Patristic study group in Göttingen at the beginning of 1971 he raised the question: "What is 'Platonism of late antiquity'?" He answered to the effect that one can well speak of a "Platonizing" language among early Christian theologians in the sense of the verb *πλατωνίζειν* in late antiquity. "In its substance" however Platonism was not taken over by them. With "substance" Dörrie means the doctrines of the gradations of divinity, of the world without beginning or end, of the unchangeable primeval revelation of the *λόγος*, of the migration of souls, and of the liberation of the soul from its karma by means of "knowledge" (*γνώσις*). On the contrary, early Catholic theology was developed as an antithesis to the "theological model" of Platonism (the womb for every heresy) so that it is more appropriate to speak of a "Christian Counter-Platonism". As a parallel for this new phrase Dörrie points to the typically confessionalist concept of the "Counter-Reformation" which really means post-Tridentine Catholicism. For Dörrie Christian and Platonic theology are in fact incompatible because one cannot espouse two different confessions at the same time.²

² Heinrich Dörrie, "Was ist ‚spätantiker Platonismus‘? Überlegungen zur Grenzziehung zwischen Platonismus und Christentum", *Theologische Rundschau* N. F. 36 (1971), 285–302, specifically pp. 293f, 301f. Dörrie was concerned about "setting the boundaries" also in an earlier lecture before the same "Patristic Cooperative Study Group" which appeared under the title "Die Platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes, c. Celsum 7, 42ff" in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* 1967, pp. 19–55. This diacritical view determined also his review of my study "Logos und Nomos: Die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum" (1955) in: *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 185–196. It commands

A young Dutchman by the name of Meijering, who also took part in the Göttingen meeting we mentioned, has reacted almost vehemently to such a view of the antithesis. He posed to Mr. Dörrie the counter question: "How did the Christians Platonize?" and answered in the sense of a synthesis³. He has argued his standpoint in several articles which have just appeared under the title "God-Being-History" as "Studies in Patristic Philosophy". His counter-thesis is: "Christian theology of the first five centuries was drawn up in regard to the heresies and, in so far as the heretics took their theories from Platonism according to the opinion of the orthodox theologians, in regard to Platonism" (Studies 134f, note 6). The early Christian theologians could not master such a task with merely a "Platonizing" language. They were confronted with metaphysical questions requiring answers. The questions referred to such points, which according to Dörrie are irreconcilable with Neo-Platonic ontology, as for example the doctrine of creation or the dogma of incarnation. And according to Meijering precisely at these points "Platonism's substantial influence on patristic theology"⁴ can be clearly demonstrated.

Everyone among us knows that this recent scholarly dispute only articulates what has always been controversial. Here the number of those siding with the young Dutchman probably represents the majority. Yet in questions of the intellect it is not "larger battalions" which do the deciding. Precisely for that reason it pays to reflect upon the issue, especially since it is not only theological involvement which has made the scholarly debate so vehement. The indolence of judgment in our case is clearly connected with the fact that historical phenomena of intellectual history are measured with categories of a systematic-fundamental analysis and thus are stretched on the Procrustean bed of "aut – aut". Such criteria of abstract thinking however are little suited for doing justice to the laws of communication in the history of philosophy and theology. What Karl Jaspers in 1931 called "the intellectual situation of the time" is much more suitable as an aid for understanding the fluctuating course of the history of ideas. This is precisely what we are referring to with the concept "discussion situation". This concept can

attention and respect from the "discussion partners" especially because it is supported by comprehensive research on Platonism in the time of the emperors. There is a bibliographical notice and literary expansion in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 22 (1973), 133f. These papers now also in: H. Dörrie, *Platonica minora*, München 1976, with a useful bibliography pp. 524–548, esp. 538 ff. "Platonismus und Christentum" (until 1974). Dörrie's sudden death in March 1983 interrupted the stimulating discussion in which many scholars participated, cf. A.-M. Ritter, *Spätantikes Christentum und platonische Philosophie: Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte* ed. by C. Andresen, vol. I, Göttingen 1983, pp. 111–116 (Lit.).

³ E. P. Meijering, "Wie platonisierten Christen? Zur Grenzziehung zwischen Platonismus, kirchlichem Credo und patristischer Theologie", *Vigiliae Christianae* 28 (1974), 15–28; reprinted in the essay collection mentioned, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York 1975, pp. 133–146. This collection cannot compete with H. Dörrie in thematic concentration, but nevertheless in this question it does demonstrate the larger horizon of a synthetic standpoint.

⁴ Meijering, *Studies*, p. 136.

perhaps better grasp the influence of the laws of dialogue also upon the process of integrating Platonism into early Christian theology. The reason why our presentation now traces this development backwards – beginning with Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita – may be justified in retrospect by the presentation itself.

I.

As you know, one can debate whether in *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita* Platonism has been integrated into Christianity in a genuine sense of the word or not. Yet this is obviously the intention of this anonymous theologian. By means of the mystagogical plan of his Christian theosophy he wants to combine an ontological interpretation of being with “Heilsgeschichte” based upon revelation. He does this when he interprets the “ecclesiastical hierarchy” in historical Christianity as an emanation (πρόοδος) of the “heavenly hierarchy” and its transhistorical order of being which historical Christianity is striving to attain again (ἐπιστροφή). The facts are well known concerning the tradition history of the “Corpus Dionysiacum” whose core also contained the tract “de divinis nominibus” as an introduction and the “theologia mystica” as a concluding mystagogy. Here the debate in recent research may only be briefly touched upon.

The situation of this debate can be depicted as follows. Even though the thesis remains unshaken that Pseudo-Dionysius exhibits a synthesis of Neo-Platonism and Christianity in the traditional sense (René Roques; M. Schiavone)⁵, nevertheless the diacritical voices are growing. Two decades ago Philippe Chevallier already could raise the question: “Dionysius estne Christianus”⁶. This question, born of profound scepticism, has even lead to resignation in the most recent research regarding every analysis of the Dionysian corpus within the history of ideas. At the same time the scholars evasively withdraw to other areas. That is true, for example, of the monograph by R. F. Hathaway (The Hague 1969)⁷ who stretches the structures of order in the Areopagitic hierarchy onto the hermeneutic network of political science. This is also true of the dissertation by H. Goltz (Halle 1972). With a Neo-Marxist reference to Max Weber this dissertation emphasizes the “sociological” aspect of “dominion” and interprets the Areopagitic hierarchies as an “ideal type of rationally legal hierocracy”. At the same time this study of

⁵ René Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon de Pseudo-Denys*, Paris 1954; Michele Schiavone, *Neoplatonismo e cristianesimo nello Ps.-Dionige*, Milano 1963.

⁶ *Études Carmelitaines* 26 (1947), 308–316.

⁷ Ronald F. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius. A Study in the Form and Meaning of the Pseudo-Dionysian Writings*, The Hague 1969.

"the theory of hierarchical society" justifies its intention by saying that over against Pseudo-Dionysius the formulation "Neo-Platonism or Christianity?" has proved to be "an unsatisfactory alternative in Areopagitic research"⁸.

That of course was a somewhat rash judgment. Things are set right by a dissertation submitted in Göttingen at the beginning of this year and which will appear early next year in the series "Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte". It is the dissertation by Bernhard Brons entitled "Studies on the Relationship of Neo-Platonist Metaphysics and Christian Tradition in Dionysius-Areopagite".⁹ Diacritical analysis of a consistent "system criticism" can still bring clear results and even if only in negation. On the one hand it can vouch for the clear-sightedness and intellectual achievement of that anonymous Syrian theologian, who endeavored to integrate the ripest fruit of the philosophy of late antiquity, namely Proclus. On the other hand, however, diacritical analysis must also recognize that at the same time the anonymous writer, Pseudo-Dionysius, destroyed the Proclian coordinate system of ontic relationships through his Christian corrections. (These included the elimination of the world soul, the transfer of the ideas from the world spirit (νοῦς) to the transcendental $\xi\tau$, God's mono-causality in creation, and providence.) Pseudo-Dionysius thus also destroyed the synthesis he was striving for. The cracks in the Dionysian system were present from the very beginning and inevitably required the pseudo-epigraphic "packing", that is, what Brons calls the "Areopagitization" of the corpus of writings. According to his observations here was an on-going process of Christian orthodox coloring. In the course of time several "Areopagites" – if one may call them that – took part in this process. They introduced their orthodox corrections through marginal notes, as for example John of Scythopolis in the sixth and Maximus Confessor in the seventh century. They worked with interpolations in the text. They are probably also responsible for the loss of the Areopagitic writings known today only by title, which the author himself has mentioned, for example the "Symbolic Theology" or the "Theological Outlines": these were removed from the "Corpus Dionysiacum" be-

⁸ The Halle dissertation was printed unchanged under the title "Hiera mesiteia. Zur Theorie der hierarchischen Sozietät im Corpus areopagiticum" (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie, Vol. 4), Erlangen 1974. The series Oikonomia is edited by the professorial chair for the history and theology of the Christian East at the University of Erlangen. The above quotations come primarily from the presentation on pp. 25ff. Hermann Goltz provides an extensive bibliography on pp. 317–357.

⁹ The monograph appeared under the German title "Gott und die Seienden. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von neuplatonischer Metaphysik und christlicher Tradition bei Dionysius Areopagita" (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Vol. 28), Göttingen 1976. Questions of literary criticism were already anticipated in Brons' publication "Sekundäre Textpartien im Corpus Pseudo-Dionysiacum? Literarkritische Beobachtungen zu ausgewählten Textstellen", Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse 1975, pp. 101–140. It will not escape the reader that my Oxford lecture underlines and emphasizes even more strongly the carefully weighed judgments of the author.

cause they were capable of being theologically misinterpreted. And this was done although the writings themselves in part owe their origin to the apologetic endeavour to biblicize Dionysian thought as for instance the "Symbolic Theology" (Letter IX, 1113 b/c). In other words: we will have to take into account that in the process the corrective notes of orthodoxy were intensified.

This process of "Areopagitizing" elucidates with a concrete example what we mean by the catch-word of the changing "discussion situation". In accord with Dionysius' studies the first discussion phase can be characterized as follows: a Syrian theologian undertakes the bold attempt to take over into Christian theology the ontological system of his teacher Proclus. The "intellectual situation" in the Orient which was dominated by Antioch and its Aristotelian traditions averse to metaphysics did not stand in the way. On the contrary, it even allowed the anonymous writer to lean upon his Neo-Platonist teacher so heavily in the writings introducing his main work that he named one of them after a book title of his master's "*στοιχειώσις θεολογική*". In the other writing he quoted his teacher extensively under the pseudonym "*Ἰερόθεος*". The Syrian obviously did not need to fear that his heathen partner would be unmasked in the East.

Such a "discussion situation" – and here we come to a second phase – had to change however when the core of the Dionysian writings became familiar in places where the Neo-Platonists were known as resolute opponents of Christianity. For several reasons Athens comes to mind. Here, where Proclus had worked as a school principal, Christian criticism could very quickly expose the Proclian thought and tear the mask from the face of the fictitious authority of a "Hierotheos". A new disguise was needed to be able to retain the synthesis of Christian theology and Greek ontology. What was more natural than to look for a new patron and to select the local saint of Athens – the apostle's disciple, Dionysius Areopagita? Even at the beginning of the "Areopagitization" the same thing occurred that was to be repeated in the ninth century when Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis promoted the dissemination of the Areopagite in the Latin language by identifying Paul's disciple with the local Parisian saint and martyr Dionysius. Now at last the critical voices were silenced which had been raised from the very outset and which really started the whole process of "Areopagitization". This process can be characterized as an on-going discussion regarding the pros and cons for integrating the Proclian mysticism of being into the world of Christian thought. And this is a debate subject to the laws of the changing "discussion situation".

II

At the same time, Proclus, the headmaster from Athens, represents certain traditions of an "Athenian Neo-Platonism" in the second half of the fifth century. In the wake of Kurt Praechter one usually distinguishes between

this and an Alexandrian Neo-Platonism.¹⁰ The features mutually common in Neo-Platonism after Plotinus – I would only draw attention for example to the harmonization of Plato with Aristotle started by Porphyry – are of course not overlooked and the differences in essentials as well as in the nuances become all the more clear. Such nuances in the shift of emphases would include the differing exegesis of Plato and Aristotle, but I will not bother to go into that here. The fundamental differences however become evident in the doctrine of hypostases. In this connection let us recall the headmaster Plutarch of Athens at the beginning of the fifth century. Up until now Philip Merlan had presented him as the man who was the first to bring the Platonic school in Athens under the influence of Plotinus¹¹. However since Pierre Hadot's identification of the Parmenides commentary fragment in Turin with Porphyry one will have to be more precise and say that Plutarch made the Plotinian-Porphyrian doctrine of oneness at home in the academy at Athens¹². This is the doctrine that equated God with the highest *Ev* and thus also with the "ground of being which transcends existence". Here Plato's first five hypotheses in his Parmenides (137 C–160 B) play an important role. Plutarch interprets them as expositions of the five Plotinian hypostases (oneness, intellect, soul, sensuality, understanding). Proclus of Athens then enriched the Plotinian model of emanations by putting a "horizontal" expansion beside the "vertical", that is, downward unfolding. However by presenting all the Greek divinities as elements of this two-dimensional emanation process, Proclus made Athenian Neo-Platonism the "philosophical system" of pagan polytheism.

In contrast to this, "Alexandrian Neo-Platonism" put more emphasis on Aristotle in its metaphysics. Ammonius Hermeiou (second half of the fifth century) was the first Neo-Platonist to hold Aristotle lectures in Alexandria. He took up for example the Aristotelian concept of God as the "unmoved

¹⁰ K. Praechter, "Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus", Genethliakon Carl Robert, Berlin 1910, pp. 105–156. The distinction also determined his presentation ("Die Herrschaft des Neuplatonismus etwa von der Mitte des 3. bis zur Mitte des 6. (in Alexandria des 7.) Jahrhunderts nach Christus") in Überweg's Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie I, Tübingen ¹³1953, pp. 590–655, specifically 621ff, 635ff which has still not been surpassed. Heinrich Dörrie arranged a new edition of the collected "Kleine Schriften", Hildesheim 1973.

¹¹ The main work of Philip Merlan, From Platonism to Neoplatonism, The Hague ³1968 and his instructive presentation "Greek Philosophy from Plato to Plotinus" in: The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy, ed. A. H. Armstrong, Cambridge ²1970, pp. 11–132 are intended for a general audience. The specialists will welcome the news that after his death the research papers of this eminent American (California) have been collected by F. Merlan as "Kleine philosophische Schriften", provided with a preface by H. Wagner and printed by H. Olms, Hildesheim 1975 (=Collectanea XX).

¹² Pierre Hadot, "Fragments d'un commentaire de Porphyre sur le 'Parmenides'," Revue des Etudes grecques 74 (1961), 410–438. An interpretive evaluation of the Porphyrian commentary on Parmenides was given by P. Hadot in his "These pour le doctorat des lettres" in Paris under the title "Porphyre et Victorinus" I, Paris 1968, pp. 102–143; II, Paris 1968, pp. 63–115 (text and French translation).

mover" from the eleventh book of the "Metaphysics" (A 1071b 3–1076a 4) and the related notion of a two-level gradation of divinity. He combined this with the Aristotelian statements from Physics II, 3 and concluded that Aristotle understood the "first mover" in the traditional way as the "first cause" (*prima causa*) for a timeless-eternal movement of the heavens. But at the same time he designated the "first mover" as the "effective cause" (*causa efficiens*) for the inner-worldly, temporal events. Such an interpretation of Aristotle had to be welcomed by Jewish-Christian theology of creation. Above all such a synthesis was more philosophically formulated than the metaphysics of his predecessor in office, Hierocles of Alexandria, who flatly rejected the Plotinian doctrine of hypostases. Instead of this, at the peak of the universe conceived of as a unity he placed the demiurge as the creator of the world, who produced the cosmos out of nothing, that is, in a "creatio ex nihilo" by an absolute act of the will (Photius cod. 251). And this Hierocles, who is often called the founder of the "school of Alexandria" (Ph. Merlan), had once been a pupil of Plutarch in Athens and as such acknowledged the Plotinian hypostases! Can it be that he paid his tribute to the "genius loci" of Alexandria?

Let us pause before we enter into further details. Apparently the catchword "discussion situation" is not wholly adequate for our purposes. It focuses primarily on the immediate relevancy and thus on the changeability of the philosophical debate. There are however also trans-subjective and thus constant factors in the dialogue of the discussion partners. These create an abiding "intellectual climate" which constantly shapes every cultural centre. The traditional expression "genius loci" captures this well. Moreover it is to be noted that such an "intellectual climate" is not locally bound, but is rather of an expanding nature; from its starting point it has effects upon other intellectual centers.

Let us make these general statements more concrete and turn back to Hierocles of Alexandria. We already mentioned a few peculiarities of his "Neo-Platonism": the demiurge at the peak of his triadic structured ontology, the doctrine of the "creatio ex nihilo". As something new we might add the view that the highest God exercises his providence through angels, while the *Eιμαρμένη* only influences the effects of human acts. Hence Hierocles preserves the freedom of the will of autonomous man. For this view he conjured up an "Origen" as authority. However it is dubious that the famous theologian from Caesarea is meant. The reference is plainly to a Neo-Platonist trained in the school of Plotinus (Photius cod. 251 p. 461a 39). In spite of this the peculiarities of Hieroclean Neo-Platonism appear theistic, if not to say: Christian! Praechter, whom many followed on this point, already gave a twofold explanation for this¹³. He talked about Hierocles' "Pre-

¹³ K. Praechter, see above, footnote 10; further, "Christlich-neuplatonische Beziehung", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21 (1912), 1–27; also his article "Hierokles" 13, *Paul-Wissowa-Kroll, Realenzyklopädie VIII*, 1913, 1482f. He was followed in this point by Hermann

Plotinian Platonism" which was derived from Plotinus' famous teacher, Ammonius Saccas. In this way Hierocles avoided in cosmology and anthropology a head-on collision with Christian dogmatics. In contrast to the school at Athens the school at Alexandria was distinguished by the fact that its representatives were either converted or born Christians and remained so. Even Mr. Lloyd (Liverpool), who criticises the traditional view that Alexandrian Neo-Platonism derives from Pre-Plotinian Platonism of an Origen or Longinus, maintains that both the Neo-Platonists and the Christians in the Nile metropolis showed consideration for one another. For example the Neo-Platonists did not write a "theology of Plato" as Proclus did in Athens.¹⁴

This detailed report would, to begin with, only elucidate what was defined as "discussion situation" in the first part of the lecture. Modern research however permits us to widen the findings so that Hierocles can also illustrate what was called the "intellectual climate" in the second part of the lecture. In the introduction to the edition of "Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus'" (Leiden 1974), published jointly with Mr. van der Hort, Mr. Mansfeld (Utrecht) pointed out that this Neo-Platonist in the transition from the third to the fourth century has many features in common with Hierocles. Like Hierocles in his fight against Manichean dualism he rejects the doctrine of the pre-existence of an "evil" material (*ὄλη*). Like Hierocles, Alexander also denies the existence of divine hypostases ranking above the demiurge. Like Hierocles he advocates rather the view that the creator of the world made the cosmos out of nothing. Not without good reason does Mr. Mansfeld draw the conclusion that Alexander of Lycopolis represents the hitherto "missing link" in the history of Alexandrian Neo-Platonism. He is the link between the pagan Neo-Platonist and student of Ammonius Saccas, namely Origen, on the one side, and Hierocles in the first half of the fifth century on the other side¹⁵. In addition I would

Langerbeck, "The Philosophy of Ammonius Saccas and the Connection of Aristotelian and Christian Elements therein". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957), 67–74; cf. also his article "Hierokles," *RGK³ III* (1959), 314f. From the literary remains Hermann Dörries published the unabridged and original German text in the collection of essays: Hermann Langerbeck, *Aufsätze zu Gnosis* (Abhandlungen der Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse III, 69), Göttingen 1967, pp. 146–166. At the same time the editor stated in a footnote the differences between Langerbeck and H. Dörrie in the philosophical-historical derivation from Hierocles; however both agree that the connecting link is not Origen the Christian, but Origen the Neo-Platonist, even though a "pagan confessor" (Langerbeck) like Hierocles may stand closer to the Christian Origen (*de principiis*) than Plotinus or even Porphyry and "Iamblichus" (*op. cit.*).

¹⁴ A. C. Lloyd, in: *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 1967, p. 315f.

¹⁵ P. W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, "An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism. Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise 'Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus'", *Theta – Pi* 3 (1974); printed separately ("Alexander and the History of Neoplatonism"), Leiden 1974, pp. 6–47. For understandable reasons Mansfeld did not notice that Langerbeck (*op. cit.* p. 165f) had already referred to Alexander of Aphrodisias. Besides that, in his Olaus Petri lectures in Uppsala in 1951 ("Fornkyrkan och den grekiska bildningen") Albert Wifstrand

make a further observation. In comparison with his contemporary and classmate Porphyry, Alexander of Lycopolis is especially striking in that he speaks in a friendly way about Jesus of Nazareth¹⁶. Together with Hierocles he thus bears witness to an alliance in Alexandria between Christianity and Neo-Platonism which lasted for more than a century. This alliance was a pragmatic relationship founded upon the common defence against Manichean dualism and its wholly pessimistic contempt for man. By way of contrast the alliance was based upon a mutual affirmation of man's dignity – whether understood as an expression of the created image of God or as proof of the all-governing Logos which confirms in the rational decision of the will man's autonomous freedom. It is precisely the humanistic element which should not be overlooked in the Alexandrian alliance between Christianity and Neo-Platonism!

The alliance, after all, is not simply a local phenomenon limited to Alexandria! Elsewhere too, through their struggle against Manicheism, the two parties sought to establish contact with one another. The Christians were more strongly interested in this contact because Manicheism disguised itself as Christian while advancing into the West. The Christian theologians also wrote the majority of the tracts "contra Manichaeos"¹⁷. All the more attention should be paid to the fact that the last representative of pagan Neo-Platonism in Athens – Simplicius (died after 533 A.D.) – also joined in the defence against Manicheism at the end of his career. Yet in questions of cosmology he had polemicised vehemently against his Neo-Platonist fellow from Alexandria who had been converted to Christianity – Johannes Philoponus. It is significant that Simplicius inserted his criticism of Manicheism into his commentary on Epictetus' "Enchiridion"¹⁸. He too made clear that it was primarily the humanistic motive which had brought about the alliance of pagans and Christians against the Manichean disparagement of the world as totally evil.

had already pointed out the common ground between Alexandrian Christians and Neo-Platonists at the time of Hierocles in their "struggle against intense propaganda of the Manicheans", cf. the German translation, "Die alte Kirche und die griechische Bildung", Bern (Dalp) 1967, p. 95.

¹⁶ The name itself does not occur in the tractate against the Manicheans. However the lecture formulation was consciously chosen in view of the characterization of Christianity as a "simple minded (*ἀπλῆ*) philosophy limited to ethics" (Introduction, *op. cit.*, p. 48ff) whose metaphysical doctrine of God of course is pretentious. That calls to mind the theological liberalism of the 19th century with its emphasis on the ethical teachings of "Jesus of Nazareth".

¹⁷ For this, and for the spreading of Manicheism see R. M. Grant, "Manichees and Christians in the Third and Early Fourth Centuries", in: *Ex orbe religionum*, Studia Geo Widengren oblata I, Leiden 1972, pp. 430–439; further P. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manicheism in the Roman Empire", in his essay collection: *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, London 1972, p. 94.

¹⁸ For this cf. Ilsetraut Hadot, "Die Widerlegung des Manichäismus im Epiktetkommentar des Simplicios", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 51 (1969), 31–57.

Even the Latin Neo-Platonism of the West joined the alliance. Whoever that anonymous writer may have been who wrote a "Book Against the Two Principles of the Manicheans" and addressed it "to the Manichean Justinus" (PL 8, 999-1010), the fact that he chose the name "Marius Victorinus" as pseudonym shows clearly which intellectual camp he comes from. Furthermore that is true for his statements about the ontic "non-existence" of "nothingness" (chap. 11) and his appeal to the "highest, unlimited, universal, omnipotent and all-preserving" God as the "sole and exclusive principle" (chap. 14 end).

The denial of an ontic existence of evil reminds one of Augustine. Indeed, the North-African church father also belongs to this common front of Neo-Platonists and Christians against the Manichean archenemy. Moreover among his contemporaries Augustine wrote the most Anti-Manichean polemical writings. Of course his personal past and relationship to the Manicheans played a role here. But such shadows from the past surely will have faded at the end of a long life of Christian testimony when Augustine composed the final books of "de civitate Dei" and his "Enchiridion". However, what made him then hold on to the basic dogmas of Neo-Platonism like the ontological affirmation of being as an expression of the highest existence created by God or the definition of evil as the "absence of good" (*privatio boni*), if not the fundamental rejection of "nihilism" in his time? Augustine too bears witness to that "intellectual climate" in the fourth and fifth century which is characterized by the rejection of metaphysical dualism.

We are dealing here with the "intellectual situation" of a century. It dominates the philosophical discussion in the Mediterranean world going far beyond the local and momentary "discussion situation" as well as beyond the differences within the Neo-Platonic school. To stay with the terminology of the English expression "intellectual atmosphere": the philosophical "weather map" is influenced by the "low pressure area" of Manicheism. A similar "weather map" could be drawn also for the "intellectual situation" of the second and third century. It can even attract more interest because it was in this period that the abiding synthesis of Christianity and Platonism was established. To be sure, the intellectual situation of this earlier century is somewhat more complicated because next to the "low pressure area" of gnosticism there is also a "high pressure area" which can exert its positive influence. I am referring to "Middle-Platonism" which came out of the profound crisis of neo-academic scepticism. Its system was geared to compromise and therefore it virtually forced itself upon theistic philosophy of religion whether Jewish or Christian.

III

But the time has run out! The "intellectual situation" of the second and third century really deserves a still more detailed treatment since it represents the wellspring of early Christian apologetics and theology; I hope to be able to give this treatment elsewhere. Here a concluding summary will only state what the working terms "discussion situation" and "intellectual climate" can do for a better understanding of the integration process of Platonism into Christianity. The following summary will also state what these terms are *not* able to do.

a) The introductory statements already pointed out that the dialogue of the "discussion situation" presupposes a readiness to make concessions and therefore is aimed at bringing the standpoints closer together. Which of the discussion partners was more ready to compromise when contact was made between early Christian theologians and Platonic school-philosophers is not certain from the outset. The Christian side was not predestined to indolence just because of its religious confessionism. On the contrary, early Christian confessionism had a missionary thrust! Dörrie errs when he ascribes to a basically indolent confessionism incompatibility with related thought systems. However the Neo-Platonist side had also been trained in the spirit of compromise, at least in the readiness to say "we agree to differ". Behind this stood an even older tradition. Ever since Werner Jaeger's *Studies on Aristotle* (1923) and his analysis of the lost early writings of Aristotle, we are familiar with the new type of "discussion-dialogue".¹⁹ Whereas the originator of the philosophical dialogue, Plato, inquires dialectically about the one truth, the "discussion-dialogues" of the young Aristotle set one opinion against another and reproduce the amicable, peaceful juxtaposition of views in the discussions of the Platonic academy. These were intended for the public, that is, they were of a hortatory nature. The Aristotelian "instructive writings" were reserved for only a select circle of students. We are dealing here with precisely those writings preserved for us which in the nineteenth century caused Aristotle to be snubbed as a kind of logical systematician. Ever since Werner Jaeger one should not lose sight of the fact that it was not the dialectical Plato-dialogue, but the "discussion-dialogue" of Aristotelian origin which dominated the traditions of academic school activity. It was revived in the Neo-Platonism of late antiquity. This philosophy had long forgotten to pay attention to the inner logic of a system and instead – as Proclus shows – relied upon theurgic irrationalism.

¹⁹ In this connection I would call attention to the article by H. Langerbeck, "Der geistesgeschichtliche Humanismus. Zu Werner Jaegers 60. Geburtstag" which was written already in 1948, but first put in print by Hermann Dörries in the collection of essays mentioned in footnote 13, pp. 180–203. This article (p. 185f) especially stresses as the merit of Werner Jaeger's well-known book on Aristotle (1923) that with the "discussion-dialogue" a form was created diverging strongly from Plato.

According to our observations the "discussion situation" of constantly changing times as well as the "intellectual climate" of a continuing intellectual epoch both exert an alienating influence upon fundamental-systematic reflection. In the first case mentioned it is prematurely interrupted by a liberal readiness to make concessions. A synthesis of the standpoints is the set goal to which systematic reflection must be subordinated. The apologetic motive dominates the dialogue and is anxiously intent on not allowing it to be broken off. Here there is fervor and the desire for understanding. The current "discussion-situation" usually stands at the beginning of a development and can further it precisely by virtue of its "productive misunderstanding". In the second case mentioned of the ossified "intellectual situation" the alienating effect occurs when in the course of the discussion certain basic dogmas become tabu which neither philosophers nor theologians dare to question. Here the synthesis is the given starting-point which one must return to again. That can be seen especially at the end of a period of development which not accidentally is marked by scholasticism. Its systematic reflection moves within a set framework like a prisoner in his cell. It is thus obvious that the development in late antiquity both in the history of philosophy and of theology was affected by factors which favoured neither logical thinking nor its consistent systematization. In this intellectual world diacritical dialectics had only a narrow leeway. On the other hand the doors were wide open to uncritical acceptance of heterogeneous concepts and ways of thinking, especially since everything went on within the practices of school life.

b) Such statements already indicate what task the two hermeneutical concepts presented this evening can *not* perform. They cannot measure the independent intellectual achievement of a superior mind – be it of philosopher or theologian. There are figures in the history of ideas who transcend such criteria. In the framework of our topic I would concede without hesitation such a special position to Plotinus and Gregory of Nyssa, even if I should thereby prompt the counter-question why Origen, Augustine and other church fathers are not included in this special class. For the choice of the man from Nyssa I would have to refer again to Werner Jaeger, who was able to show that Gregory in his Christian seclusion also very well knew how to philosophize in a Platonic-dialectical way. Others after him²⁰ have showed impressively how Gregory advanced to the concept of the infinity of God in a way which can hardly be described with the concept "Platonizing" (Dörrie). At the same time he does not only leave the negative theology of the school of Origen far behind, but he also criticizes the conception of God in classical metaphysics. This "quiet mind" was such a consistent Platonist that he consciously abolished the Aristotelian logic for the soul's

²⁰ For example I think of Ekkehard Mühlenberg, *Die Menschlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa. Gregors Kritik am Gottesbegriff der klassischen Metaphysik* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Bd. 16), Göttingen 1966.

knowledge of God and its "ascent to God". Thus he also left the contemporary Platonists far behind.

As we said – our hermeneutical concepts, "discussion situation" and "intellectual climate", are not master keys for solving all the problems connected with the process of integrating Platonism into Christianity. Even if they help to understand better the "intellectual atmosphere" in the schools of the philosophers and catechists, they fail to work in the face of the towering minds in the history of philosophy and theology. Nevertheless Gregory of Nyssa who has been cited here represents the finest example of a perfect synthesis between Christianity and Platonism. In his independent intellectual achievement he confirms what we observed on the broader basis of teaching activity to be the result of compromise – namely the synthesis.

Pagan and Christian Traditionalism in the First Three Centuries A.D.

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Let us be clear to begin with, about what is meant by "traditionalism" in this context. It is something which goes far beyond the unconscious influence or the free use of traditional material. And it does not mean an attitude to the authorities of the tradition to which one regards oneself as belonging which is respectful but at the same time genuinely critical. This latter attitude is excellently summed up in a few sentences from a sermon of a Christian Platonist of a later century, the Cambridge divine John Smith. "Whilst we plead so much our right to the patrimony of our fathers, we may take too fast a possession of their errors, as well as of their sober opinions. There are *idola specus* – innate prejudices and deceitful hypotheses that many times wander up and down in the minds of good men, that may fly out from them with their graver determinations. We can never be well assured what our traditional divinity is: nor can we securely enough addict ourselves to any sect of men. That which was the philosophers' motto *ἐλεύθερον εἶναι δεῖ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸν μέλλοντα φιλοσοφεῖν* we may a little enlarge and so fit it for an ingenuous pursuer of divine truth: 'He that will find truth, must seek it with a free judgement and a sanctified mind'."¹ We may find as we study the ancients something in the freedom of spirit with which Origen the Christian or Plotinus handled the traditions which they regarded as sacred which reminds us of this admirable statement. But they like other thinkers, Christian and pagan, of their time (and John Smith himself and other Christian thinkers of the 17th century and the whole period between it and the age of the early Fathers), would have accepted a restriction on that freedom which many, even among the small minority who have any respect whatever for ancient tradition, would no longer be prepared to accept. They would hold, that is, that there was one traditional authority which was an authority in the full sense, a body of teaching in which the fulness of universal truth was contained and with which it was not permissible to disagree, though of course it had to be interpreted rightly and intelligently. For many, perhaps most, of those few of us now-a-days who still try to believe in some way in a traditional religion and have some veneration for the past, this kind of restriction can no longer hold. For a number of converging reasons, one or

¹ John Smith Discourses I, most conveniently accessible in Gerald R. Cragg *The Cambridge Platonists* (New York 1968): the sentences quoted are on p. 84.

two of which may emerge from this paper, it has become a matter of obligation for us to approach even the most sacred authority and the most venerable tradition in the free critical spirit so admirably expressed by John Smith and to make no exception for Scripture or the most authoritative Church pronouncements.² This makes it all the more necessary to study the ancient form of traditionalism as seriously and sympathetically as possible, and to show clearly the degree of genuine freedom and rationality which was possible within its limitations.

We should note at this point that in most cases in the first Christian centuries, among both Christians and pagan philosophers, what we are dealing with is the acceptance of *one* traditional authority, not an indiscriminating blanket acceptance of everything handed down from antiquity. For practically all Christians the Bible stood alone and unchallenged as the one traditional authority in the full sense: though some gnostic sects, the Carpocratians and Naassenes, may have attempted to bring pagan philosophies or mystery-religions into their authoritative tradition.³ Among the pagan philosophers there were certainly those, like Antiochus of Ascalon in the 1st century B.C. who held that all the great ancient philosophers had taught essentially the same doctrines: the same over-ecumenical attitude is to be found in Hierocles in the 5th century A.D. and was probably not uncommon among the less thoughtful enthusiasts for the ancient philosophical tradition in the intervening period. But the more serious philosophers generally recognised one and only one traditional authority in the full sense. This is obviously true for Epicureans. Stoics are rather more eclectic, but on the whole the conservative Stoics of the Empire seem to have held firmly and exclusively to the main lines of Old Stoic dogma. Genuine Aristotelians are rather difficult to find in our period, but there is no doubt that for the great Alexander of Aphrodisias Aristotle was the one sufficient authority. And for the Platonists, with whom we shall be mainly concerned in this paper, Plato (often coupled with Pythagoras) is the only full traditional authority. Of course the traditional authority might be thought of as presenting in its perfected form a much more ancient wisdom going back to time immemorial. This will be discussed later in the paper, as will also the degree of authority attached to Christian Church and pagan school tradition.

But before we begin to discuss ancient traditionalism in its full and proper sense, the acceptance of an absolute traditional authority, it will be as well to glance at the very large areas in which the kind of free critical examination of earlier thought recommended in my quotation from John Smith could proceed completely freely and without inhibition. Because the thinkers of the

² Maurice Wiles's books *The Making of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge 1967) and *The Remaking of Christian Doctrine* (London 1974) are excellent examples of this sort of total critical rethinking of the tradition.

³ For Carpocratian reverence for ancient philosophers see Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* I, 25, 6. For Naassene exegesis of mystery-cults and pagan mythology see Hippolytus *Ref.* V 7-9.

first three centuries A.D. recognised, for the most part, one and only one specific tradition which was for them fully authoritative, there was a great deal of older thought which they could consider freely and criticise uninhibitedly, rejecting what they found unreasonable and unacceptable from the point of view of their own tradition and accepting whatever they found useful for the elucidation and development of that tradition. The so-called "eclecticism" of the philosophers of our period is in most cases, where the more serious thinkers are concerned, a matter of this sort of critical selection and adaptation of useful material from other traditions. The way the Platonists made use of Aristotle and their attitude towards him are particularly interesting in this connection. Aristotle, in spite of his unsparing criticism of Plato, stood in some ways very close to Platonism, and, as is generally recognised, considerable Aristotelian elements are to be found in some forms of Middle Platonism and in Neoplatonism. But Aristotle was never quite accepted into the Platonist canon, so to speak, of Scripture: he never became in the full sense a traditional authority for Platonists. Their attitude towards him varied considerably. Alcinous⁴ quietly and without acknowledgement incorporates a great deal of Aristotelian thought into his introductory account of Platonism. Atticus⁵ attacks Aristotle in the most passionate tones. Numenius proposed to "separate Plato from Aristotle, Zeno and the Academy".⁶ But we have most material for judging the attitude of Plotinus and later Neoplatonists. Plotinus, who had read Aristotle and his commentators extensively and uses a great many Aristotelian ideas, approaches Peripatetic thought with a critical respect very satisfactory to a modern scholar or scholarly philosopher. He thinks that Aristotle does disagree with Plato, and is wrong when he does so, but he takes his ideas seriously, discusses them thoroughly and intelligently, and often finds them worth adopting and adapting. Porphyry and the later Neoplatonists treat Aristotle more respectfully, study and comment on him more closely and thoroughly, and are inclined to minimise the degree of his differences with Plato. But his works are never part of Scripture for them. He is not a traditional authority in the full sense. Most of them (Hierocles the partisan of universal agreement is an exception)⁷ think like Plotinus that he disagrees with Plato on important points, and do not hesitate to criticise him when he does.⁸ The interac-

⁴ Professor J. Whittaker's articles ("Parisinus Graecus 1962 and the Writings of Albinus 1 and 2, *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 3 and 4) give ample reasons for restoring the *Didaaskalikos* to the obscure author to whom it is attributed in the MSS and no longer attributing it to the eminent Albinus.

⁵ Ap. Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* XV 3-9.

⁶ Fr. 24 des *Places* (1 Leemans) 1. 68-69 = Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* XIV 4. 728 D.

⁷ Ap. Photius *Bibliotheca* III 214 p. 129 Henry (173 A).

⁸ The carefully qualified attribution of a limited authority to Aristotle in the lower parts of philosophy by Syrianus in his introduction to his commentary to Books M and N of the *Metaphysics* should be compared with such criticisms as those of Proclus in *Tim.* I. 252. 11-254. 18: 262. 5-29: 266. 19-268. 23 Diehl which though respectful, are sufficiently deci-

tion of Platonism and Aristotelianism in late antiquity was continuous and fruitful: but the two never fused into a single tradition, then or later.

For the Christians, as has been said, the Bible (as read in the Churches and interpreted by the holy Fathers as soon as there were any) was the sole absolute traditional authority with which it was not permissible to disagree. This meant that the whole of Greek philosophy was free to them for critical reading, selective acceptance or rejection, and adaptation according to the requirements of their own sacred and authoritative tradition. This must be taken into account in assessing the relative degrees of freedom of thought and originality of Christians and pagan philosophers respectively. Here I must reluctantly disagree with a remark made by Dr. H. Chadwick in his admirable chapter on Origen in the *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy*⁹, which represents a point of view fairly widely held among Christian scholars. He says "The Platonism of Celsus, Porphyry, and, for that matter, Plotinus is in its feeling and temper a scholasticism bound by authority and regarding innovation and originality as synonymous with error. They would not have understood an attitude such as that expressed by Origen when he writes that 'philosophy and the Word of God are not always at loggerheads, neither are they always in harmony. For philosophy is neither in all things contrary to God's law nor is it in all respects consonant'." Surely Plotinus, and other Platonists too, could have understood Origen's attitude here perfectly well if they could have overcome the distaste induced by his selection of a barbarian traditional authority. It does not differ greatly from the attitude of Plotinus to Aristotle. Philosophy for Origen was not a traditional authority, but was something to be taken seriously, examined critically, and its conclusions favourably received when they agreed with the traditional authority which he did accept, rationally interpreted. And this is just how Plotinus, as we have seen, regards Peripatetic philosophy. And the later Neoplatonists were perfectly capable of examining earlier philosophers whom they did not regard as authoritative in the full sense, notably Plotinus and Porphyry, accepting their conclusions when they agreed with what they regarded as the reasonable interpretations of Plato and other great traditional divinely inspired authorities, and rejecting them when they did not. Both pagans and Christians of this period were capable of independent and critical thinking in much the same conditions and within much the same limitations. It has been maintained that the much sharper contrasts and conflicts between the Judaeo-Christian and the Hellenic traditions produced more striking and important originalities than the debates between pagan Hellenic philosophers – that they led to the discovery of the concept of personality, the philosophy of Being, and other interesting things. But these large claims do not seem to stand up very well

sive in tone and free of that awestruck reverence for sacred authority of which Proclus is eminently capable.

⁹ Part II ch. 11. p. 186.

to close critical examination. It does however remain true that an exceptional degree of freedom and independence can be discerned in the thought of Origen the Christian, as in the thought of Plotinus. Both were later regarded, by their Christian and pagan successors respectively, as deplorably original. An attempt will be made later in the paper to suggest very tentatively a possible reason for this exceptional freedom.

We now need to consider the reasons for the prevalence of this sort of traditionalism in our period and later. It will make for greater clarity if at this point we consider pagan and Christian traditionalists separately, though without losing sight of the very great deal which they had in common. Among the pagans, one important reason for the general swing back to tradition was fear, the sense that inherited ways of life and thinking were disintegrating from within, or, later, under attack from without by those unpleasant and aggressive barbarizers and deserters to an alien way of life and thinking, the Christians. Another particularly strong reason for the traditionalism of later antiquity, which has been given particular prominence by Heinrich Dörrie and others¹⁰, was the general conviction of the age that the oldest is always best, that we live in an age of decadence, at a low point on the universal cycle: that the ancients were nearer to the gods and the beginning of things and therefore knew much more about them than we can; the true, unalterable and unimprovable Logos was revealed in the beginning. It is certainly important to remember this if we are to understand the thought of late antiquity rightly. It was a conviction shared by both pagans and Christians, and the argument from superior antiquity which is based on it played a particularly important part in Jewish and Christian apologetic¹¹: though the Christians' conviction of the antiquity of their revelation has theological implications which go deeper than mere polemic, and will be discussed later. This is why Plotinus had to set Amelius and Porphyry to demonstrate elaborately and at great length that the books of the gnostics were recent forgeries, not documents of ancient Oriental wisdom.¹² If the Gnostics had been able to make people believe that their "book of Zoroaster" was really by that ancient sage it would have become immediately highly authoritative.

But I am not entirely satisfied that this explanation of the traditionalism of late antiquity, if it is presented without qualification or reference to the earlier history of Greek thought, accounts completely and satisfactorily for the phenomenon. We need to remember that there was a very strong tendency

¹⁰ cp. J. H. Waszink "Bemerkungen zum Einfluss des Platonismus im Frühen Christentum" *Vig. Christ.* 19. 1965. 129-162: H. Dörrie "Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der christlichen Theologie" *N. A. G. phil-hist.* 1967, 23-55.

¹¹ For a fine, vigorous, exaggerated example see Tertullian *Apologeticum* 19: but the argument is very common, and can be found in much more reasonable people than Tertullian.

¹² Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* 16.

to traditionalism, to following ancestral custom in art, literature and social behaviour, even in classical Greece, which would easily extend to philosophy when it had developed to a certain point, when the philosophers had produced intellectual structures which looked to some at least of their contemporaries as complete, final and satisfying as a Doric temple. The fascination of classical Greek literature and thought for us is at least partly due to the fact that they were the products of a society which was both a primitive agricultural, and therefore intensely traditionalist, community and an intensely sophisticated one, with a more than normal proportion of intellectually mature, independent-minded, critical and questioning people. We should have a more vivid idea of the particular flavour of the mental life of a Greek intellectual if we remembered more often and more vividly the sort of things Socrates and Plato (and the women of their families) did when they fulfilled their religious obligations as Athenian citizens. Perhaps, at least when we imagine the great writers and thinkers, we are still too much under the spell of the old classicist picture of gentlemen in white robes singing beautiful hymns before dignified marble statues. We tend to forget the blood and the phallic symbols and images, the lively piglets and lumps of very dead pork with which the most highminded and critical intellectual would inevitably find himself involved when he carried out the normal public and private rituals many of which went back to the Stone Age. Anything which at any period had been brought to what seemed an ultimately satisfactory form by the ancients was repeated with very little change to the end of antiquity by their descendants. And a great deal of this instinctive social and religious traditionalism persisted into late antiquity alongside the self-conscious revivalism and archaism and respect for the ancients based on a theory of primeval revelation and universal decadence prevalent among the tiny educated class.¹³

Further, it seems to me that late Greek traditionalism is perfectly compatible with the belief found among so many Greek intellectuals in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. in progress up to a point.¹⁴ Man, these intellectuals thought, had indeed progressed from a brutish state. His political institutions, his practical skills, and, eventually, his philosophy, had developed from primitive beginnings to their present much improved condition. But in the phrase "Man *had* progressed", the accent must be on *had*: progress, it was generally thought, was now finished. A Greek, long before the Roman Imperial period with its general conviction of the decadence of the present

¹³ A particularly important type of social and cultural traditionalism, which came to have increasing religious significance, was the veneration of the educated classes for the literary classics of Greek and Roman antiquity, which has been so extensively studied by Marrou and others, and was maintained, as they have shown, by the unchanging forms of ancient literary education from early Hellenistic times onwards. This of course was an important reason for the conviction of philosophers that philosophic wisdom was to be found in the ancient poets, mentioned in the next paragraph.

¹⁴ See W. K. C. Guthrie in *The Beginning* (London 1957) and E. R. Dodds *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford 1973).

and the superiority of antiquity, might well hold that philosophy had progressed up to a point, but that point was the high point, and all change thereafter must be decadence, or, at best, clarification of the essential doctrines and modification of detail. Aristotle, like many great philosophers since, seems to have thought in this way about his own philosophy. It is of course true that the thinkers of late antiquity generally believed and were sometimes seriously concerned to show that the teaching of the great philosophers whom they regarded as supreme traditional authorities presented in perfected and fully developed form an immemorial wisdom which was expressed symbolically in the myths told by the ancient inspired poets and could be found in the teachings of still more ancient Oriental sages: true philosophy for them had in some way to go back to the beginning of things. But the degree to which this belief in the immemorial antiquity of the doctrines discovered in the traditional authority was important seems to have varied a good deal according to the temperament and outlook of individual thinkers. Plutarch thought it worth while to show at length in his *Isis and Osiris* that all the Oriental wisdom known to him agreed with the teaching of Plato as he understood it. Numenius also clearly considered it important to show that the teachings of Brahmins and Jews and Magi and Egyptians agreed with those of Plato and Pythagoras.¹⁵ And to judge from a story told by Proclus on the authority of Porphyry¹⁶, it seems that the inspired authority of Homer was of quite desperate importance to that rather commonplace person the pagan Platonist Origen (I hope it is not any longer necessary to demonstrate that he was a different person from Origen the Christian). This Origen is reported to have continued bellowing for three days, purple in the face and streaming with sweat, in furious protest against the idea that Plato could possibly have meant to suggest that Homer and other ancient inspired poets were unfit to describe the achievements of the philosophic warriors of antediluvian Athens in their war with Atlantis.

But when we turn to Origen's greater fellow-student of Ammonius, Plotinus, the picture is rather different. There is a good deal of evidence in the *Enneads* that he shared the general conviction that philosophic wisdom was to be found allegorically expressed in ancient poetry and mythology. But, as Cilento has shown¹⁷, this was not a matter of much importance to

¹⁵ Fr. 1 a and b des Places (9a and b Leemans): 8 des Places (17 Leemans).

¹⁶ Proclus *In Tim* 19 D-E. I 63, 24ff. Diehl (= fr. 10 Weber). Origen's views (though not necessarily his emotionalism about them) were shared by the conservative Platonist Longinus (l.c.) The following comments by Porphyry and Proclus are interesting. Porphyry clearly did not in this context regard Homer as a philosophical authority (though he takes him considerably more seriously in the *De Antro Nympharum*). Proclus's concluding settlement of the question is an excellent example of the calm ingenuity with which the later Neoplatonists reconciled sacred texts and showed to their own satisfaction that there was really no quarrel between poetry and philosophy, Homer and Plato.

¹⁷ "Mito e Poesia nelle *Enneadi* di Plotino" *Entretiens Hardt V* (*Les Sources de Plotin*) (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1960) pp. 245-310.

him. And the story of how he tried to go East to study Persian and Indian philosophy suggests that he also shared the general belief in ancient Oriental wisdom¹⁸, though there is very little trace of this in the *Enneads*¹⁹, and again it does not seem to have been very important to him. As regards philosophy earlier than Plato, his casual references to the Pre-Socratics suggest that he thought that Plato had improved on them very considerably. His attitude to Pythagoras is particularly interesting. For Numenius before him, and for Porphyry and still more Iamblichus after him, that comparatively ancient sage was a traditional authority if anything more venerable, though less universal, than Plato. Pythagoreanism and Platonism formed a single tradition of which the true founder was Pythagoras. But Plotinus twice attacks views which he knows to be attributed to the Pythagoreans – their identification of time with the whole heaven and the famous soul-harmony doctrine.²⁰ In neither case does he commit himself to saying that the Pythagoreans actually held the views attributed to them by others, and in the second he says clearly that he thinks they have been misunderstood. But he makes no attempt to expound or defend what he considers to be the true Pythagorean doctrines, and is clearly not very much interested in them. And in another passage, from the treatise *On the Descent of the Soul*²¹, in the course of a very rapid survey of Pre-Socratic views on the fall of the soul, he remarks that the “the riddling statements of Pythagoras and his followers on this and many other matters” are no clearer than those of Empedocles (though of course Empedocles makes himself still more obscure by writing poetry). This is hardly even polite to Pythagoras, and suggests an attitude to Pythagoreanism rather more like that of Aristotle than that of Iamblichus. Plotinus was a firm traditionalist in the ancient manner, but it does not seem that he thought that the oldest philosophy was always the best. His one traditional authority in the full sense, the one ancient sage with whom he does not consider it permissible to disagree, is Plato.²² And it is important to notice that even the more extreme admirers of remote antiquity refer to the most ancient wisdom to confirm, not to criticise, their much more recent supreme traditional authority, who always remains central and uniquely important, and is never thought of as declining from or distorting the primeval Logos.

¹⁸ Porphyry *Life* ch. 3, 15–17.

¹⁹ In the most important passage, the observation on hieroglyphics in V 8 (31) 6 he is careful to leave the question open whether the sages of ancient Egypt arrived at their admirable representation of the non-discursiveness of the intelligible world ἀκριβεί ἐπιστήμη . . . εἴτε καὶ συμφύτω (1–2).

²⁰ III 7 (45) 2 and 8: IV 7 (1) 84.

²¹ IV 8 (6) 1, 17–22.

²² I have discussed the attitude of Plotinus to Plato at some length in my “Tradition, Reason and Experience in the Thought of Plotinus” *Plotino e il Neoplatonismo in Oriente e in Occidente* (Rome 1974) pp. 171–194 and given some reasons for doubting Professor Rist’s view that Plotinus did occasionally think it permissible to disagree with Plato (pp. 178–180).

Christian attempts to appeal back to the primeval revelation in its pure form in the Jewish Scriptures from the garbled versions given by the Greek philosophers were very ill received by their pagan contemporaries, just as Christians were not best pleased when Jews or pagans suggested that their religion was a recent perversion of the ancient Jewish tradition.

The traditionalism of the Christians of our period and later centuries is first of all to be attributed to the fact that they were men of their age and shared its spirit and outlook. What Dr. Meijering has so well demonstrated about the Father's adaption of certain contemporary ideas²³ applies with even more force to their traditionalist outlook. As he says "One does not choose a 'Zeitgeist', but the 'Zeitgeist' has us in its grip whether we like it or not."²⁴ As a result of their necessarily independent and hostile attitude to Hellenic pagan rites and the Jewish ceremonial law they were not bound in the same way as their pagan contemporaries by the instinctive traditionalism of Mediterranean societies in matters of religious practice which I mentioned earlier.²⁵ This contrast became more marked, as far as the philosophers were concerned, in the fourth and succeeding centuries when the last pagan Platonists committed themselves to the defence of all the antique cults and observances of Mediterranean paganism. But as far as thought was concerned the Christians were as traditionalist as any of their contemporaries. They looked back to a supreme traditional authority with which they held that it was not permissible to disagree even more clearly and firmly than the pagans. And they were convinced, and demonstrated at great length, that the teachings of this supreme authority, the teachings of Christ and his Apostles recorded in the New Testament, were in all essentials the same as those of the Old Testament, the most ancient of Oriental traditions going back to a time long before the earliest of the poets whom the pagans regarded as inspired, and making by comparison Greek philosophy seem, when this was required for apologetic purposes, a very modern and dubious affair. The Christians, as is well known, were very conscious of the apologetic advantage which their claim to possess an immemorial Oriental wisdom gave in their world, and asserted and exploited it to the full. But it would be a grave misjudgement to dismiss the Christian conviction of the unity of the Testaments as nothing more than the result of the spirit of the age or as a successful apologetic device. There were deep religious reasons for it, of which controversy with Gnostics and Marcionites made Christians of the Great Church fully conscious. To maintain the unity of the revealed tradition from the beginning was for them to maintain the unity of God's action in the world. It meant that the Redeemer was also the Creator: that the same God, the same Logos and

²³ In the papers collected in his *God Being History* (Amsterdam-Oxford-New York 1975): cp. also his earlier book *Orthodoxy and Platonism in Athanasius* (Leiden 1968).

²⁴ op cit. "What could be the Relevance" p. 150.

²⁵ p. 419. This sort of instinctive traditionalism, of course, asserted itself with great force in the Church of later centuries.

the same Spirit had acted, spoken, given life and inspired in the beginning and throughout all the ages who continued to do so with even greater fulness and clarity in the new dispensation. This was the orthodox Christians' essential defence in principle against the absolute supernaturalism of the Gnostics, the complete dichotomy between the life of the elect and the irrelevant, futile or evil world in which they found themselves: and it could be the foundation of a very positive attitude to God's good creation and magnificent hope of its total redemption: though it must be admitted that very orthodox Christians who were horrified by Gnostic or Marcionite theology have not infrequently adopted an attitude of practical Gnosticism towards God's creation, or considerable parts of it. Irenaeus' superb exposition of this great theme is well known: and it has recently been very precisely discussed and compared with relevant aspects of the thought of Plotinus in one of the best of Meijering's excellent articles on Irenaeus.²⁶ It will therefore be unnecessary to discuss it further here, except perhaps to comment briefly on Meijering's mild criticism of some remarks of my own, in a comparison of pagan Neoplatonist and Christian attitudes to the cosmos which I offered in honour of Professor J. H. Waszink.²⁷ I had detected in general in the Christian thought of the first three centuries and later, as compared with the Platonism of Plotinus, a certain shift of religious emphasis from the natural to the ecclesiastical cosmos resulting in a new and radical sort of religious anthropocentrism, which I suspect may have had far-reaching and rather undesirable consequences. Meijering is undoubtedly right in implying that I should have paid more explicit attention to the doctrine of the unity of Creation and Redemption which he and Irenaeus expound so well: and he is also right in drawing attention to the obvious fact, which I omitted to mention, that the Christians, though they disagree with the Platonists, agree with the Stoics in their anthropocentric view of Divine Providence²⁸ (this may possibly have had some influence on the monstrous development of theoretical and practical anthropocentrism in post-Renaissance European thought, in the teeth of the discoveries of modern science about the universe and man's place in it). But it still seems to me to be possible that I might have been right as well: that even given the noble doctrine of Irenaeus, and given that it was shared by many other Christian teachers and preached to the faithful of many Christian congregations, the material cosmos as a whole might still have had less religious relevance for Christians than for pagan Platonists, and that there may have been, even in these first centuries, a perhaps at first small but decisive shift towards a "churchy" view of the sacred.

²⁶ "God Cosmos History" *Vigiliae Christianae* 28. 4. December 1974 pp. 248–276, reprinted in *God Being History* pp. 52–80.

²⁷ "Man in the Cosmos" *Romanitas et Christianitas* ed. W. den Boer et al. (Amsterdam-London 1973).

²⁸ H. Chadwick, *Origen Contra Celsum* (Cambridge² 1965) X f.

Though the Christians had such deep and good reasons for maintaining the unity of their tradition back to the primal revelation, and found such apologetic advantage in the maintenance of its antiquity, they were of course even more effectively safeguarded than the pagan philosophers from any unthinking assumption that the oldest was always the best. They were as unshakably convinced of the immeasurably superior fulness and power of the revelation given in Christ Incarnate and recorded in the New Testament to that given in the Old as they were of the essential unity and continuity of the two. Their supreme traditional authority was both noticeably more recent and far more authoritative in comparison with earlier utterances of the universal Logos than any great classical Greek philosopher, even Pythagoras or Plato, could seem to the most devoutly traditionalist pagan contemporary. I do not propose at this point, or any other, to make much of the sharp distinction which some might wish to introduce between the authority of "revelation" for the Christians and "reason", even of the most venerable traditionally guaranteed sort, for the philosophers. To do so would, I think, misrepresent the position of the ancient philosophers, who, in our period certainly, and quite often before, were not "rationalists" in any sense in which the word would naturally be used nowadays. The kind of spiritual or intellectual insight, possible only to those who were good as well as wise, which was alone the mark of real philosophical attainment among the ancients, went far beyond rationality as we usually conceive it, and was felt as a participation in and an illumination by the one divine Logos, however precisely it was conceived. Plotinus is the least "supernaturalist" of the Neoplatonists. But he was continually aware of the lifting love and enlightening radiance which came to him from the transcendent Good through the noetic world in which he felt himself rightfully at home. (The difficulties which a modern translator encounters in rendering the Greek word *Nous* perhaps indicate something of what is in question here.)²⁹ And Porphyry unhesitatingly attributes his master's philosophic attainment to divine guidance.³⁰ The later Neoplatonists after Iamblichus had a still more explicit sense of the need for divine help and guidance in philosophy, but to discuss their position and its implications would take us too far outside our limits. But for the pagan philosophers the action of God on the human mind is universal and continual; the divine light is always available to all men according to their capacity to attain it. Till we come to the later Neoplatonists, they do not think much in terms of particular revelations. And the Christians *were* thinking in terms of a particular revelation given to special groups of men, the old and the new Israel: groups, moreover, which were thought of in some way as representing the whole human race. We encounter here the paradox which has been a great source of strength to the Church in ancient times, as of increasing weakness in more modern ones: the universal claims of a so-

²⁹ cp. the interesting remarks of Cilento and others in *Entretiens Hardt* V pp. 421-425.

³⁰ *Life* ch. 23.

ciety which in fact is, and always has been, obviously particular and peculiar. It was this vivid awareness of a recent particular revelation with universal claims which transcended and at the same time fulfilled and was continuous with the earlier revelation which led to the development of the form which some early Christian thinkers gave to the general Judaeo-Christian conviction that God works out his purposes in human history. This was the great doctrine of God's gradual education of the human race through his progressive self-revelation, again best expounded by Irenaeus³¹, and explicitly extended by Clement of Alexandria³² to the divine education of the Greeks through philosophy, a doctrine which goes well beyond the classical Greek ideas of intellectual progress referred to earlier.

A distinction which is not always sufficiently clearly made in considering ancient traditionalism is that between the authority of the original teaching of the Founder of Church or School and the authority of the continuing tradition, the interpretation of that teaching in the church or school itself. It would be simple, but rather over-simplified, to dismiss the question of the differences here apparent between pagan philosophers and Christians by saying that the Church and a philosophical school are very different sorts of entities. This is true, but the differences between them are interesting and deserve a little closer examination in this context. In studying any philosophical school of our period, especially the Platonist, which was most important and about which we know most, we discover that though the authority of the Founder was absolute, the authority of school tradition was very slight indeed. Ancient philosophical traditionalism was not "scholastic" in any very meaningful sense of the word. The authority of the School was no sort of court of appeal. There was plenty of the "I read it in a book therefore it is true" sort of mentality about, and unintelligent and unoriginal people, then as now, simply reproduced what they had been taught or read. But the attitude of serious philosophers to their predecessors as well as their contemporaries in the School was highly independent and critical. It is now well established that this was the attitude of Plotinus to the commentators who were read at his lectures and the school tradition in general.³³ But the most interesting evidence here comes from Numenius, now so much more accessible to us thanks to the admirable new edition of the fragments by Professor des Places.³⁴ In the fragments which Eusebius has preserved of his acidulous and unfair, but penetrating and often entertaining book *On the Disagreement of the Academics with Plato* he shows himself an extreme

³¹ Adv. Haer. IV 9, 11, 14, 20, 28. cp. Meijering art. cit. pp. 259–260 (pp. 63–64 of *God Being History*).

³² e.g.: Strom. 1. 5, 28, 1 with its precise parallelism of the educative functions of Greek philosophy and the Jewish Law. cp. Salvatore Lilla *Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford 1971) ch. 1 where many further references are given.

³³ H. Dörrie "Plotino-Tradizionalista o Innovatore" *Plotino e il Neoplatonismo* (Rome 1974) 195–201 is one of the latest and best treatments of the subject.

³⁴ Paris 1973.

traditionalist in the sense in which the word has been used in this paper. He says of Plato's immediate successors *καὶ γὰρ με δάκνει διὰ μὴ πᾶν ἐπαθόν τε καὶ ἔδρων σώζοντες τῷ Πλάτῳ κατὰ πάντα πάντῃ πάσῃ ὁμοδοξίαν*.³⁵ And he goes on, very strikingly for a Platonist, to praise Epicureans for their devout and absolute fidelity to the teachings of their master and their condemnation of innovation as impiety.³⁶ It is clear that *ὁμοδοξία* with Pythagoras and Plato is as important to Numenius as *ὀρθοδοξία* to the most traditionalist Christian. But his attitude to the School is in the highest degree disrespectful. Any dogmatic and traditionalist Platonist would of course have had to repudiate the rather long sceptical period in the history of the Academy, and the fact that there had been this period may have affected the Platonic attitude to school tradition in general, though there is no evidence that it differed greatly from that of the other dogmatic schools. (The Epicureans, as Numenius remarks, claimed to have no distinct school tradition at all, but simply to preach from generation to generation nothing more or less than the pure gospel of the Founder). Numenius, however, extends his disapproval well beyond the Sceptical Academy. Antiochus, the restorer of dogmatic teaching in the school, is dismissed as an innovator.³⁷ And, more remarkably still, Plato's immediate successors, including his immediate disciples and close associates Speusippus and Xenocrates and Polemo, Xenocrates' convert, are accused of giving up a great many of Plato's ideas and distorting (*στρεβλοῦντες*) others³⁸ — though Numenius might have been expected to be sympathetic to them because of their Pythagoreanizing tendencies as well as their closeness to Plato. The traditionalism of Numenius, though rigid and absolute, is a traditionalism of return to the sources rather than of maintenance of a continuing tradition — one might almost speak of it anachronistically as a Liberal Protestant traditionalism.

It is fairly easy to see some reasons for the lack of authority of the continuing traditions of the philosophical schools in this very traditionalist age. The pursuit of philosophical wisdom was always an individual matter, the struggle to follow a personal vocation, though it was generally begun under the guidance of an often deeply revered master and carried on in a group of like-minded friends. The philosophical schools were never institutionalized even to the extent of the Churches of the first three centuries. There was nothing in late antiquity resembling a mediæval or modern university. And it is important to realise that the headship of such rudimentary institutions as there were (such as the Platonic Academy at Athens) or the holding of an official chair conferred no authority whatever on a philosopher. The Platonic Diadochi in the lifetime of Longinus and Plotinus were clearly quite insignificant persons who enjoyed no prestige of office among Platonists.³⁹

³⁵ Fr. 24 (1 Leemans) p. 63, 16–18 des Places.

³⁶ l. c. lines 23–31.

³⁷ Fr. 28 (8 Leemans).

³⁸ Fr. 24 (1 L.) ad init. p. 62 des Places.

³⁹ Porphyry, *Life* chs. 15 and 20.

There were no philosophical bishops, no persons in the philosophical world who were recognised as having authority to teach, and special divine assistance to enable them to do so rightly, in virtue of their office. It is possible that European attitudes to official Christianity may have been considerably influenced by the existence at the beginning of this alternative, unofficial, individual way of thinking about and teaching religious truth and the remembrance and persistent revival of it in later centuries. The bishops have never had it quite their own way because there has always been at least the danger of an outbreak of philosophy in the ancient manner and attempts at inoculation with an episcopally approved philosophy have never been very successful.

We all know that on the Christian side things were very different, at least in the Great Church. The rather Epicurean view of tradition so well expounded by Irenaeus was generally accepted. Sects and heresies there had indeed been, perhaps from the beginning, but the main tradition had always been and remained one, uniform and unchanging. To discover what Christ and his Apostles (between whom difference was inconceivable) had truly meant to teach, one only needed to consult the contemporary teaching of the Churches; and this meant more and more clearly from the second century onwards the teaching of the bishops. There are many ways of looking at and accounting for this much greater emphasis on the community and its continuing tradition in the Christian Church than in the philosophical schools. One reason for it which seems to me important is that for the pagans God's self-revelation was natural and universal and needed no special body to carry it other than that of the cosmos and the whole community of its intelligent inhabitants, especially of course those of Hellenic culture. The great philosopher who was accepted as the authority in a particular school had seen with incomparable clarity what God had to say to men in the universe, but he had seen what in principle was available to all. But the Christians, as has been said before⁴⁰, were thinking in terms of a special revelation given at one particular time, and such a special revelation requires a particular body to carry it, and special divine assistance and safeguarding to ensure that it continues to be reproduced authentically in each succeeding generation: this is particularly important if the core of the revelation consists in a number of what are asserted to be historical facts, which must not be allegorized away or deprived of their true significance by a too free interpretation.

But, though great emphasis on the continuing tradition of the Church is indeed characteristic of the Christian thought of our period, ecclesiastical traditionalism was not yet as rigid as it became increasingly from the fourth century onwards. (To discuss the various reasons for this increasing rigidity and elaboration, and the rather similar rigidity and elaboration which developed in the pagan Platonic school of the fifth and sixth centuries would

⁴⁰ p. 424.

require another paper.) But the Church in our period had not so much to say authoritatively as it had later, and here and there, especially at Alexandria, a good deal of freedom is apparent in the attitude to what it did say. Clement of Alexandria and Origen the Christian are thoroughly traditionalist in the sense that they hold that all truth is contained in the doctrine of Christ preached by the Apostles and contained in the Scriptures and that no genuine seeker after truth can go outside or disagree with this inexhaustibly vast body of authoritative teaching, the letter of which, at least, is transmitted in the Church of which they are loyal members. But Origen, to a considerably greater extent than Clement, feels himself free to go very far beyond the ordinary elementary teaching of the Churches here below and their bishops, and does not take a very high view of these or regard their authority with profound respect.⁴¹ He moves in the great world of the Scriptures with extraordinary freedom and confidence in his spiritual insight, and propounds original doctrines highly disconcerting to the ordinary Churchman with great assurance and absolute conviction that they represent the real meaning of Scripture. There is a certain likeness here to the freedom with which Plotinus handles Plato and the confidence which he has that his spiritual insight will enable him to attain the deepest truths of Platonic doctrine; though there are also important differences. Origen is much more concerned with detailed exegesis than Plotinus (he resembles Porphyry more closely here), though his methods are such that this does not inhibit his original insight. And there is another way in which a peculiar spirit of freedom seems to manifest itself in the teachings of the great pagan and the great Christian. In both the spirit of man can range freely through the spiritual universe from the summit to the lowest depths. There are of course most important differences between Origen's vision of the cyclic history of the community of free spirits and Plotinus' more static conviction that the self has no bounds or limits which it cannot transcend. But in both of them the spirit is free, able to transcend all limits till it reaches union with God⁴², not fixed in its appropriate place in a rigid hierarchy. And I think that it is possible that this conviction of unlimited spiritual freedom may have something to do with the ease and freedom of their exegesis of traditionally authoritative texts.

⁴¹ I find F. H. Kettler's view of Origen on the whole convincing. See his "Der ursprüngliche Sinn der Dogmatik des Origenes" (Berlin 1966). On Origen's attitude to the earthly Church *ἡ νομιζομένη* (or *ὀνομαζομένη ἐκκλησία*) cp. the mass of passages collected by Kettler from the works which survive in Greek in his enormous note 190 (pp. 48–51), and especially the passage from the Commentary on John on 4. 21 (worship in spirit and in truth, XIII 16. 240, 11 ff).

⁴² W. Theiler has noted this characteristic of the thought of Origen, but makes no comparison with Plotinus, and because of his mistaken reliance on the Hierocles text in Photius as a source of information about Ammonius, makes it a point of separation between Ammonius and Origen: "Ammonios der Lehrer des Origenes" *Forschungen zum Neuplatonismus*, Berlin 1966) pp. 30 ff.

If it is really possible to detect an unusual spirit of freedom and originality which set Origen the Christian and Plotinus somewhat apart from their contemporaries, and made them both seem deplorable innovators and heretics to their more conservative traditionalist successors, it is tempting, though hazardous, to speculate that the man who taught them both, Ammonius, might have had something to do with it. During this last year a seminar at Dalhousie University, under my direction, set itself to examine the scanty evidence yet again in the faint hope that we might find some light on this mysterious figure. As was to be expected, we emerged from our studies knowing no more about any doctrines which Ammonius may have taught than Professor E.R. Dodds⁴³, that is to say next to nothing. But, considerably to our surprise, we found ourselves with a very vivid impression of the sort of man he might have been. We came to see him as a man of the highest spiritual attainment, what my Oriental friends, on whose help in understanding the thinkers of late antiquity I increasingly rely, call a "Mahatma" or a "Hakim": a man who, by example perhaps more than precept, inspired confidence in his pupils that it was possible to ascend to the summit of the spiritual world (however the nature of that summit and the reasons for that possibility were conceived, and these may have been matters which were discussed endlessly and inconclusively in his circle). With this may perhaps have gone a freedom in handling traditional texts which would be a natural consequence of his consciousness of spiritual achievement. This at least would have been the sort of man of whom Plotinus could have said *τοῦτον ἐζήτουν*, and with whom he could have stayed happily for eleven years⁴⁴: and the sort of man who could have done something to bring out the spiritual confidence and powerful originality of Origen the Christian. (Origen the pagan, from what little we know about him, does not seem to have taken light from his master in the same way: but the closest associates of great philosophers do not always seem to appreciate their masters fully or share their deepest insights. Numenius was, after all, probably not so far wrong about Speusippus and Xenocrates.⁴⁵ Theophrastus was never very comfortable with Aristotle's metaphysics. And if we see Ammonius as a sort of late antique Socrates, we might see Origen the pagan as his Xenophon.)

I have given some reasons for not taking very much account of the distinction between "revelation" and "reason", except in the form of a distinction between a universal and continuous and a particular, once-for-all divine self-communication or self-manifestation. But it is important that we should take account of the distinction between "authority" and "reason", and I shall conclude this paper by discussing briefly how the traditionalist pagans and Christians of the first three centuries, and later, saw the relationship between the two. In this context I would define a reasonable man, one who

⁴³ "Numenius and Ammonius", *Entretiens Hardt* V, pp. 24–61 (with full discussion).

⁴⁴ Porphyry, *Life* ch. 3.

⁴⁵ above p. 426.

genuinely and seriously recognises the necessity of reason, as one who feels obliged to try to give an account of what he believes which is coherent and internally consistent and also in accord with all human experience which is available to him. In this sense I believe that the best and greatest thinkers, pagan and Christian, of our period and the succeeding traditionalist centuries, were eminently reasonable men. There were of course plenty of Christians in our period, of whom the best known example is Tertullian⁴⁶, who insisted very strongly on the weakness and corruption of human reason due to original sin and saw their traditional authority as opposed to, authoritative against, and overriding human reason. This is a position which it has always been tempting for Christians to adopt, and many less anti-rational Christians than Tertullian, men like the Cappadocian Fathers and Augustine, who did try very hard to make reasonable sense of the authoritative tradition, sometimes use this sort of language (it would be unkind, but not altogether untrue, to suggest that it is particularly attractive to controversialists when they get into intellectual difficulties and find themselves faced with rational arguments to which they cannot think of an answer). It is a position which can be (and frequently was) powerfully supported by the arguments from the disagreements of the philosophers so ingeniously used by the ancient Sceptics, which were particularly well set out in our period by Sextus Empiricus. But it is quite alien to the minds of any of the philosophers of late antiquity who made positive contributions to religious thought. It is not to be found in the later Neoplatonists, Iamblichus and his successors, who are so often unfairly accused of gross superstition and irrationalism. If we are to make a fair comparison between Christians and pagans and appreciate the real rational strength of ancient traditionalism we need to pay more attention to a very different view of the relation between authority and reason which is generally current in our period.

According to this, tradition is accepted as authoritative because in it is found the perfection of wisdom. It is assumed with complete confidence that whatever is found in the documents of traditional authority will, if properly investigated, turn out to be perfectly reasonable and, in all essentials, consistent. There can therefore be no question of a clash between reason and traditional authority: the two cannot be opposed. All important truths are to be found in the Scriptures or in Plato: and right interpretation of them will show that their teaching is both perfectly coherent in itself and alone adequate to give a reasonable account of all human experience. This seems to me to be the position of Plotinus and other pagan Neoplatonists, and Justin, Clement and Origen and, on the whole, of most of the most intelligent traditional Christians in succeeding centuries. It is important, if justice is to be done to them that this should be fully understood.⁴⁷ They are not traditiona-

⁴⁶ See e.g. *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* 6–12.

⁴⁷ This and the four sentences immediately following are taken from my Rome paper, *Tradition, Reason and Experience in the Thought of Plotinus*, p. 173.

lists or authoritarians in a way which requires the conscious perversion of reason to comply with the demands of traditional authority. When confronted with a piece of apparent nonsense in the tradition, they do not accept it as higher sense, or ineffably superior to sense. They, so to speak, take hold of it by the scruff of the neck and shake it till it makes sense. They apply whatever exegetical violence is necessary to produce an interpretation in accordance with reason. Their confidence in the total reasonableness of the traditional authority is absolute and unbounded, and their confidence in their own ability to interpret its teachings in the only rational, and therefore the only right, way, is hardly less so. This absolute confidence at once in authority and reason is the source of the intellectual strength and creativity of the Fathers and the great philosophers of their age.⁴⁸ But it is a confidence which most of us cannot share. We are too deeply affected by a sense of historical relativity to accept the teaching of any traditional authority as absolutely definitive and all-sufficient and we are too vividly conscious of our own relativity and limitations to believe that our methods will bring us to final and universal truth. Whatever we learn from the ancients, and I believe that we can learn very much, will have to be received in a spirit of honest tentativeness and perennially questioning uncertainty which would have horrified our teachers.

⁴⁸ Something should be said here about the very different attitude of the great Galen, esteemed by his contemporaries as a philosopher as well as a physician, at the end of the 2nd century A.D. This has been admirably discussed and documented by R. Walzer in his well known and often quoted *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford 1949). Galen was certainly not a traditionalist in the sense in which the word has been used in this paper and could, as Walzer abundantly shows, be called a "Hellenic rationalist" without further explanation or qualification. But Walzer was rather inclined to see Galen as more typical of the pagan Hellenic thought of his own period and the preceding century than I think that he actually was. Galen himself was fully conscious that his independent-mindedness, his explicit refusal to give unqualified allegiance to any tradition, philosophical or medical, was most uncommon in his own time. This is particularly clear in the passage *De pulsuum differentiis* iii 3: VIII 656. 8 Kuehn so well discussed by Walzer (pp. 37 ff.). And I think that anything like it had been uncommon and untypical for some considerable time before him: it did not represent the attitude of most professed philosophers. As for Walzer's very interesting discussion of possible Galenic influence on Theodotus and his group of Monarchians at Rome (ch. III, p. 75 ff), it does not seem to show that they were not traditionalists in the sense in which the word has been used here. Even if we accept as exact everything said by the heresiologists about their Hellenizing rationalism, it only shows them as engaging in just the sort of exegesis which has just been described, with all the help which Hellenic logic could give them. And their alleged passion for emending the text of the Scriptures is in its way a sign of extreme traditionalism. If the sacred and authoritative text cannot be made by the most vigorous exegesis to give a thoroughly reasonable sense, then the text as it stands in the available MSS cannot be correct. It must therefore be emended till it does give a reasonable sense.

Platonisme moyen et apologétique chrétienne au II^e siècle ap. J.-C. Numénios, Atticus, Justin

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Depuis une vingtaine d'années, les études sur le moyen platonisme se sont multipliées¹ et parallèlement, parfois indépendamment, on a beaucoup étudié les apologistes du II^e siècle. De cet effort, Justin a été le premier bénéficiaire². L'importance de son œuvre, ses attaches avec la philosophie grecque lui ont toujours valu une place de choix, avant Aristide et Athénagore, Tatien et Théophile d'Antioche. Et sa bibliographie récente est considérable; il suffit de rappeler les livres de Niels Hyldahl, L. W. Barnard, J. C. M. van Winden, E. F. Osborn, Robert Joly³.

Parmi ces ouvrages, ceux de N. Hyldahl et de J. C. M. van Winden, qui se proposent d'interpréter le prologue du *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, doivent examiner avant tout les rapports de Justin avec la philosophie grecque; les trois autres y reviennent constamment. Mais ils renvoient surtout à Platon; si dans les index les noms d'Albinus, d'Atticus, de Numénios, — et, pour ces deux derniers, la *Préparation évangélique* d'Eusèbe, qui en est la source principale, — comptent de nombreuses références, on néglige souvent les relations de Justin avec le moyen platonisme de son époque.

Il ne peut guère, à vrai dire, s'agir de dépendance. Justin est mort vers 165; l'acmé d'Atticus est de 176⁴; le seul inspirateur possible serait Numénios, à condition de le situer, avec R. Beutler et J. H. Waszink, dans la première moitié du II^e siècle⁵. Soit dit entre parenthèses, cette datation «haute» de

¹ Cf. «Études récentes (1953–1973) sur le platonisme moyen du II^e siècle ap. J.-C.» (Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé, 1974, p. 347–358).

² Cf. Wolfg. Schmid, «Frühe Apologetik und Platonismus, Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation des Proöms von Justins Dialogus» (Hermeneia, Festschrift für O. Regenbogen, Heidelberg, 1952, p. 163–182); Carl Andresen, «Justin und der mittlere Platonismus» (ZNW, 44, 1952/53, p. 157–195) et Logos und Nomos, Die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum, Berlin, 1955.

³ N. Hyldahl, Philosophie und Christentum, Eine Interpretation der Einleitung zum Dialog Justins, Copenhagen, 1966; L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr, His Life and Thought, Cambridge, 1966; J. C. M. van Winden, An Early Christian Philosopher, Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, Chapters One to Nine, Leyde, 1971; E. F. Osborn, Justin Martyr, Tübingen, 1973; R. Joly, Christianisme et philosophie, Études sur Justin et les apologistes grecs du II^e siècle, Bruxelles, 1973.

⁴ Chronicon d'Eusèbe-Jérôme, p. 207 Helm²; cf. E. P. Meijering, Orthodoxy and Platonism in Athanasius, Leyde, 1968, p. 27 et n. 9–11.

⁵ Cf. R. Beutler, R.-E., Suppl.-Band VII, 1940, c. 665; J. H. Waszink, Studien zum Timaeuskommentar des Calcidius I, Leyde, 1964, p. 23, n.

Numénios trancherait en sa faveur la question de priorité par rapport aux *Oracles chaldaïques*⁶. C'est surtout entre Numénios et Justin que je voudrais tenter des comparaisons. Auparavant, j'indiquerai quelques points où Justin s'accorde avec le platonisme contemporain en général, et ceux qui le rapprochent d'Atticus.

I. Justin et le platonisme contemporain

Justin reste devant la postérité le type du platonicien chrétien. Mais de Platon lui-même il ne connaît que quelques textes, peut-être à travers un florilège, et s'il a lu des dialogues entiers, ce pourraient être seulement l'*Apologie de Socrate*, le *Criton*, le *Phédon* et le *Timée*⁷. Son platonisme, comme celui des autres apologistes et de tous les Pères jusque bien après Plotin, est le platonisme moyen⁸. Ici encore, il faut distinguer. Si la position de Justin sur la durée du monde, — il a commencé, mais la volonté des dieux le préserve de la corruption (*Dialogue*, 5, 1 et 4), — le range parmi ceux qu'on appelle d'ordinaire les «orthodoxes», Plutarque et Atticus⁹; si la «quête de Dieu» du *Dialogue* (2, 3–6) rejoint les trois voies du platonisme contemporain, — négation, analogie, éminence, — communes à Albinus, à Apulée, à Maxime de Tyr¹⁰, trop d'incertitudes empêchent de l'annexer à une école particulière. En 1957, H. Dörrie «termin(ait) par un 'non liquet': le platonisme de Justin, teinté de christianisme, ne permet pas de déterminer à quelle école platonicienne il avait appartenu. Il faut se contenter de le rattacher au moyen platonisme»¹¹. C'est à cette conclusion qu'arrivaient dès 1952 W. Schmid¹² ou C. Andresen¹³; et dans la suite N. Hyldahl¹⁴ ou R. Joly¹⁵ n'ont pu la dépasser.

Ce qui complique la tâche, c'est la rôle du vieillard qui sert d'interlocuteur à Justin dans le prologue. Parle-t-il toujours en chrétien? Les répliques de

⁶ Cf. *Oracles chaldaïques*, Paris, 1971, p. 11 et n. 1 (mais H. Lewy devrait rejoindre, à la n. 2, A.-J. Festugière et J. H. Waszink: il tient comme eux pour la priorité de Numénios).

⁷ A ces dialogues, que Justin aurait «lus et relus» (E. de Faye), N. Hyldahl (p. 32) ajoute le *Phédon* et la *République*, surtout pour leurs mythes. Sur les florilèges de Platon, cf., en dernier lieu, H. Chadwick, s. v. «Florilegien» (ap. R. A. C. VII, 1969, c. 1131–1160), c. 1142–1143.

⁸ Cf. J. Daniélou, *Nouvelle histoire de l'Église*, I, Paris, 1963, p. 127.

⁹ Cf. C. Andresen, 1955, p. 310 et n. 8; J. C. M. van Winden, p. 93; E. F. Osborn, p. 48; R. Joly, p. 56–57 et 69.

¹⁰ Cf. A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, IV, Paris 1954, p. 92 sv.: ch. VI, «La doctrine platonicienne de la transcendance divine au II^e siècle»; E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge, 1965, p. 87 et 92.

¹¹ H. Dörrie, recension de C. Andresen (1955), in *Gnomon*, 29, 1957, p. 190.

¹² W. Schmid, in *Hermeneia*, 1952, p. 178.

¹³ C. Andresen, in *ZNW*, 44, 1952/53, p. 159, n. 7.

¹⁴ N. Hyldahl, p. 273 et 293.

¹⁵ R. Joly, p. 69.

Justin reflètent-elles un platonisme antérieur à sa conversion? ¹⁶ La difficulté éclate à propos de la syngeneia. Étudiant brièvement cette notion chez Justin¹⁷, je faisais naturellement appel aux deux principaux textes (*Dial.* 4, 1-2; *Apol.* II, 13, 3), mais sans les distinguer suffisamment. Quand Justin dit au vieillard: «l'être au-dessus de toute essence se trouve tout de suite inné aux âmes de bonne nature, en vertu de leur parenté (avec lui), *διὰ τὸ συγγενές*, et du désir qu'elles ont de le voir», le vieillard répond: «Quelle est donc cette parenté que nous avons avec Dieu?» et conclut: «Ce n'est pas par cette parenté (*διὰ τὸ συγγενές*) que l'homme voit Dieu, ni parce qu'il est esprit, mais parce qu'il est tempérant et juste» (*Dial.*, 4, 1-2). C'est là, dit E. von Ivanka, «le refus le plus décidé de la métaphysique platonicienne de l'âme»¹⁸. Mais si l'apologiste rejette cette parenté de l'âme avec Dieu, c'est pour en admettre une, seulement partielle, avec le Dieu créateur; la phrase de la *II^e de Apologie* (13, 3) prend un sens bien plus vigoureux si, avec J. H. Waszink, on relie *τοῦ σπερματικοῦ . . . λόγον* non à *τὸ συγγενές* mais à *ἀπὸ μέρους*: «chacun (des philosophes et des poètes), voyant, par une participation du Verbe divin séminal, ce qui lui était apparenté, a pu bien parler»¹⁹. Cette influence du *logos spermatikos* importe plus que la voie des emprunts, comme nous le verrons à propos de Numénios et Justin²⁰. J'ai traduit *spermatikos* par «séminal»; il ne faut pas confondre *logos spermatikos* et *sperma toû logou*²¹.

II. Atticus et Justin

Il a été dit au début que, sans pouvoir dépendre d'Atticus, Justin s'accordait avec lui et avec Plutarque pour attribuer au monde un commencement dans le temps. Sur ce point, on ne peut dire que Justin ignorait (*was unaware*) l'argumentation d'Atticus²²; il la partageait sans la lui devoir.

Se faisait-il une idée différente des «énigmes» de Platon? Porphyre écrira: «Cache-moi ces mystères comme ineffables entre tous; car là-dessus es dieux n'ont pas rendu leurs oracles clairement mais en énigmes», *οὐ* . .

¹⁶ Cf. R. Joly, p. 11-16 («Le manteau de Justin»).

¹⁷ Syngeneia, Paris, 1964, p. 185-196.

¹⁸ Plato Christianus, Einsiedeln, 1964, p. 96.

¹⁹ Cf. J. H. Waszink, in Mullus, Festschrift Th. Klauser, Münster/W., 1964, p. 385-386 et in *Vigiliae christianae*, 19, 1965, p. 147-148, contre R. Holte (ap. *Studia theologica*, 12, 1958, p. 109-168, «Logos Spermatikos»), p. 135, suivi par J. Daniélou, *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique* aux II^e et III^e siècles, Desclée, 1961, p. 43.

²⁰ A. H. Armstrong/R. A. Markus, *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy*, Londres, 1960, p. 142-144; R. Joly, p. 78, n. 345.

²¹ Cf. J. Lebreton, *Hist. du dogme de la Trinité*, II, Paris, 1928, p. 438, n. 1; J. Daniélou, *Message . . .*, p. 45 (avec R. Holte contre C. Andresen); et voir les distinctions de S. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, Oxford, 1971, p. 22, n. 4.

²² Ceci malgré R. M. Grant, *After the New Testament*, Philadelphie, 1967, p. 124.

φανερῶς . . . ἀλλὰ δι' αἰνυμάτων²³. Atticus, lui, "affirme que la génération de l'univers doit être entendue à la lettre, et non pas comme une énigme (μὴ δι' αἰνυμάτων), ni comme une fiction commandée par le souci de la clarté²⁴. L'*αἰνύσσεται* que Justin applique au *Timée* (*Dial.* 5, 4 début) ne l'oppose pas forcément à Atticus, comme le voudraient N. Hyldahl et E. P. Meijering: "Atticus proteste contre ceux qui, faute de prendre à la lettre les expressions de Platon, les considèrent comme une allégorie (*αἰνύμα*) pour quelque chose d'autre"²⁵.

Ajoutons que la définition des Idées chez Atticus est celle de Dieu chez Justin. Pour Atticus, les Idées sont «les modèles du devenir incorporels et intelligibles, qui restent toujours identiquement les mêmes, qui existent en soi souverainement et primordialement et sont pour les autres choses causes concomitantes (*παράττια*) que chacune est telle» (fr. 9, 1. 43 = *P. E.*, XV, 13, 5); pour Justin, Dieu est «ce qui est toujours identiquement le même et cause (*αἴτιον*) de l'être pour tous les autres» (*Dial.* 3, 5 début). Dans la question du vieillard, bien traduite par Archambault «Mais qu'appelleras-tu donc Dieu?», Thirlby avait, dès 1722, remplacé *θεόν* par *τὸ ὄν*; il a été largement suivi (Aubé, Goodenough, Schmid, Hyldahl, van Winden); mais après la définition, *τοῦτο δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός* (que défend van Winden²⁶) se comprend peut-être mieux si la question a porté sur *θεός*, et R. Joly maintient le *θεόν* du manuscrit: «Justin, en 3, 4, vient de définir l'Être suprême, non l'être en général²⁷.

III. Numénius et Justin

Chronologiquement, disions-nous, Numénius pourrait avoir influencé Justin. En tout cas, c'est avec lui que les points de contact sont les plus nombreux.

Dans la phrase du prologue qui précède la définition de Dieu et présente la philosophie comme «la science de l'être et la reconnaissance du vrai», *τοῦ ὄντος* peut recouvrir ou *τὸ ὄν*, ce que le chiasme avec *τοῦ ἀληθοῦς* rend vraisemblable, ou bien *ὁ ὢν*. Or, c'est l'*ὁ ὢν* de l'*Exode* (3, 14) qui revient dans le fr. 13 de Numénius (l. 4): «Celui qui est sème la semence de toute âme dans l'ensemble des êtres qui participent de lui». Mais J. C. M. van Winden (p. 61) évoque en faveur de son interprétation la transition de *τὸ ὄν* à *ὁ ὢν* chez

²³ Porphyre, *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* I (110 Wolff), ap. Eusèbe, *P. E.*, IV 8, 2 (I 178, 8–9 Mras).

²⁴ Fr. 4, 1. 23 (ap. Eusèbe, *P. E.*, XV 6, 4). Cf. J. Pépin, *Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1964, p. 41 et n. 2. Sur les «énigmes» de Platon, H. Dörrie, «Logos-Religion oder Nous-Theologie?» (*Kephalaia* . . . C. J. de Vogel, Assen, 1975, p. 115–136), p. 122.

²⁵ J. C. M. van Winden, *An Early Christian Philosopher*, 1971, contre Hyldahl, p. 207, et Meijering, p. 27–28.

²⁶ Id., *ibid.*, p. 60.

²⁷ R. Joly, *Christianisme et philosophie*, 1973, p. 45.

Clément d'Alexandrie (*Strom.*, I, 166, 4) : «la vraie (loi) est celle qui découvre et atteint ce qui est : Je suis l'envoyé de Celui qui est, dit Moïse»²⁸.

Un autre texte de l'Ancien Testament a inspiré à la fois Numénius et Justin : «l'esprit planant sur les eaux» du début de la *Genèse* (1, 2). Le fr. 30 de Numénius, qui cite l'expression, nous a été conservé par Porphyre au ch. 10 de l'*Antre des Nymphes*; c'est, dit H. Chadwick, «an illuminating commentary»²⁹, qui associe les Naiades, les divinités égyptiennes installées sur des barques et les âmes avides d'humidité : «pour Numénius, 'l'esprit de Dieu' du verset biblique symbolise les âmes, divines par leur origine, qui descendent dans la génération, et les eaux représentent 'l'élément humide' et plus précisément le 'sang', où réside la vie (cf. *Lév.* 17, 11, 'l'âme de toute chair est son sang'), et le 'sperme humide', qui la transmet»³⁰. Chez Justin, (*Apol.* I 64, 1 et 4), Coré, fille de Zeus, à qui on élevait des statues auprès des sources, «copie l'esprit de Dieu qui est représenté porté sur les eaux»; le § 4 n'a «rien de spécifiquement chrétien : ce thème de l'imitation 'n'est qu' une variante du thème juif de l'emprunt'»³¹.

La grandeur de Dieu s'exprime de part et d'autre en des comparaisons ou des termes analogues.

L'image de la lampe qui communique sa flamme sans s'appauvrir, comme celles de la lumière solaire et du feu transmis sans diminution, reviennent constamment avant et après l'ère chrétienne. Elles pourraient remonter au mythe de Prométhée, sous la forme de l'allusion de Platon dans le *Phédon* (16 c 6-7), cité par Numénius; au moins, à Posidonius, d'après R. E. Witt³², à la suite de qui j'ai nommé Ennius, Arius Didyme, Clément d'Alexandrie; on trouve d'autres textes profanes ou patristiques chez F. Ravaisson, J. Lebreton, E. R. Dodds, A.-J. Festugière, A. Orbe, M. Harl, J. Trouillard³³. On ne peut donc prétendre ici bien caractéristique le rapprochement entre Numénius et Justin. Le voici pourtant. Au fragment 14 de Numénius (l. 9-14), «Ce beau trésor, c'est la belle science, dont le donataire a bénéficié sans que le donateur en soit frustré; c'est ainsi qu'on peut voir une lampe allumée à une autre lampe et porteuse d'une lumière dont elle n'a

²⁸ Trad. M. Caster (Sources chrétiennes, 30).

²⁹ H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, Oxford, 1966, p. 129, n. 26; c'était, dit-il ailleurs (J. T. S., 1963, p. 496), un cas de la «syncretistic exegesis of Gen. I... floating about».

³⁰ P. Nautin, ap. In Principio, *Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse*, Paris, 1973, p. 94. Dans le même recueil, H. Corbin commente (p. 293-304) le verset coranique «Et son trône était porté sur l'eau».

³¹ P. Nautin, *ibid.*, p. 66-67.

³² E. R. Witt, in *Classical Quarterly*, 24, 1930, p. 206-207; 25, 1931, p. 200, n. 8.

³³ Aux références indiquées ap. Numénius, *Fragments*, p. 109, n. 4-5, ajouter : J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, Paris, II, 1928, p. 446-447; A.-J. Festugière ap. *Corpus Hermeticum*, I, Paris, 1945, p. 174, n. 1 a; *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, III, Paris, 1953, p. 35, n. 2, et 46, n. 3; A. Orbe, *Estudios Valentinianos*, I, 2, Rome, 1958, p. 595 (avec traduction du fr. 14 de Numénius); P. W. van der Horst et J. Mansfeld, in *Thêta-Pi*, III, 1, 1974, n. 46-47 et 51.

pas privé la source : sa mèche a seulement été allumée à ce feu, » on comparera ce passage du *Dialogue avec Tryphon* sur la génération du Verbe : « Lorsque nous proférons quelque verbe, nous engendrons un verbe, et ce n'est pas par une amputation qui diminuerait le verbe qui est en nous. De même que nous voyons que d'un premier feu s'en produit un autre, sans que soit diminué le feu où l'autre s'est allumé, tandis qu'au contraire il reste le même, de même aussi le nouveau feu qui s'y est allumé se fait voir bien réel sans avoir diminué celui auquel il s'est allumé » (61, 2); et au ch. 128, 3, ce rappel : « J'ai dit que cette Puissance avait été engendrée du Père par sa Puissance et sa Volonté, non par amputation . . . ; pour prendre un exemple, j'avais ajouté que d'autres feux peuvent s'allumer à un feu, sans que soit diminué celui auquel on en allume beaucoup; il reste le même au contraire ».

Pour désigner Dieu, Justin recourt à la formule « père et producteur de l'univers », qui vient du *Timée*, 28 c 3-4 : τὸν . . . ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, où πατήρ est associé à ποιητής, alors qu'en 41 a 7 il l'est à δημιουργός; c'est l'ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ de *Timée* 37 c 7, qui lui-même peut venir d'Euripide³⁴. Platon ne fait pas du démiurge le Dieu suprême, qu'il ne définit nulle part; mais il ignore le dédoublement attesté par les fr. 12 et 21 de Numénios : le premier, fragment proprement dit transmis par Eusèbe; le second, témoignage de Proclus. Le fr. 12 oppose (l. 12-14) « le Dieu Premier qui reste oisif dans toute l'œuvre de la création, qui est Roi, et le Dieu démiurge, le chef, qui circule dans le ciel ». D'après Proclus (fr. 21), Numénios proclame trois dieux et appelle le premier « Père », le second « créateur », le troisième « création », car le monde, pour lui, est le troisième Dieu; dès lors, son démiurge est double, le Premier Dieu et le Second, et le monde créé est le Troisième Dieu. Remarquons, avec H. J. Krämer³⁵, que cette hiérarchie n'est pas celle du fr. 11 (20 L.), où le premier Dieu n'est pas créateur, tandis que « du second se détache un troisième, lui aussi de nature démiurgique ». Comme Numénios, Harpocrate, disciple d'Atticus, rapportera ποιητὴν et πατέρα à deux dieux différents³⁶.

Si Numénios dédouble la formule du *Timée*, sans jamais la citer exactement, Justin l'emploie deux fois au moins dans le *Dialogue avec Tryphon*. En 56, 1, à propos de la théophanie de Mambré (*Genèse*, 18), il l'applique à Dieu le Père, non au Logos son Fils : « il était Dieu, le personnage qui s'est fait voir à Abraham près du chêne avec les deux anges qu'avait envoyés un autre Dieu, celui qui reste toujours dans les régions supracélestes, qui ne s'est fait

³⁴ Iphigénie en Tauride, 360 et 499.

³⁵ H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*, Amsterdam, 1964, p. 81.

³⁶ J. Dillon, « Harpocrate's Commentary on Plato » (Calif. Studies in Class. Philology, 4, 1971, p. 125-146), p. 127, n. 4, et p. 143-144; cf. W. Deuse, Theodoros von Asine, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 18 et n. 33. E. F. Osborn (Justin Martyr, Tübingen, 1973, p. 19) écrit un peu sommairement : « Chez Philon, Numénios et dans les écrits hermétiques, l'être suprême est décrit comme père, créateur et producteur de toutes choses »; pour Numénios, cette simplification ne rend pas compte des textes.

voir à personne, qui n'a jamais parlé lui-même; celui que nous reconnaissons comme créateur de toutes choses et comme père, ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων καὶ πατέρα; cf. le ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων de 60, 3. En 128, 4, avant le rappel de l'image du feu cité à l'instant, nous lisons: «Il a été démontré aussi que cette Puissance, que le texte prophétique appelle Dieu . . . et ange, n'est pas seulement nominalement distincte comme la lumière l'est du soleil, mais qu'elle est quelque chose de distinct numériquement»³⁷.

«Le titre de 'père de l'univers', que Justin aime à donner à Dieu, pouvait s'autoriser de la tradition platonicienne»³⁸. Mais le souci constant de sauvegarder la transcendance du Père, de prouver que dans les théophanies c'est le Verbe de Dieu qui est apparu, ne va pas sans danger de subordinatianisme³⁹; ainsi, en 56, 4, le Logos est «un autre Dieu et Seigneur au-dessous du Créateur de toutes choses». Ces tendances subordinatiennes se retrouveront jusqu'au IV^e siècle; chez Eusèbe de Césarée, l'influence lointaine de Numénios, dont il nous a conservé tant de fragments, se combinera pour l'y incliner avec celle, plus proche, d'Arius⁴⁰. C'est pourquoi aussi Justin réserve ὁ θεός à Dieu le Père et n'appelle le Logos que θεός comme 58, 9: θεός καλεῖται καὶ θεός ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται⁴¹. Dans la *Ire Apologie*, il le met «au second rang» après le Père (13, 3); il en fait «le prince le plus puissant et le plus juste après le Dieu qui l'a engendré» (12, 6); et l'éditeur de 1904, L. Pautigny, signale dès l'introduction ce «langage teinté de subordinatianisme»⁴²; il est vrai qu'A. Orbe porte un jugement moins sévère^{42a}.

Restent deux questions plus générales: l'unité de la philosophie, la philosophie et la théologie de l'histoire. Elles ne sont d'ailleurs pas sans lien entre elles.

En effet, Justin comme Numénios tiennent pour la vraie philosophie celle des «anciens», παλαιοί⁴³. La division en écoles en rompt l'unité première, «car c'est là une science une»⁴⁴, μιᾶς οὐσης ταύτης ἐπιστήμης (*Dial.*, 2, 1). Or

³⁷ Trad. J. Lebreton (*Histoire du dogme* . . . , II, p. 447), meilleure ici que celle de G. Archambault (et que la sienne dans la note G, «L'interprétation des théophanies chez les apologistes», p. 675).

³⁸ J. Lebreton, *ibid.*, p. 417.

³⁹ Voir la «note G» de J. Lebreton, citée n. 37 (*Histoire* . . . , II, p. 663–677), avec les p. 459, 467–468; et cf. G. Archambault à *Dial.*, 56, 1 (I, p. 254) ou 116, 1 (II, p. 196–197). Sur la théophanie de Mambré, cf. C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos*, p. 158–159.

⁴⁰ Voir «Numénios et Eusèbe de Césarée», in *Studia patristica*, XIII, 1975, p. 19–28; cf. «Les fragments de Numénios d'Apamée dans la Préparation évangélique d'Eusèbe de Césarée», in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B. L.*, 1971, p. 455–462.

⁴¹ Cf. G. Archambault, *ad loc.* (I, p. 273).

⁴² L. Pautigny, *ap. Justin, Apologies*, Paris, 1904, p. XXIX.

^{42a} *Estudios Valentinianos*, Rome, I–V, 1955–1966, *passim*, surtout I, 1958, p. 574; IV, 1966, p. 696, n. 3.

⁴³ Plutôt qu'ἀρχαῖοι (cf. *Dial.* 7, 1; *Apol.* I 4, 8): R. Joly, *Christianisme et philosophie*, Bruxelles, 1973, p. 35, n. 123.

⁴⁴ J. C. M. van Winden (*An Early* . . . , 1971, p. 47) insiste sur cette construction, bien vue par G. Archambault; mais sa propre traduction de Kyriakon, *Festschrift J. Quasten* (I, Münster/W., 1970, p. 208), «puisque cette science est une», supposait l'article τῆς dont il souligne ici l'absence. Sur les divers aspects de la philosophie chez les apologistes et spécialement Justin, cf. A.-M. Malingrey, «Philosophia», Paris, 1961, p. 107–128.

c'est le postulat fondamental de tout un traité de Numénios, «De l'infidélité de l'Académie à Platon», que les successeurs du maître, «en éliminant certaines idées, et en torturant d'autres, ne s'en tinrent pas à l'héritage primitif; partant de là (ou : à commencer par Xénocrate), ils ne tardèrent pas, plus ou moins vite, à se diviser» (fr. 24, l. 11–13). Il fallait laisser Platon, «dans sa pureté première, à son pythagorisme; car actuellement, déchiré avec plus de frénésie qu'il n'eût convenu à un Penthée, il souffre dans ses membres» (fr. 24, l. 70–72). Le supplice du héros des *Bacchantes*, le roi de Thèbes écharpé par les ménades, figure chez Atticus le morcellement de la philosophie avant Platon (fr. 1; ap. Eusèbe, *P. E.*, XI 2, 2) et chez Clément d'Alexandrie l'acharnement des hérétiques à déchirer le Verbe (*Str.* I 57, 1–6). «Justin est proche de Numénios, puisqu'il déplore l'existence même de 'platoniciens'»; c'est à toutes les sectes qu'il en veut⁴⁵, et il se plaît à dénoncer leurs contradictions (*Apol.* I 44, 10), comme Numénios ne manque pas une occasion de le faire.

Ainsi donc, dit R. Joly, «Justin adhère très fermement à la conception de la philosophie qui mettait en valeur les positions communes des trois grandes écoles, Académie, Péripatos, Stoa, et reportait cette philosophie unitaire et vraie dans le passé»⁴⁶.

La croyance à une philosophie primitive unique s'accordait, on le voit, avec le culte du passé. Pour Justin, cette philosophie a été «envoyée en bas aux hommes», *κατεπέμφθη εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* (*Dial.*, 2, 1) : l'expression fait écho à celle du *Philebe* dans la phrase citée tout à l'heure à propos du feu : «C'est des dieux qu'est venu aux hommes ce présent, lancé qu'il fut du haut des régions divines (*ποθὲν ἐκ θεῶν ἐρόληψη*) par quelque Prométhée; et les anciens, qui valaient mieux que nous et vivaient plus près des dieux, nous ont transmis cette tradition» (16 c 5–8). – Dans le contexte du *Philebe* il s'agit de l'un et du multiple. – Le «plus près des dieux» de Platon a été imité par Sénèque : *a dis recentes* (*Ep.* 90, 44)⁴⁷.

Pour Numénios, la sagesse grecque n'a guère progressé depuis Pythagore et Platon. Pour Justin, elle vient du «prophète Moïse; car Moïse est plus ancien que tous les écrivains grecs» (*Apol.* I 44, 8)⁴⁸. Un «Moïse qui parle attique» (fr. 8 = 10 L.), tel était Platon pour Numénios, qui ne traitait sans doute pas de «barbares» les «peuples de renom» dont il voulait comparer les initiations et les dogmes avec la doctrine de Platon pour en montrer l'accord avec celle-ci (fr. 1a = 9 a L.)⁴⁹. Son sens de la tradition n'est peut-

⁴⁵ R. M. Grant, *After the New Testament*, Philadelphie, 1967, p. 94; cf. J. H. Waszink, in *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann*, Utrecht et Anvers, 1963, p. 54.

⁴⁶ R. Joly, *Christianisme et philosophie*, Bruxelles, 1973, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Cf. C. J. M. van Winden, ap. Kyriakon, I, 1970, p. 207.

⁴⁸ Récurrence expresse 59, 1; cf. E. F. Osborn, *Justin Martyr*, Tübingen, 1973, p. 145, n. 35.

⁴⁹ Sur les *εὐδοκίμοινα ἔθνη*, cf. J. H. Waszink, in *Vigiliae christianae*, 19, 1965, p. 156–158; H. Dörrie, «Die Wertung der Barbaren im Urteil der Griechen» (ap. *Antike und Universalgeschichte. Festschrift Stier*, Münster, 1972, p. 146–175), p. 169–172; et «Platons Reisen zu fernen Völkern» (ap. *Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia J. H. Waszink . . . oblata*, Amsterdam et Londres, 1973, p. 99–118), p. 108–109.

être pas encore une philosophie de l'histoire, et il faut en dire autant de Justin. Si, d'après la thèse de C. Andresen, Celse a écrit le «Discours vrai» pour réfuter Justin, s'il réagit constamment aux vues de l'apologiste, il ne lui a pas emprunté l'idée d'une pareille philosophie; au contraire, sans s'ériger en système, la reconnaissance d'une valeur de la tradition entrainait à plein dans la pensée de l'époque⁵⁰.

L'apologétique chrétienne ne pouvait que se réjouir de voir des philosophes païens comme Numénios accorder droit de cité aux Juifs et à l'Ancien Testament. Nous avons relevé chez Numénios certains indices d'une connaissance de la Bible⁵¹; pour lui, il s'agissait de beaucoup mieux que d'une «sagesse barbare»⁵². Homère fournissait à Justin des parallèles plus approximatifs; il l'intéressait cependant, et peut-être comptait-il parmi les «sages», à côté de Platon et de Pythagore (*Dial.*, 2, 2; 5, 6). G. Glockmann a montré quelle place il tenait dans l'apologétique chrétienne du II^e siècle⁵³.

Toute cette sagesse de l'ancienne Grèce s'explique pour Justin par l'action du Logos spermatikos, puissance active et divine dont tous les hommes ont reçu une parcelle⁵⁴.

Si Justin n'a pas à proprement parler une philosophie de l'histoire, en a-t-il fait en quelque mesure la théologie? Cette question a reçu deux réponses contradictoires.

«En un sens, dit E. F. Osborn, Justin nie l'histoire. Il nie le développement autonome des événements. Il insiste sur l'identité immuable du Logos. Cette négation était aussi impliquée par l'accusation de plagiat portée contre les Grecs... Numénios disait: 'Qu'est-ce que Platon, sinon un Moïse qui parle attique?' Cette vue implique identité plutôt que développement historique. A cet égard, Celse et Justin sont des platoniciens et n'ont pas de théologie de l'histoire»⁵⁵.

Mais écoutons H. Chadwick. «Peut-être, par-dessus tout, devons-nous regarder comme un achèvement distinctif et personnel de Justin sa théologie de l'histoire. Quand il voit dans la philosophie grecque une partie de la

⁵⁰ Cf. J. C. M. van Winden, ap. Kyriakon, I, 1970, p. 209 et n. 4, où il cite les objections faites à C. Andresen, *Logos...* (surtout p. 345-372) par H. Dörrie, *Gnomon*, 29, 1957, p. 195-196, et J. H. Waszink, *Vigiliae christianae*, 12, 1958, p. 176-177.

⁵¹ Cf. «Numénios et la Bible», ap. Homenaje a J. Prado, Madrid, 1975, p. 497-502; «Un terme biblique et platonicien: Akoinônêtos», ap. *Forma futuri. Studi...* Card. M. Pellegrino, Turin, 1975, p. 154-158.

⁵² Cf. les articles de J. H. Waszink et de H. Dörrie cités n. 49.

⁵³ Cf. G. Glockmann, *Homer in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Justinus* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 105), Berlin, 1968, surtout p. 159-165 (dans la troisième partie, «Homer bei Justinus», p. 99-195). Voir aussi J. Pépin, «Le 'challenge' Homère-Moïse aux premiers siècles chrétiens», in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 29, 1955, p. 105-122.

⁵⁴ *Apol.* II, 13, 3; cf. R. Holte, «Logos Spermatikos. Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies» (ap. *Studia theologica*, 12, 1958, p. 109-168), p. 146-147; J. H. Waszink, in Mullus, *Festschrift Th. Klauser* (Jahrb. f. Ant. u. Chr., Erg.-Bd 1), Münster/W., 1964, p. 387 et n. 32.

⁵⁵ E. F. Osborn, *Justin Martyr*, 1973, p. 166.

préparation divine à l'Évangile, et en Socrate un chrétien avant le Christ, il voit dans les annales de l'humanité une histoire double, sacrée et profane, juive et païenne, deux courants convergents qui confluent providentiellement dans le Christ et son évangile universel. La théologie de l'histoire de Justin fournit une base pour apprécier la tradition du passé à la fois positivement et critiquement. Sa foi au Christ lui donne un critère pour approcher à la fois Platon et l'ancien Testament, et le préserve d'un éclectisme qui prendrait pièces et morceaux à d'autres systèmes pour se faire un costume à soi. Et le vitalisme implicite dans sa conception de l'histoire comme scène de l'action divine lui fait voir le cours du monde sous un angle qui sert de tremplin à Augustin dans la Cité de Dieu, à Orose, à Dante, ou à des historiens plus modernes qui ont cherché à voir la carrière de l'humanité *sub specie aeternitatis*.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ H. Chadwick, «Justin's Defence of Christianity» (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 47, 1964-65, p. 275-297), p. 297 (conclusion). Cf. B. Seeberg, «Die Geschichtstheologie Justins des Märtyrers», in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 58, 1939, p. 1-81 (discuté par E. F. Osborn, Justin Martyr, p. 166, n. 83 et surtout par N. Hyldahl, Philosophie und Christentum, p. 52-57). C'est une «théologie de l'histoire» de Justin que C. Andresen confronte à la «philosophie de l'histoire» de Celse.

Historia semántica de *perikhóresis*

C. A. DISANDRO, La Plata

I. La constitución del vocabulario patrístico que intenta concebir y definir los vínculos intratrinitarios, las fundamentales diferencias entre *ousia* e *hypóstasis*, la mutua inhabitación de la divinidad y la humanidad en la organicidad teándrica de Cristo, ha seguido un curso de creciente expansión y clarificación conceptual hasta el s. VIII. La figura de San Juan Damasceno (en adelante SJD, † 756) parece representar el límite de este esfuerzo descriptivo y especulativo, en razón de su vigor teológico, de su claridad sistemática, de su lenguaje matizado, pero firmemente afinado en un designio de configurar, por particiones lógicas inequívocas, una *summa* teológico-filosófica de vasta repercusión ulterior. En este sentido su denso tratado de *fide orthodoxa*¹ significa el antecedente más importante de todas las *summae* medievales y una cúspide sistemática de la teología griega.

Al mismo tiempo conviene observar que en el inicio de esta vasta curva semántica que va del griego helenístico, bíblico, neotestamentario, apostólico, a la emersión de esa cúspide ocupa a su vez un lugar decisivo el *corpus* griego de Dionisio el Areopagita, que podemos ubicar provisoriamente en los primeros aledaños del s. IV, o en los tramos finales del s. III. La discusión erudita sobre el problema del *corpus* areopagítico no aclara en absoluto la cuestión propiamente semántica que aquí nos interesa, y que se refiere a las fases de una sucesiva apertura lingüística, investida de la capacidad de significar el Misterio orgánico de una Deidad fecunda, fases que instalan en Occidente una semántica teológica *diversa* de la helénica y *distinta* de la hebraica. Entre el lenguaje exultante y místico de Dionisio y el sistema semántico explícito de SJD, transcurre pues un capítulo fundamental del pensar greco-cristiano, en cuanto expresión de una *pistis* (fides) que construirá otros espacios especulativos y otros ámbitos religiosos.

II. Dentro de esta curva e integrando ese vocabulario, destácase entre otros el término *perikhóresis*, cuya historia semántica resumiré en este trabajo, desde los días de la Hélade arcaica hasta su fijación especulativa en el s. VIII, precisamente en el lenguaje de SJD. Considero el término

¹ PG. XCIV. col. 789-1228.

perikhóresis un buen ejemplo de esa construcción semántica antedicha, un modelo histórico-lingüístico y especulativo-sistemático de esa sucesiva apertura a niveles significantes cada vez más entrañados en la deidad, cada vez más aptos para articular pensar humano y Misterio Divino.

Veamos en primer lugar las fases fundamentales en la Hélade arcaica y clásica. Ni el verbo *perikhorein* ni el sustantivo *perikhóresis* pertenecen al fondo del lenguaje épico² ni al *corpus* elegíaco-lírico³, ni a la lengua de los trágicos⁴. Encontramos el verbo en la prosa de Heródoto con el significado de sucesión dinástica⁵ en el pasaje de *Historias* I. 210, sentido que no se registra en textos posteriores. El sustantivo *perikhóresis* no pertenece tampoco al vocabulario filosófico del *corpus* platónico⁶, ni al lenguaje de los textos aristotélicos⁷. En el rico lenguaje de Aristófanes encontramos el verbo en *Aves*, 958, en una parodia de rito sacrificial: "Ἀνθὺς σὸν περιχώρει τὴν χέριββα. Si hay algo llamativo en el contexto es la referencia a un rito lustral, de donde podría provenir el término. La primera hipótesis pues considera la inicial semántica de *perikhórein* inscrita en el contexto de un rito ancestral.

III. En cuanto al sustantivo *perikhóresis* es en la Hélade antigua exclusivo de Anaxágoras⁸, quien indica junto con el verbo la comunicabilidad de la tectónica del *Nous* a la materia homeomérica. La *perikhóresis* anaxagórica pertenece pues a un nivel teológico, en tanto el *Nous* es el supremo viviente e inconfigurado, y a nivel cosmológico en tanto significa la participación por el movimiento rotativo en lo que he llamado tectónica del *Nous*. De esa participación por la *perikhóresis* surge, de la materia inconfigurada, el cosmos configurado. He supuesto en otro trabajo que Anaxágoras deduce esa semántica de la contemplación de las ondas marinas en la nativa Clazomene. El flujo y reflujo del mar en el golfo de Smyrna despertó el sentimiento de una *perikhóresis* que cancelaba la inmovilidad y esterilidad del ser parmenídeo. Pero al mismo tiempo el filósofo abría el camino para significar una deidad fecunda, al margen de los problemas de los orígenes cósmicos, en cuanto la *perikhóresis* es categoría del *Nous* transmundano. Creo que esta interpretación circuló por el helenismo tardío por vía de los estoicos, aunque en el *corpus* correspondiente no se registra el término *perikhóresis*, sí el verbo *khorein*⁹, referido a *pneuma*, o a *psykhé*.

Dos hipótesis fundamentales parecen imponerse hasta el período epi-

² Cf. H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, Hildesheim 1963.

³ Cf. G. Fatouros, *Index verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik*, Heidelberg 1966.

⁴ Cf. F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum*. Regimontii Prussorum 1835. — G. Italie-S. L. Radt, *Index Aeschyleus*, Leiden 1964.

⁵ J. E. Powell, *A lexicon to Herodotus*, Hildesheim 1960.

⁶ F. Ast, *Lexicon Platonicum*, Lipsiae 1836.

⁷ H. Bonitz, *Index Aristotelicus* (secunda editio), Graz 1955.

⁸ Cf. Diels, B. 12.

⁹ Ioannes ab Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. vol. IV, Indices. Editio stereotypa, Stuttgart 1964.

gonal helenístico: 1 – el término integra el vocabulario *cultural* ritual, lo que explicaría tal vez su casi absoluta ausencia en el período arcaico. Anaxágoras lo habría trasladado de la lengua religiosa a la significación cósmica, lo que concordaría con los rasgos de *asébeia* con que lo presentan los textos doxográficos. 2 – Procedería de una intuición del vínculo del *Nous* transmundano y la materia, partiendo del movimiento de la onda marina. A ello agregaríamos una tercera hipótesis, en cuanto suponemos que el término se incorporó al vocabulario patrístico por vía de los estoicos.

IV. Para los orígenes del cristianismo y del pensamiento patrístico, el vínculo de Dios y el mundo se insumía en el gesto absoluto de una Deidad que instala el ser del mundo en tanto Señor de éste. En este horizonte coincidieron vastas resonancias hebraico-cristianas. Quizá sólo los gnósticos se apartaron de esta consideración teológica. En cambio en la concepción misma de la Deidad la disyunción y contraposición entre Hebraísmo, Helenismo y Cristianismo resultó inevitable, según lo expresa con meridiana claridad SJD¹⁰. Esa disyunción se refiere a dos capítulos fundamentales: 1 – la Triadología, en tanto compatible con la unidad de la *ousia* divina; 2 – la Cristología, en tanto subsistencia *teándrica* en la hipóstasis divina. En ambos casos el vocable *perikhóresis* contribuyó a clarificar el campo semántico de una teología patrística que subrayaba la disyunción respecto del judaísmo de todas las herejías de trasfondo gnóstico, o de todas las reinterpretaciones más o menos judaizantes, o más o menos helenizantes, hasta el s. VIII.

En lo que atañe al griego neotestamentario¹¹ no parece desprenderse de él ninguna coyuntura semántica del vocablo. Probablemente es éste un signo que nos orienta en el trasiego directo entre el helenismo tardío y los Padres (s. III y IV). Los antecedentes de esta vasta elaboración deben buscarse en el *corpus* areopagítico¹², en su concepción de la inhabitación trinitaria y del vínculo teándrico de Cristo, en la unicidad de su *hypóstasis* divina¹³. De aquí transcurre a través de San Gregorio Nazianzeno († 390) hasta la prosa de San Máximo Confesor († 662), quien parece dar el vocablo *perikhóresis* su ubicación semántica definitiva en tres direcciones: a – triadológica; b – Cristológica; c – en la teología de la *pistis*, o sea en la eclesiología. San Máximo Confesor parece elaborar además las *fórmulas* teológicas fundamentales que a través de SJD clarificarán definitivamente el campo semántico griego, e influirán vastamente en toda la teología medieval latina. En SJD y en San Máximo Confesor el término conserva un cierto perfume anaxagórico en tanto describe la fecundidad de un Vi-

¹⁰ De fide orthodoxa, lib. I, cap. VII. PG. XCIV, col. 808 A.

¹¹ la ausencia del vocablo constituye una importante referencia como signo de una reelaboración semántica ulterior. Cf. G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart.

¹² Cf. De divinis nominibus, cap. II. 4. PG. III. 640 D–641 A–C.

¹³ Cf. SJD. op. cit. col. 1077 A y sgs. lib. III. cap. XIX.

viente (la Deidad Triádica), o el vínculo viviente que parte de la Divinidad de Cristo e invade su Humanidad.

V. El vocabulario griego que describe el Misterio Triadológico es matizado en este período de cuatro siglos. Hacemos abstracción aquí de las formulaciones conciliares, en particular los seis primeros concilios ecuménicos (de Nicea a Constantinopla II) para no alargar la exposición. Sin embargo deben distinguirse vocablos referidos *exclusivamente* a una de las Personas (por ejemplo *ekpóreusis*), o referidos *en común* a las tres¹⁴. Dentro de esta categoría se encuentra *perikhóresis*. Pero hay otros: *descriptivos*, como *ἐκφανσις*, *ἐκλαμψις*, *ἐξαλμα*, etc. *Denotativos*, como *μονή και ἰδρῆσις και ὑπερίδρῆσις*, *σχέσις*, etc. *Especulativos*, como *ἀντίδοσις και περιχώρησις*. Estos dos recogieron las vastas tensiones conceptuales de esta problemática y construyeron el *espacio* semántico especulativo propiamente dicho. De entre esos se impuso *perikhóresis*, por sus virtudes filosóficas, que le venían del pasado anaxagórico, aunque muchas veces los dos vocablos se presentan unidos en un solo contexto, como por ejemplo en el pasaje fundamental de SJD, *op. cit.* lib. III cap. IV col 1000 A. San Máximo elabora las fórmulas cristológicas definitivas, inspirándose en San Gregorio el Teólogo, y abre la vía, inexplorada, de una concepción perikhorética de la *Pistis*¹⁵. Según este pasaje la Fe es una *perikhóresis* que es *ἡ πρὸς τὴν οικίαν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν πεπιστευόντων*. Por la *pistis* habitamos nosotros el Misterio Trinitario-Teándrico. Pero esta vía de San Máximo Confesor permaneció intacta. En cambio en las cuestiones trinitarias y cristológicas se elaboraron un conjunto de fórmulas especulativas que coloco aquí de modo progresivo y sistemático:

Fórmula 1: a) *ἐν ἀλλήλαις τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγομεν*¹⁶

b) *ἐν ἀλλήλαις εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις*¹⁷

c) *ὥστε ἔχασθαι ἀλλήλων*¹⁸

Fórmula 2: *καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δι' ὅλον εἰς [sive πρὸς] ἄλληλα περιχώρησιν*¹⁹

Fórmula 3: *τῷ ἀπορρήτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλας τῶν Χριστοῦ φύσεων περιχωρήσεως προσφόρως*²⁰

Fórmula 4: *καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας περιχώρησιν ἔχουσιν*²¹

Fórmula 5: *διὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν περιχώρησιν*²²

¹⁴ Cf. el pasaje citado en nota 12.

¹⁵ Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1965, pág. 1077, s. v., que no parece darle al pasaje fundamental de *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 608 D. PG. XC, un sentido decisivo.

¹⁶ SJD., *op. cit.* 825 A.

¹⁷ SJD., *op. cit.* 860 B.

¹⁸ SJD., *op. cit.* 829 A.

¹⁹ San Máximo Confesor, *Disputationes cum Pyrrho*, PG. XCI. 337 C; Cf. San Gregorio Nazianzeno, PG. XXXVII. Epist. col. 181 C.

²⁰ San Máximo Confesor, *ibid.* col. 345 D.

²¹ SJD., *op. cit.* col. 829 A.

²² SJD., *op. cit.* col. 993 D.

VI. En Triadología la fórmula definitiva se construye a partir del texto de Dionisio, en el sentido de proponer primero la mutua inhabitación (*ἰδρυνσις*) de las tres *Hypostaseis* mediante el simple *ἐν ἀλλήλαις*, o *ἔχασθαι ἀλλήλων*, o con el verbo *εἶναι* que es lo más común. Pero en el carácter descriptivo dinámico de la teología griega, el término *perikhóresis* abre una definitiva denotación con la expresión *εἰς ἀλλήλας*, que se matiza en el contexto de las sucesivas fórmulas. Una diferencia semántica se abre empero para la Cristología según explica SJD²³: *ἡ δὲ περιχώρησις οὐκ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς θεότητος γέγονεν*²⁴. Es decir, mientras a nivel trinitario, la *perikhóresis* se afina en la unidad de la *ousía*, y permite la *circumincessio* de las Tres Personas (en lo cual no puede haber ninguna diferencia), en el nivel Cristológico (que implica *antídosis* de las dos *physeis*) ¿qué podría ser una *perikhóresis* que partiera de la Humanidad a la Divinidad de Cristo? Por esto, el vocabulario que derivó primitivamente hacia la denotación del vínculo entre las dos naturalezas de Cristo, y luego hacia la denotación del vínculo continuo e inmutable de las Tres Personas, fue *más apto* para la teología trinitarista, y así influyó en vastos sectores de la teología post-damacena (griega y latina). En Cristología la *perikhóresis* describe la *θεανόρική ἐνέργεια* de la Encarnación y la unión hipostática de Cristo. Semánticamente recupera los trasfondos anaxagóricos: en el filósofo era comunicación dinámica y configurante del *Nous* al Cosmos, pero no retorno de éste al *Nous*. Aquí en SJD es comunicación dinámica de la Divinidad a la Humanidad. Por eso agrega luego del texto citado más arriba: *ἀλλὰ ἡ θεία φύσις ἀπαξ περιχωροῦσα διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ἔδωκε καὶ σαρκὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄρρητον περιχώρησιν, ἣν δὲ ἐνωσιν λέγομεν*²⁵.

En Triadología aclaraba la semántica hipostática en la identidad de la *ousía*, resumiendo en las diversas fórmulas aducidas lo que de otro modo dicen Dionisio, y San Agustín en *de Trinitate*: *singula sunt in singulis personis, omnia in singulis et singula in omnibus, et omnia in omnibus, et unum omnia*. En Cristología permitía mantener la distinción de las dos naturalezas y progresar al mismo tiempo en el horizonte de la unión hipostática, aunque aquí como se ve el término comportaba un matiz necesario. En la definición de la Fe, o sea en el nivel de la Eclesiología, la vía de San Máximo Confesor quedó sin transitar, a lo que parece. En la serie analítico-descriptiva que traza el párrafo aducido (608D), importa distinguir la ubicación de *perikhóresis*: la serie es la siguiente: *τέλος, ἀποκάλυψις, περιχώρησις, ἐπάνοδος, πλήρωσις* etc. La Fe es "revelación", pero ésta es *perikhóresis*, o sea, retorno a la *arkhé* trinitaria, *ahora mismo* en las condiciones contradictorias del tiempo y del mundo. Quizá la reelaboración

²³ en De fide orthodoxa, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, col. 1184C-D.

²⁴ en De fide orthodoxa, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, col. 1184C-D.

²⁴ Cf. además col. 1461C, y S. Cyr. Alex., de trinitate, PG. LXXVII.

²⁵ op. cit. col. 1461C-D.

teológica en la actual situación de la Iglesia reserve una historia renovada para este párrafo de San Máximo Confesor, o sea, abra un nuevo capítulo en la semántica del término griego *perikhóresis*. Esa semántica abrazaría desde un ángulo determinado la totalidad del sistema teológico patrístico, a saber: Deidad fecunda Uni-trina (a diferencia de judaísmo y helenismo); plena comunicación de la Deidad con la Humanidad en la única hipóstasis de Cristo *perfectus Deus et perfectus homo* (en contraposición a la teología hebraica); unión inviolable de la Fe *in Ecclesia*. El sistema patrístico sería pues perikhorético en todos los niveles teológicos, una originalidad que está lejos de haber sido subrayada con suficiente nitidez por la relectura moderna de los Padres. En ese sistema perikhorético se insumiría un vasto contenido de la semántica helénica y se cancelaría un vasto contenido de la semántica hebraica. Se cumpliría así en esta perspectiva semántica la condición de *tertium genus* que pretenden los Padres.

VII. En conclusión, *perikhóresis* significa: a) comunicación dinámica permanente irreversible entre el *Nous* y el cosmos (Anaxágoras estoicos); b) íntima unión permanente y total entre las tres hipóstasis trinitarias en la identidad de la *Ousia* (San Máximo Confesor y de Cristo, por la comunicación de la Deidad con la Humanidad, comunicación permanente, inviolable, total (San Gregorio Nazianzeno, San Cyrilo Alejandrino, San Máximo Confesor y San Juan Damasceno); d) Develación de la Fe y por ella retorno al principio, a la *arkhé* trinitaria en las condiciones contradictorias del tiempo (San Máximo Confesor).

Porphyre et Macaire de Magnésie

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Il ne reste qu'une centaine de fragments des quinze livres que Porphyre composa *Contre les Chrétiens*. Dans le recueil qui a été publié par Adolf von Harnack en 1916¹, les fragments nominaux sont rares; ils ne représentent qu'un tiers environ des fragments et, sur ce nombre, seuls trois ou quatre passages, tous empruntés à Eusèbe de Césarée, reposent sur une connaissance directe du traité *Contre les Chrétiens*. Parmi les fragments anonymes, plus de la moitié provient des Objections antichrétiennes contenues dans un ouvrage de la fin du IV^e siècle: l'*Apocriticus* de Macaire de Magnésie.² Cet ouvrage relate les cinq journées d'un débat oratoire public que l'auteur aurait soutenu contre un adversaire païen dont le nom ne nous est pas dévoilé. Harnack a reconnu dans les Objections de cet adversaire anonyme la critique porphyrienne du christianisme et il a inclus dans son recueil l'ensemble des attaques contenues dans l'*Apocriticus*.³

Depuis Harnack, on a pris l'habitude de considérer ces fragments empruntés aux Objections anonymes de l'*Apocriticus* comme des extraits purs et simples du *Contra Christianos* et on se contente souvent de citer l'édition qu'en a donnée Harnack dans son recueil.

Le but de cette communication est de préciser le mode d'emploi de cette série d'Objections antichrétiennes et de mettre en garde contre une méthode trop mécanique de recherche des sources de ces objections. Je ne présenterai ici que les conclusions d'une recherche dont le détail paraîtra dans l'édition de l'*Apocriticus* de Macaire de Magnésie que je prépare pour la *Collection des Sources Chrétiennes*.

On a depuis longtemps constaté que Macaire ne nous relatait pas le déroulement d'un débat réel, mais qu'il mettait dans la bouche de son adversaire

¹ Adolf von Harnack, «Porphyrius, Gegen die Christen 15 Bücher. Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate», *Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1916, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 1. Berlin 1916, 116 p. avec compléments dans les *Sitzungsberichte* de la même Académie pour l'année 1921, pp. 266—284 et 834—835.

² *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice* edidit C. Blondel. Paris 1876, vii-232 p.

³ Adolf von Harnack, *Kritik des Neuen Testaments von einem griechischen Philosophen des 3. Jahrhunderts. Die im Apocriticus des Macarius Magnes enthaltene Streitschrift* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 37, 4). Leipzig 1911, 150 p.

des objections empruntées, d'une façon ou d'une autre, à un écrit antichrétien. Dès lors, on a voulu identifier cette source païenne et on a fini par ne plus voir dans ces Objections que les fragments d'un ouvrage païen disparu. Dans cette recherche, le nom de Porphyre s'est imposé rapidement par la qualité des parallèles qu'offraient les Objections avec des fragments nominaux du *Contra Christianos*.

Malheureusement, cette identification séduisante présente quelques difficultés, la principale venant de ce que Macaire fait allusion dans une de ses réponses (III, 42) à la *Philosophie extraite des Oracles* de Porphyre sans laisser entendre qu'il utilise là un passage de son propre adversaire. D'autre part, l'adversaire, à deux reprises (IV, 2 et IV, 5), se réfère à l'enseignement du Christ et de saint Paul en des termes qui permettent de le situer lui-même vers le milieu du IV^e siècle; cette date, s'il s'agit de citations textuelles, interdirait que l'auteur de ces Objections soit Porphyre, puisque ce dernier a composé son traité à la fin du III^e siècle.

Pour surmonter ces difficultés, Harnack a supposé que Macaire n'utilisait pas directement le traité de Porphyre, mais qu'il avait eu en mains une édition abrégée préparée par un auteur anonyme du début du IV^e siècle. Cette hypothèse d'Harnack explique tous les rapprochements constatés, mais aussi toutes les divergences entre les Objections et le texte de Porphyre; elle reconnaît en effet à cet abrégiateur une fidélité suffisante pour faire de son œuvre une édition abrégée de Porphyre et toute l'originalité nécessaire pour rendre compte de tout ce qui ne peut être attribué à Porphyre dans les Objections. Cette solution astucieuse n'explique cependant pas pourquoi, même dans les rapprochements les plus remarquables au plan du contenu, la formulation reste en fin de compte assez dissemblable. Enfin, si l'adversaire suit généralement dans ses citations de la Bible le texte dit «occidental» du Nouveau Testament, comme le faisait Porphyre, il cite parfois un texte différent, de sorte qu'on a suggéré de considérer les Objections comme une compilation de divers polémistes antichrétiens.⁴

Si l'on accepte de ne pas isoler à priori les objections du reste de l'ouvrage de Macaire, on se voit conduit à des conclusions fort différentes de celles auxquelles est parvenue la recherche des sources traditionnelle. On s'aperçoit tout d'abord que plusieurs éléments des Objections publiées comme fragments porphyriens n'ont de sens que dans le contexte littéraire de l'*Apocriticus*. C'est le cas des exordes et des péroraisons dans les discours de l'adversaire, des formules de transition entre les Objections, peut-être aussi de l'ordre d'enchaînement des Objections. Tout ceci n'est que l'expression du dessein littéraire de Macaire de Magnésie et correspond, quant au style, aux exordes, péroraisons et formules de transition que l'on trouve dans les Réponses. Il y a donc peu de chance que l'on découvre dans ces passages

⁴ Cf. F. Corsaro, «L'Apocritico di Macario di Magnesia e le Sacre Scritture», *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 7 (1957) 1-24.

du Porphyre et, en tout cas, il n'est pas permis, comme l'a fait Harnack, de tirer de ces éléments des conclusions sur la forme originelle de la source païenne.

Une lecture attentive de l'*Apocriticus* permet également de découvrir qu'un grand nombre de formules comprenant parfois plusieurs mots se retrouve à la fois dans les Objections de l'adversaire et dans les Réponses de Macaire lui-même. Parmi la trentaine d'exemples que nous pouvons relever, je citerai l'énumération continue des termes: ποσόν, ποιόν, ὕψος, βάθος, μῆκος, πλάτος (24, 16–17 et 93, 8–9); les expressions προσφεύγειν καὶ σώζεσθαι (57, 10–11 et 143, 4), ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας κανὼν (58, 15–16 et 104, 22–23), ἡ κορυφή τῶν πραγμάτων (99, 28 et 115, 3; 187, 6–7), ἐγκεκλυῖσθαι κακοῖς (102, 21–22 et 77, 32), ξένον καὶ ἀλλότριον, διάκονος καὶ ζηλωτῆς πραγμάτων ἀσέμνων (125, 15–17 et 195, 4–5; 192, 5; 225, 18–19; 227, 12–13), κλέπτειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (126, 8 et 13, 14; 33, 5–6; 91, 15), ὁδνεῖος καὶ πολέμιος (126, 14 et 195, 5), προσαράττειν καὶ προσκρούειν (128, 14–15 et 186, 21–22), τὴν ἀκολούθιαν σώζειν (159, 25–26 et 30, 14), μηδὲν ἰσχύειν δλως (198, 25 et 142, 31; 143, 1), κρατύνειν τὸ δόγμα (201, 3 et 151, 28).

Enfin, un inventaire du vocabulaire des Objections montre que la quasi-totalité du vocabulaire que l'on pourrait considérer comme caractéristique de l'adversaire parce qu'il est formé de termes poétiques, de mots abstraits, rares ou de néologismes, se retrouve également dans les Réponses de Macaire. Cette conclusion est d'autant plus importante qu'Adolf von Harnack avait fondé sur ce vocabulaire soi-disant caractéristique son hypothèse d'une source païenne indépendante.

L'ensemble de ces données stylistiques nous contraint à reconnaître une évidence: c'est Macaire de Magnésie qui est responsable de la forme présente des Objections. S'il a utilisé une source païenne, il ne l'a pas simplement retranscrite, mais s'en est inspiré de façon assez libre.

Cette analyse stylistique fournit une grille précieuse pour déterminer ce qui dans les Objections doit être attribué à Macaire et ce qui peut remonter à une source indépendante. On constate que la présence de ces caractéristiques stylistiques atteint une fréquence élevée dans les passages où l'adversaire se laisse entraîner à un discours pathétique et enflammé rempli d'exclamations, d'interrogations rhétoriques et d'attaques personnelles contre son adversaire chrétien. On sent au maximum dans ces chapitres l'activité littéraire de Macaire qui entend rendre avec vraisemblance l'atmosphère exaltée du débat oratoire.⁵ Par contre, d'autres chapitres nous livrent pour ainsi dire une objection brute, comme si Macaire s'était borné à restituer l'attaque de sa source païenne ou même à la résumer au point d'en obscurcir parfois la richesse.⁶

Il serait tentant de supposer que la part de Macaire dans cette transforma-

⁵ Par exemple III, 4; III, 15; III, 19; IV, 2; IV, 19.

⁶ Par exemple III, 1; III, 2; III, 3; III, 17; III, 20; IV, 3.

tion des arguments de la source païenne se limite à la présentation formelle d'un contenu fidèlement restitué. Malheureusement, des indices nous montrent que certains aspects de l'argumentation de l'adversaire proviennent de Macaire. Prenons un exemple. On sait par Didyme⁷ que Porphyre avait critiqué l'appel que font les Chrétiens à la notion de Toute-Puissance divine pour expliquer certains dogmes comme la Résurrection des morts. L'adversaire de Macaire présente cette critique sous deux formes différentes. En IV, 24, à propos de la Résurrection des morts, il affirme que Dieu ne peut pas faire tout ce qu'il pourrait vouloir, car il ne peut transformer le passé, modifier les évidences mathématiques ou faire le mal. En IV, 2, à propos des hommes qui, selon saint Paul, seront emportés sur un nuage à la Parousie, l'adversaire concède cette fois que Dieu peut tout faire; il soutient cependant que Dieu n'agit pas selon son pouvoir, mais uniquement en conformité avec l'ordre naturel des choses. Or, cette deuxième forme de l'argument se retrouve dans une réponse de Macaire⁸ en des termes identiques à ceux employés par l'adversaire. Je crois que c'est Macaire qui a inséré cet argument dans le chapitre IV, 2.

Les Objections de l'*Apocriticus* ne sont donc pas des citations textuelles de Porphyre. Cette conclusion, contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait penser, n'a pas que des conséquences négatives sur la recherche des vestiges du *Contra Christianos*. Car la découverte du rôle de Macaire dans la composition des attaques de l'adversaire lève tous les obstacles qui s'opposaient à l'identification porphyrienne des Objections. Pour expliquer les aspects des Objections qui ne peuvent être attribués à Porphyre, on n'a plus besoin de faire appel à un mystérieux abrégiateur anonyme: on voit clairement qui est responsable de ces éléments. L'intention de Macaire de Magnésie n'était pas de se livrer à une réfutation nouvelle du *Contra Christianos*, mais de montrer comment, au cours d'un débat récent, il avait pu rendre compte devant un adversaire païen de tous les passages du Nouveau Testament et de tous les points de la doctrine chrétienne qui faisaient difficulté pour un Païen. Il faut reconnaître que pour illustrer cette victoire du christianisme sur les doutes de l'incroyance païenne, Porphyre offrait à Macaire un précieux matériel d'objections que ce dernier n'avait qu'à intégrer dans le cadre fictif qu'il avait choisi. On ne s'étonnera donc pas que l'adversaire qui est un contemporain de Macaire parle d'un laps de temps de 300 et non de 200 ans écoulé depuis saint Paul et le Christ, ni que certains aspects de la critique porphyrienne, notamment la critique de l'Ancien Testament ou bien la multiplicité des citations d'auteurs, ne soient pas présents dans les Objections de l'adversaire, ni même que le texte biblique cité ne suive pas toujours une

⁷ Didyme l'Aveugle, *Commentaire sur Job* X, 3 (Pap. Toura), p. 280, 1-281, 13 U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn et L. Koenen.

⁸ Ce fragment, conservé par Turrianus, doit s'insérer dans une lacune déjà repérée par Blondel en 225, 6. Cf. G. Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 31, 4). Leipzig 1907, pp. 71-72.

leçon attestée pour le texte «occidental» du Nouveau Testament qu'utilisait Porphyre, puisqu'il a pu arriver à Macaire de citer les passages bibliques évoqués par sa source sous une forme qui lui était plus familière. Enfin, dans cette perspective, la référence à la *Philosophie extraite des Oracles* de Porphyre n'a plus rien d'étrange, puisque Macaire ne souhaitait pas dévoiler la source de ses objections, source qu'il n'avait d'ailleurs pas purement recopiée, mais dont il s'était librement inspiré pour mettre dans la bouche de son adversaire un discours vraisemblable. C'est sans doute ce qui explique qu'entre les fragments nominaux de Porphyre et les Objections de l'*Apocriticus*, les similitudes soient si fréquentes et les parallèles textuels si rares.

Je terminerai par deux remarques permettant de préciser les rapports entre Macaire de Magnésie et Porphyre. Premièrement, il arrive à Macaire de présenter dans ses Réponses des développements qui ne sont aucunement appelés par l'Objection de son adversaire, mais qui entendent répondre à des attaques attestées comme porphyriennes par des fragments nominaux. Il lui arrive aussi de commenter des passages bibliques qui ne sont pas cités par l'adversaire, mais dont on sait qu'ils avaient été étudiés par Porphyre. Ces passages des Réponses qu'il n'est pas possible d'analyser ici suggèrent que Macaire disposait d'une source d'attaques antichrétiennes plus riche que ce que nous en révèlent les Objections de son adversaire et que cette source était probablement le *Contra Christianos* de Porphyre.

Ma deuxième remarque portera sur la façon dont Macaire a pu connaître la critique porphyrienne. Un indice permettrait de supposer que c'est à travers une réfutation chrétienne du traité de Porphyre que Macaire a connu les attaques du *Contra Christianos*. D'après le témoignage de Jérôme (fr. 55 Harnack), Porphyre se moquait des Évangélistes qui ont désigné le lac de Génézareth comme une "mer". Macaire nous transmet également cette objection (III, 6). La solution de Jérôme à cette difficulté est la même que celle de Macaire: il s'agit d'un hébraïsme courant, car *Genèse* I, 10 appelle «mer» toute étendue d'eau, douce ou salée. De telles solutions philologiques sont rares chez Macaire. On peut se demander si ce dernier n'a pas trouvé l'objection et la réponse dans un écrit réfutant Porphyre. En ce qui concerne Jérôme, on sait qu'il n'a connu la critique porphyrienne qu'à travers les réfutations chrétiennes antérieures et surtout celle d'Apollinaire de Laodicée dont le traité *Contre Porphyre* semble avoir été le plus apprécié à l'époque. Il est donc possible que ce traité ait fourni à Macaire les objections porphyriennes qu'il nous transmet.

En conclusion, si Macaire de Magnésie a utilisé les attaques antichrétiennes de Porphyre pour composer les Objections de l'*Apocriticus*, il n'est cependant pas permis de voir dans ces objections des fragments porphyriens que l'on pourrait isoler de l'œuvre de Macaire. Seule une analyse du style et du contenu des Objections permettra de départager ce qui peut remonter au *Contra Christianos* de Porphyre et ce qui provient directement de Macaire de Magnésie.

Plutarch and Origen on Theology and Language

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Origen has been accused of many things. Modern scholarship has demonstrated that some of the charges were fabricated, some were misunderstandings, whether wilful or inadvertent, some were warranted. The charge that has stuck longest is that Origen has a defective sense of history. Whether he is transmuting events into allegories or is straining to give the event of the Incarnation an essential and unique place in his cosmology, Origen is thought to have pulled Christian theology loose from its historical moorings, or at least to have reached the breaking point.

It may be that the overriding concern about history and historicity that we inherited from the nineteenth century is on the wane. The contemporary intellectual, and even spiritual, atmosphere is being deeply influenced by astrophysics, with its bizarre cosmologies, by sub-atomic physics, with its multiplication of particles that become curioser and curioser, and by psychology, with its attention to archetypes and to man as maker of symbols. In such conditions Origen, who could encompass within his imagination at least half a dozen worlds before breakfast, and who saw archetypal and symbolic meanings lurking behind all phenomena, may prove to be our most trustworthy and instructive theological guide.

The concern, or perhaps obsession, with history persists, however, and while it does I want to suggest that for Origen the historical reality and particularity of the Christian message was not a difficulty to be overcome, but rather the solution to a long-standing problem in antiquity's attempt to understand the nature of religion. When Origen is set alongside his fellow-Christian Irenaeus, his grasp on history appears weak. When Origen is set alongside his fellow-Platonist Plutarch, his grasp on history appears strong, even tenacious.

The problem for ancient analysts was that of the apparent *arbitrariness of religion*. Radical critics of religion pointed out that there was virtually nothing in sea, land, or air that had not been venerated by one nation and detested by another. We might call such criticism "liturgical skepticism," a practical analogue to the "speculative skepticism" that developed in the New Academy. Apologists for religion had to meet this critique, and their tendency was to develop a theory of language to bring order into the chaos of religious data.

Plutarch, who lived a century and a quarter before Origen, was a man for whom the justification of religion was tied to his identity, for he was himself a priest at Delphi, and even more important, he was a man with intense local pride. He enjoyed the intellectual stimulation of Athens, but he chose to remain in his provincial birthplace, Chaeronea in Boeotia, where his duties as civil magistrate and priest kept him directly in touch with the feelings and thoughts of common people. Indeed, his activities as a local leader would have resembled in significant respects those of later Christian bishops whose theology, if not always tied to history, is nearly always tied to what the faithful are doing and thinking. In attempting to understand religion, Plutarch was trying to make sense of his own experience and that of people he knew. It is certainly true that Plutarch was a bookish man, and much of what he says about religion is derived from the observations and speculations of others. Nonetheless, the reader senses unmistakably that Plutarch thought about religion because faith seeks understanding. The priest of Delphi provides us not only with an unmatched compendium of information about ancient religion, but also with some lastingly valuable ways of thinking about religious experience.¹

Like Origen, Plutarch is not the most systematic of writers, and his major treatises on religion, especially *De Iside et Osiride* and *De Defectu Oraculorum*, do not readily reveal all their secrets. It seems to me, however, that underlying them all is an assumption that all the religions are really saying the same thing. What is experienced, and even what is perceived, by the religious devotee in one tradition is the same as what is experienced and perceived by devotees of other religions, although the expressions used to characterize the experience, and the rituals employed to re-enact it, differ widely from people to people. The apologist for religion has the task of explaining how man's bewildering variety of worships is really one worship.

Origen is not content with this answer to the radical criticism of religion. He sees the answer as itself vulnerable in its assumptions about the nature of language. Speculation about language, and especially about names, is one of the recurring motifs of the *Contra Celsum*, and in Book VI Origen sets forth his own view of the cultural conditioning to which language itself is subject.²

Origen is discussing that murky region on the borderland between doctrine and magic, and takes sharp issue with Celsus, and by extension with Herodotus.

I do not think that when translated into Greek Gongosyrus indicates the etymology of Apollo, or that Apollo means Gongosyrus in the language of the Scythians. So also of the

¹ For a judicious assessment of Plutarch and his work see D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* ("Classical Life and Letters", ed. H. Lloyd-Jones) (New York, 1973). I have consulted Plutarch's works in the Loeb Classical Library edition, where the main treatises on religion appear in *Moralia*, vol. 5.

² Origen is cited below in the translation of H. Chadwick, *Origen Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1965). I accept Chadwick's argument ("Introduction", pp. xxiv-xxix) that the Celsus against whom Origen is arguing was a Platonist.

other names one could not say that they have the same meaning. For the Greeks began from one set of ideas and etymologies, and so gave names to the beings supposed by them to be gods; but the Scythians began from another, and so also the Persians from another, and the Indians, or Ethiopians, or Libyans from others, each nation giving names in its own individual way. This was a consequence of the fact that they had given up holding to the pure idea of the Creator of the universe which they had possessed at first. (VI : 39)

Origen here recognizes that, at least since the fateful punishment of mankind for *hybris* at the Tower of Babel, languages have taken on a particularity that makes translation an inexact science. It is true that Origen engages in some fanciful etymological derivations himself, but in his basic understanding of language as the medium through which a people expresses its peculiar experience of the world, and indeed as a medium which conditions the experience itself, we see, I think, the fruit of his scholarly effort to bring the Hebrew and Greek Old Testaments into line with one another. The activity of editing texts itself was for Origen a source of theological insight.

Earlier in the *Contra Celsum*, in Book V, Origen had prepared the ground for this argument. Celsum is insisting that the only sensible thing for anybody to do is to remain content with his ancestral traditions. Reverence for the past, which could keep even such a theological skeptic as Cicero committed to religious practices, was a powerful motive, but Origen denounces it as a rationale. In so doing, he sharpens the radical criticism of religion.

According to [Celsum's] view piety will not be divine by nature, but a matter of arbitrary arrangement and opinion; for among some people it is pious to worship the crocodile and to eat some animal worshipped by others, and among others it is pious to worship the calf, and among others to regard the goat as a god. Thus the same person will be making things to be pious by the standard of one set of laws and impious by another, which is the most monstrous thing of all. (V : 27)

He then goes even a step further, and calls up the spectre of a world in which all standards disappear.

If piety and holiness and righteousness are reckoned to be relative, so that one and the same thing is pious and impious under differing conditions and laws, consider whether we should not logically reckon self-control also as relative, and courage, intelligence, knowledge, and the other virtues. (V : 28)

With this nod in the direction of Stoic insistence that virtues and vices are not relative, Origen leaves the subject for awhile, perhaps content to let the mere suggestion that "everything is permissible" scare the reader off from Celsum's "True Word."

But: if religion is arbitrary in this way, and if etymology and translation are unsuitable as devices for tying the varieties of religious experience and expression together, what is the apologist for religion to do? In the nineteenth century it was the historical nature of Christianity that was centrally problematical for apologists: how could faith rest securely on the uncertainties of history, on evidence essentially enigmatic and subject to periodic reassessment – in short, what preserves the Christian religion from arbitrariness?

For Origen, the historicity of the gospel worked just the other way: it is what preserved Christianity from being swamped in the radical criticism of the arbitrariness of all religion. Celsus mocks the particularity of the Christian gospel:

And everywhere they speak in their writings of the tree of life and of resurrection of the flesh by the tree—I imagine because their master was nailed to a cross and was a carpenter by trade. So that if he had happened to be thrown off a cliff, or pushed into a pit, or suffocated by strangling, or if he had been a cobbler or stonemason or blacksmith, there would have been a cliff of life above the heavens, or a pit of resurrection, or a rope of immortality, or a blessed stone, or an iron of love, or a holy hide of leather. Would not an old woman who sings a story to lull a little child to sleep have been ashamed to whimper tales such as these? (VI: 34)

Celsus is saying, in effect, that the Christian story is as much the product of the fertile human imagination as any tale told in a nursery. Origen replies that “he failed to see that the tree of life is described in the writings of Moses. Furthermore, he did not observe that Jesus himself is not described as a carpenter anywhere in the gospels accepted in the churches” (VI: 36).³ In other words, the Christian scheme of things, even if it extends far into the realms of spiritual and allegorical exegesis, is saved from arbitrariness by being based in events. Because Moses partook of “a divine spirit”, Origen says, he “recorded events as they actually happened” (III: 5). We can assume that the evangelists would have done no less. It appears, then, that for Origen historicity is a characteristic of authentic divine revelation.

Conversion to Christianity of course still requires in Origen’s view a conviction that the claims made by the Christians about the nature of spiritual reality are true. But, once converted, the Christian has not only answered the question about his own place in the universe, but has also solved the problem of arbitrariness in religion – for the words and actions of Jesus are fixed; they are subject to interpretation, and indeed require it, but the words and deeds themselves are not subject to whimsical revision, truncation, or amplification. Once you are convinced that Jesus is speaking the truth, then the fact that he spoke it in a particular way at a particular place at a particular time becomes a guarantee that the truth you accept is not simply the expression of your own particular view of the world, is not simply a statement of your traditional ideas and etymologies. This helps explain Origen’s vigorous opposition both to Marcionite literary suppression and to Valentinian literary creation. In both cases, all is arbitrariness once again.

Early in his career, in *De Principiis* (III. 1), Origen thought it necessary to tell fundamentalist Christians that the Bible reports as events thousands of things that did not happen at all. Near the end of his career, in *Contra Celsum*, Origen thought it necessary to tell just the opposite to the cultured

³ Chadwick’s note on this passage points out that “at Mark vi. 3 (‘Is not this the carpenter?’) Origen’s text agrees with many authorities, such as the Old Latin, in assimilating the text to Matt. xiii. 55 (‘Is not this the carpenter’s son?’).”

despisers of Christianity. He shared many intellectual and spiritual affinities with those who, as H. Chadwick has suggested, would have found the whole Christian story much easier to swallow if it could have been treated as mythical throughout⁴, but Origen insists that the Bible records things as they actually happened.

I would argue that as he grew older, ceaselessly reading and explicating the book in which the God of the universe keeps getting directly involved in the events, both great and small, of history, Origen gradually came to realize that the particularity need not be foolishness to the Greeks; it could be, literally, a godsend to secure the religious man firmly to a foundation that the strongest winds of criticism could not shake. The apologia for religion provided by Plutarch was too dependent on religious sentiment itself. Another Platonist, such as Celsus, who did not share that religious sentiment, could easily ridicule religion from nearly the same premises, calling it a collection of arbitrary nursery tales. Origen turned the main argument of the prosecution into the cornerstone of the case for the defense, and in so doing gave history a positive role in apologetic theology and marked an epoch in the ancient attempt to make the world intellectually hospitable to religion.

⁴ *The Early Church* (Pelican History of the Church, vol. 1) (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 33.

Envy as the Chief Sin in Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa

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The cataloguing of the vices seems to be a later development than the cataloguing of the virtues. Plato himself provides a rationale of the four cardinal virtues when he assigns temperance to the appetitive part of the soul, courage to the spirited part, moral wisdom to the rational part and justice to their mutual relations (*Rep.* IV. 441ff.) The three theological virtues (so-called) are suggested in I *Cor.* xiii. Their threeness might be thought a sufficient catalogue, though in the Augustinian tradition they are easily enough related to the trinity of memory, understanding and will: hope corresponding to memory, faith to understanding and love to the will. There is no such agreement over the vices. The earliest catalogue of principal vices seems to be found in Evagrius, and it is commonly found in subsequent Eastern ascetical theology, for instance in Maximus the Confessor. He proposes a catalogue of vices that corresponds to the threefold Platonic analysis of the soul. The vices of the appetitive part are gluttony (*γαστριμαργία*), fornication (*πορνεία*), and avarice (*φιλαργυρία*); of the spirited part, grief (*λυπή*), anger (*ὀργή*), and listlessness (*ἀκηδία*); of the rational part, vainglory (*κενοδοξία*), and pride (*ὕπερηφανία*). This list represents the progressive deterioration of the soul: the beginning of sin is in the appetitive part, delight in material things, particularly food, sex and money. The remedy is asceticism: fasting, sexual continence and poverty. The fall is seen as owing its origin to delight in sensible things: the apple was good to look upon. The familiar Western list of principal sins is rather different: pride (*superbia*), avarice (*avaritia*), sexual sin (*luxuria*), envy (*invidia*), gluttony (*gula*), anger (*ira*), and listlessness (*accidia*). There are seven sins, not eight; they are not related to the Platonic trichotomy of the soul; and the principal sin is pride. One suspects the influence of Augustine, for whom pride is clearly the principal sin and the agent of the fall. One can, I think, see movement from the Evagrian eight to the later Western seven sins in Gregory the Great (together with the exaltation of *superbia*), when he makes pride the *vitiorum regina*, and then enumerates *septem principalia vitia*: *Inanis gloria*, *invidia*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *avaritia*, *ventris ingluvies*, and *luxuria* (see Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, vol. II, p. 388). (The desire to arrive at the number *seven* is clearly present. We find the same desire in the east in John Climacus, who arrives at seven by the obvious identification of pride and vainglory, *Scala*

Paradisi 22). One is tempted to contrast the Eastern list with the Western list in terms of the Platonism of the former and the Paulinism (mediated by Augustine) of the latter, though I know of no study that drives such a suggestion like a coach and four through the study of asceticism, as Nygren did his distinction between an allegedly Platonic *eros* and a quite different (indeed irreconcilable) Christian *agape*.

In the fourth century there is much less systematisation. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, on one occasion speaks of gluttony as the root of sin: 'For who does not know that indulgence of the palate is pretty nearly the root of sins committed in the physical life?' (*De Oratione Dominica*, V). That is in a context – influenced by Platonic dualism – where he sees man's propensity to sin as due to his involvement through the body with the sensible world. It fits with the Evagrian rationale of the vices. Elsewhere though (in *de Beatitudinibus*, I) when he is making the point that the beatitudes begin with humility, he refers to pride as the 'root evil'. On yet other occasions we find envy – a sin not mentioned in the Evagrian list – elevated to pride of place. In *de Vita Moysis* after he has introduced the idea of following God as being equivalent to seeing God – a doctrine Daniélou compared to de Causade's *abandon* – he sees this as being endangered by envy (*φθόρος*) and launches into a great denunciation of *φθόρος*. Envy is 'the chief sin, the father of death, the first opening for sin, the root of wickedness, the beginning of grief, the mother of misfortunes, the ground of disobedience, the root of shame. Envy drove us out of Paradise, having become the serpent to seduce Eve. Envy separated us from the tree of life, and having stripped us of our holy garments, clothed us in shame with fig-leaves. Envy armed Cain to act against nature, and brought in that death which is punished sevenfold. Envy made Joseph a slave. Envy is the deadly sting, the hidden weapon, the sickness of nature, the poison of bile, the willing consumption, the bitter pang, the nail in the soul, the fire in the heart, the flame burning the inward parts . . .' (*De Vita Moysis*, II, 256f.) Athanasius too allots envy a prominent rôle: in *de Incarnatione* 5 he quotes *Wisd.* ii. 23f.: 'God created man for incorruption, and made him the image of his own eternity; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world.' The fall is due to the devil's envy of man. Athanasius does not pursue this directly, but it is given importance because of its contrast with what he says about God's nature. 'God is good,' he says in *dI* 3, 'or rather the source of goodness – and the good has no envy for anything. Thus because he envies nothing its existence, he made everything from nothing through his own Word.' Or in *Contra Gentes* 41: 'For a good being would be envious of no one, so he envies nobody existence but rather wishes everyone to exist, in order to exercise his kindness (*φιλανθρωπεύειν*).' The foreignness to God's nature of envy is the reverse of which the obverse is his creative love for man, his *φιλανθρωπία*. It is the devil's envy that leads him to want to mar God's creation.

What lies behind this prominence given to the sin of envy? In part it

seems to be that it enables Athanasius (and Gregory) to give the devil a leading rôle in their account of the fall: and this fits with the importance for their theology of demonology. But there is, I think, a deeper reason. When Athanasius denies that God is envious, he is only repeating one of the deepest convictions of Platonism concerning God: 'envy is excluded from the celestial choir' (*Phaedrus*, 247 A), 'He was good, and in him that is good no envy arises ever concerning anything' (*Timaeus*, 29 E). Werner Jaeger saw this doctrine as having a key-rôle in platonic theology. 'Theology — study of the highest problems in the universe by means of philosophical reason — is a specifically Greek creation. It is the loftiest and most daring venture of the intellect; and Plato's pupils had to combat the widespread Greek feeling (really a vulgar prejudice) that the jealousy (*φθόνος*) of the gods forbade men to understand such high matters. They could not appeal to the authority of a divine revelation which they possessed, but to the knowledge of the good which Plato had taught them, good whose nature cannot admit of jealousy' (*Paideia* II p. 298). The denial of the *φθόνος* of the gods opened the way for Platonic theology: thus the reiteration in the Platonic tradition that God is not jealous. It is in that context that *φθόνος* first gains prominence. And it is an echo of that which we find when Athanasius sees in *φθόνος* the root of the fall and when Gregory of Nyssa inveighs against *φθόνος* as τὸ ἀρχέκακον πάθος.

Hermogenes – ein frühchristlicher Theologe zwischen Platonismus und Gnosis

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Wir kennen Hermogenes als einen häretischen Lehrer an der Wende vom zweiten zum dritten Jahrhundert, der von seinen katholischen Gegnern vor allem deshalb bekämpft wurde, weil er die Ewigkeit der Materie behauptete. Von Hermogenes ist uns unmittelbar keine einzige Zeile erhalten. Sein ältester literarischer Bestreiter war Theophilus von Antiochien (um 180), dessen Kampfschrift verloren ist. Nach ihm hat sich Tertullian wiederholt mit Hermogenes auseinandergesetzt, Hippolyt widmet ihm einen Abschnitt in seinem großen Werk gegen die Häresien, und auch Klemens von Alexandrien erwähnt ihn¹. Tertullian und Hippolyt haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Schrift des Theophilus benützt². Die späteren Autoren, die Hermogenes nennen, sind von Tertullian und Hippolyt abhängig, und die wenigen neuen Angaben, die sie bieten, sind von verhältnismäßig geringer Bedeutung und müssen mit Vorsicht verwendet werden³. Die ältere Literatur über Hermogenes ist in den meisten Fällen durch die Arbeiten von Waszink überholt⁴. Sein Nachweis, daß die Lehre des Hermogenes von der Welt-schöpfung vom mittleren Platonismus beeinflusst ist, kann als gesichertes Ergebnis der Forschung gelten. Ich will hier nicht noch einmal von den

¹ Die Überlieferung ist verzeichnet bei A. v. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur I* (1893) 200. Auch Origenes weiß von Hermogenes, wahrscheinlich durch das Werk des Theophilus: P. Nautin, *Genèse 1, 1–2 de Justin à Origène*, in: *In principio. Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse* (Paris 1973, S. 61–94) 90.

² Vgl. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter* (1882) 294–297; J. H. Waszink, in: *Tertullian, The Treatise against Hermogenes* (Westminster - London 1956) 9–12.

³ Nach Harnack, *Tertullian in der Litteratur der alten Kirche*, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Berlin* 1895 (S. 545–579) 567f. haben Filastrius und der pseudo-ambrosianische Traktat über den Ursprung der Seele (bei C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota I* [Christiania 1883] 229) wahrscheinlich Tertullians verlorene Schrift „*De censu animae adversus Hermogenem*“ benützt; dazu vgl. Waszink, *Tertulliani de anima* (Amsterdam 1947) 11⁺. G. Bareille, *Art. Hermogène, Dict. de théol. cath.* 6 (1920, Sp. 2306–2311) 2310 und ihm folgend A. Quacquarelli, *L'Adversus Hermogenem di Tertulliano, Rassegna di scienze filos.* 4/4 (1950/51, S. 61–69) 63f. vertreten die unbeweisbare Annahme, in Filastr. 54f. werde die Lehre kleinasiatischer Schüler des Hermogenes wiedergegeben.

⁴ *Tertulliani de anima* (Amsterdam 1947) 7⁺–14⁺; *Observations on Tertullian's Treatise against Hermogenes*, *Vig. Chr.* 9 (1955) 129–147; *Tertulliani adversus Hermogenem liber* (Antwerpen 1956, krit. Ausgabe); *Tertullian, The Treatise against Hermogenes* (Westminster - London 1956, Übers. u. Kommentar).

philosophischen Quellen des Hermogenes reden, sondern möchte eine andere Frage stellen: Wo hat Hermogenes seinen Platz in der Theologiegeschichte des ausgehenden zweiten Jahrhunderts? In welchem Verhältnis steht seine Lehre zu den verschiedenartigen Strömungen und Tendenzen des christlichen Denkens seiner Zeit?⁵ In der Literatur wird Hermogenes entweder als Gnostiker⁶ oder als christlicher Platoniker⁷ bezeichnet. Diese unterschiedlichen Etikettierungen zeigen, wie schwierig es ist, ein eindeutiges Bild von seinem Denken und dessen Motiven zu gewinnen. Wenn es uns zu erfassen gelingt, in welchem Verhältnis Hermogenes zu den theologischen Ansätzen und Konzeptionen seiner Zeit steht, wird auch seine geistige Individualität deutlicher sichtbar werden.

Zunächst einige Bemerkungen zum Biographischen: Die Identität zwischen dem Hermogenes, gegen den Theophilus von Antiochien ein polemisches Werk geschrieben hat, und dem von Tertullian bekämpften Häretiker ist nicht zu bezweifeln⁸. Aus der intensiven Polemik Tertullians gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß er Hermogenes nicht nur literarisch aus der Ferne, sondern auch persönlich kannte. Es ist also anzunehmen, daß dieser spätestens um 200 aus dem Osten nach Karthago gezogen ist⁹. Gleichwohl erfahren wir von Tertullian über die Person des Hermogenes nicht allzu viel: er ist ein noch lebender Zeitgenosse, von Beruf Maler und hat mindestens zweimal geheiratet, war also kein Asket wie viele Gnostiker¹⁰. Die Schilderung, die Tertullian im ersten Kapitel der Schrift *Adversus Hermogenem* von seinem Gegner gibt, ist ein polemisches „Charakterporträt“, das nach festen literarischen Regeln aufgebaut ist. Die persönliche Polemik, die das erste Buch gegen Markion und die Schrift gegen Praxeas eröffnet, folgt demselben Schema¹¹. Der Beruf des Hermogenes und seine mindestens zweimalige Verheiratung boten dem Rigoristen Tertullian, der der bildenden Kunst wegen ihrer Beziehung zum Götzendienst äußerst mißtrauisch gegenüberstand und der die Zweitehe auch schon in seiner vermontanistischen Zeit ablehnte, natürlich willkommene Angriffsflächen¹². Über den wirklichen

⁵ E. Heintzel, *Hermogenes, der Hauptvertreter des philosophischen Dualismus in der alten Kirche* (Phil. Diss. Erlangen 1902), hat sich bemüht, Hermogenes in einem größeren geistes- und theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang zu sehen, doch reicht diese Arbeit heute nicht mehr aus.

⁶ So z. B. G. Kretschmar, *Art. Hermogenes*, RGG³ III (1959) 266; J. Pépin, *Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne* (Ambroise, Exam. I 1–4) (Paris 1964) 54; H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1966) 47.

⁷ Vgl. Wazink, *Observations* S. 138. Heintzel S. 64–69 vertritt die unhaltbare These, Hermogenes sei vom Aristotelismus beeinflusst.

⁸ So schon Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* III (Paris 1701²) 66.

⁹ Vgl. etwa T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford 1971) 80f.

¹⁰ *Tert. adv. Herm.* 1; vgl. *praescr.* 30, 13; *monog.* 16, 1.

¹¹ Vgl. J.-Cl. Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris 1972) 38–47.

¹² Vgl. de idol. 3–8; dazu H. Koch, *Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen* (1917) 3–11. Tertullians Bemerkung: „Pingit <in>licite“ (*adv. Herm.* 1, 2) bezieht

Menschen Hermogenes verraten uns die bissigen Auslassungen Tertullians nur wenig.

Hermogenes will mit seiner Lehre von der ewigen Materie den Ursprung des Bösen erklären¹³. Er versucht also, eine Frage zu beantworten, die nach einer bekannten Äußerung Tertullians zu den Fundamentalproblemen der Gnostiker wie der Philosophen gehörte¹⁴. Aber wenn Hermogenes das Böse auf den überall im Kosmos vorhandenen ungeordneten Rest der unendlichen chaotischen Materie zurückführt¹⁵, so entscheidet er sich gerade gegen die spezifisch gnostische Lösung des Problems. Denn nach überwiegender gnostischer Auffassung entsteht ja das Böse durch den Fall eines himmlischen Wesens, und die Erschaffung des Kosmos mit allen seinen Mängeln durch einen untergeordneten Gott ist die Folge dieses Falls. Der Vergleich mit zwei gnostischen Systemen soll den Unterschied verdeutlichen. Wir betrachten zunächst die valentinianische Lehre von der Entstehung der Materie, die bei Irenäus und in den *Excerpta ex Theodoto* nach einer gemeinsamen Quelle verhältnismäßig ausführlich dargestellt ist¹⁶: Der himmlische Soter löst von der zweiten, „unteren“ Sophia ihre Affekte los und gestaltet diese in eine körperlose Materie (*ἀσώματος ὕλη*) um¹⁷. Hier handelt es sich noch nicht um die Materie als Substrat des Kosmos, sondern der durch das Eingreifen des Soter entstandene Stoff umfaßt die gesamte psychische und hylische Substanz. Erst der Demiurg, den die Sophia hervorbringt, trennt das Hylische vom Psychischen¹⁸, und nur aus einem Teil der hylischen Substanz entstehen die „Elemente der Welt“, die Materie im eigentlichen Sinn, während aus dem übrigen hylischen Stoff die Seelen von Menschen und Tieren und die Dämonen hervorgehen¹⁹. Die Valentinianer verstehen also unter „Materie“ etwas sehr viel Umfassenderes als die philosophische Tradition, deren Begrifflichkeit sie frei abwandeln, und im Gegensatz zu der in ihrer Zeit überwiegend vertretenen Auffassung betrachten sie alles Hylische als geworden: Die Elemente entstehen am Ende des kosmogonischen Prozesses

sich nicht auf die Bildthemen des Malers Hermogenes, sondern auf die Übertretung des biblischen Bildverbots; vgl. Waszink, Übers. S. 102, Anm. 5. Der Versuch von Quacquarelli, *Un calco Greco in Tertulliano* (Pingit licite: *Adversus Hermogenem* 1), in: *Miscellanea G. Belvederi* (Città del Vaticano 1955) 187–197, das überlieferte „licite“ im Sinne von „profanamente“ zu verstehen und auf die alte Konjektur „inlicite“ des Fulvio Orsini zu verzichten, hat mich nicht überzeugt.

¹³ Tert. adv. Herm. 2, 4; 10, 1; vgl. Waszink, Übers. S. 4.

¹⁴ Praescr. 7, 5.

¹⁵ So Waszink, *Observations* S. 134f. im Anschluß an G. Uhlhorn, Art. Hermogenes, *Realencykl. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche* 7 (1899, S. 756–758) 757.

¹⁶ Iren. haer. I 4, 5–5, 4; Exc. ex Theod. 43, 2–49, 2. Trotz der Bedenken von Luise Schottroff, *Animae naturaliter salvandae*. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers, in: *Christentum und Gnosis*, hrsg. v. W. Eltester (1969, S. 65–97) 86–90 nehme ich an, daß Iren. haer. I 1–8 und Exc. ex Theod. 43–65 dieselbe Quelle voraussetzen.

¹⁷ Iren. haer. I 4, 5; Exc. 46, 1.

¹⁸ Iren. haer. I 5, 2; Exc. 48, 1.

¹⁹ Iren. haer. I 5, 4; Exc. 48, 3; anders Iren. haer. I 4, 2; Hippol. ref. VI 32, 6.

und bilden die unterste, dem Pleroma fernste Stufe des Seienden. Der valentinianische Mythos ist überhaupt, wie sein ganzer Aufbau zeigt, weniger an der Entstehung des Kosmos interessiert als am Ursprung und Geschick der drei Menschenklassen der Pneumatiker, Psychiker und Hyliker.

Einen anderen Ansatz finden wir in dem uns durch Hippolyt bekannten System der Peraten. Hier wird von den drei Prinzipien Vater, Sohn und Materie ausgegangen. Der Sohn prägt der qualität- und gestaltlosen Materie die Abdrücke der Ideen ein, die er vom Vater empfangen hat²⁰. Dies klingt platonisch. Aber die Abdrücke der Ideen erweisen sich als die Erwählten, die in einem zweiten Stadium des Mythos vom Sohn aus dem Schlaf erweckt und in die himmlische Heimat zurückgebracht werden. Die philosophischen Formeln haben hier ihren spezifischen Sinn verloren und dienen lediglich als Baumaterial für den Erlösungsmythos²¹. Es dürfte aus dem Gesagten deutlich geworden sein, daß die Kosmologie der Gnostiker, in der die philosophische Begrifflichkeit zum Mythos umgeschmolzen wird, und der Versuch des Hermogenes, den christlichen Schöpfungsglauben philosophisch zu interpretieren, sich grundlegend voneinander unterscheiden²².

An dieser Stelle sei noch erwähnt, daß H. Lietzmann die Vermutung geäußert hat, Hermogenes habe mit seiner Schöpfungslehre Einfluß auf Bardesanes ausgeübt²³. Vor kurzem hat der holländische Forscher T. Jansma diesen Hinweis wieder aufgenommen²⁴. Aber die platonische Lehre von der Materie brauchte Bardesanes nicht durch Hermogenes vermittelt zu werden, und im Vergleich mit den schulmäßigen Aussagen des Hermogenes erscheint die Lehre des Bardesanes viel mythologischer, so daß ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis unwahrscheinlich ist²⁵.

Höchst aufschlußreich ist nun aber eine Gegenüberstellung des Verständnisses der Welterschöpfung bei Hermogenes und bei Markion, der bekanntlich annahm, der gerechte Demiurg habe aus der ungewordenen, schlechten Materie den Kosmos geschaffen²⁶. Markion und Hermogenes gehen beide von dem philosophischen Modell einer Weltbildung aus der ewigen Materie aus, aber ihr Interesse ist dabei entgegengesetzt. Hermogenes will Gott von der Verantwortung für das Böse entlasten und sucht gleichzeitig den

²⁰ Hippol. ref. V 17, 1ff. Anders und komplizierter V 12. 14–16.

²¹ Hippol. ref. V 17, 8ff.; vgl. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* I (1964³) 45f. 341f.

²² Dies hat auch Heintzel S. 43ff. herausgearbeitet.

²³ H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche* II (1936) 270f.

²⁴ T. Jansma, *Natuur, lot en vrijheid. Bardesanes, de filosoof der Arameeërs en zijn images* (Wageningen 1969) 157–159.

²⁵ Über diese Frage kam es zu einer Kontroverse zwischen H. J. W. Drijvers und Jansma: Drijvers, *De schilder en de kunstericus. Discussies rond een portret van Bardesanes, de filosoof der Arameeërs*, *Nederl. Theol. Tijdschr.* 24 (1969/70, S. 89–104) 103f.; Jansma, *Bardesanes van Edessa en Hermogenes van Carthago*, ebd. S. 256–259; Drijvers, *Het image van Bardesanes van Edessa*, ebd. S. 260–262.

²⁶ Clem. Al. strom. III 12, 1; 19, 4; Tert. adv. Marc. I 15, 4, 5; V 19, 7; spätere Zeugnisse bei Harnack, *Marcion. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (1924²) 276+.

radikalen Dualismus zu vermeiden: Die Materie ist ihrem Wesen nach weder gut noch böse, lediglich ihre ungeordnete Bewegung ist der Grund des κακόν²⁷. Faßt man dagegen das Ganze der Theologie Markions ins Auge, so ergibt sich eine andere Konsequenz: Die Tatsache, daß der Demiurg für die Erschaffung der Welt auf die schlechte Materie angewiesen ist, beweist gerade die Schwäche und Unvollkommenheit dieses Gottes. Für Markion steht die Ableitung des Bösen aus der Materie nicht im Dienst der Theodizee, sondern seine negative Sicht des Kosmos läßt den platonischen Gedanken in ein Argument gegen den Schöpfer umschlagen. So erhält die von Markion und Hermogenes übereinstimmend vertretene These, daß das Böse seinen Ursprung in der Materie habe, im Zusammenhang ihres Denkens eine völlig verschiedene Akzentuierung.

Die Kosmologie des Hermogenes, die von der Einheit Gottes ausgeht, scheint eher mit der Lehre von Justin und Athenagoras, die ebenfalls annahmen, die Welt sei aus einer präexistenten Materie geschaffen worden²⁸, verwandt zu sein als mit den Vorstellungen gnostischer und gnostisierender Theologen. Aber die Übereinstimmung ist nur begrenzt, denn weder bei Justin noch bei Athenagoras findet sich die These, daß die Materie der Grund des Bösen sei oder dem schöpferischen Handeln Gottes Widerstand entgegensetze²⁹. Sie ist lediglich das qualitätlose Substrat des Kosmos. Die Ewigkeit der Materie ist für die beiden Apologeten eine unreflektierte Voraussetzung ihres Denkens, die ihnen ermöglicht, den Vorgang der Welterschöpfung zu verstehen – eben als Weltbildung –, hat aber darüber hinaus für ihre Lehre keine konstitutive Bedeutung. Im Gegensatz dazu geht es Hermogenes in seinen Aussagen über die Materie in erster Linie darum, die Herkunft des Bösen zu erklären, und dieses leitende Interesse verbindet ihn, obwohl er das Problem platonisch löst, wieder stärker mit der Gnosis als mit dem „kirchlichen Platonismus“ von Justin und Athenagoras.

Will man spezifisch theologische Traditionen, die Hermogenes kennt, finden, so empfiehlt es sich, die exegetischen Begründungen, die er für seine Lehre gibt, zu untersuchen. Sein wichtigster biblischer Beleg für die Existenz der ewigen Materie war die Stelle Gen. 1, 2a: „Die Erde war wüst und leer“³⁰. Die Deutung dieser Worte auf die ungeformte Materie stammt aus dem hellenistischen Judentum und wurde von den Christen übernommen³¹.

²⁷ Tert. adv. Herm. 37, 1, 3; 41, 1; 43; s. o. Anm. 15.

²⁸ Justin, apol. I 20, 4; 59, 1–5; 67, 8; II 6, 3; Athenag. leg. 10, 3; 15.

²⁹ Vgl. Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte I (1909⁴) 529f. Nur der ontologische Unterschied zwischen Gott und Materie wird betont; vgl. Athenag. leg. 15; 16, 3ff.

³⁰ Tert. adv. Herm. 23, 1; vgl. 28, 1.

³¹ Um eine Auslegung jüdischer Theologen handelt es sich nach Calcidius, in Tim. 278 (vgl. 276); die Quelle des Calcidius war vermutlich der Genesis-Kommentar des Origenes; vgl. Waszink, Observations S. 136–138; J. C. M. van Winden, Calcidius on Matter. His Doctrine and Sources (Leiden 1959) 54–66. Christliche Belege: Clem. Al. Strom. V 90, 1; Orig. princ. IV 4, 6 (33); eine Abwandlung in der valentinianischen Auslegung bei Hippol. ref. VI 30, 8f.

Hermogenes hat aber möglicherweise auch die Fortsetzung des Verses auf die Materie bezogen, und zwar verstand er in diesem Fall die hier genannten Größen „Finsternis“, „Tiefe“, „Geist Gottes“ und „Wasser“ als die vier Elemente³². Interpretationen von Gen. 1, 2b, die in eine ähnliche Richtung gehen, finden sich bei Philo, Justin und Theophilus von Antiochien³³, und im Midrasch Genesis rabba wird die Auslegung eines „Philosophen“ angeführt, der Tohuwabohu, Finsternis, Wasser, Wind und Tiefe als Urstoffe der Schöpfung bezeichnet³⁴. Wir stoßen wieder auf eine Auslegungstradition, die auf das hellenistische Judentum zurückweist.

Waszink vermißt bei Hermogenes eine Bezugnahme auf Sapiientia 11, 17, einen Vers, in dem es ausdrücklich heißt, Gott habe die Welt aus gestaltloser Materie geschaffen³⁵. Aber diese Stelle wird, soweit ich sehe, zum ersten Mal von Origenes zitiert, auch Klemens von Alexandrien zieht sie noch nicht heran, obwohl er die „Weisheit“ sonst häufig verwendet, und so braucht es nicht zu überraschen, daß auch Hermogenes sich nicht auf sie berufen zu haben scheint³⁶.

Nach einer Bemerkung Tertullians kritisierte Hermogenes Vertreter des stoischen Gedankens, daß die Existenz des Bösen notwendig sei, daß mit das Gute durch den Kontrast erkennbar würde³⁷. Von einer vergleichbaren Polemik des Hermogenes gegen abweichende christliche Anschauungen erfahren wir nichts, doch gibt es wenigstens Indizien dafür, daß er in den christlichen Kreisen Antiochiens ein Schöpfungsverständnis kennengelernt haben dürfte, das er von seinen platonischen Voraussetzungen aus ablehnen mußte. Das hellenistische Judentum hat eine durchreflektierte Lehre von der creatio ex nihilo nicht gekannt, und auch die christliche Theologie hat bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts eine solche Theorie nicht entwickelt³⁸. Theophilus von Antiochien ist einer der ersten christlichen Theologen, der die creatio ex nihilo entschieden vertritt und sie pointiert dem Weltschöpfungsmodell des

³² Tert. adv. Herm. 30, 1; vgl. Waszink, Übers. S. 92, Anm. 22. Nautin, Genèse 1, 1–2 S. 68, Anm. 27 meint allerdings, daß Hermogenes diese Auslegung nicht selbst vertreten habe, sondern daß nur Tertullian ein mögliches Argument seines Gegners widerlegen wolle.

³³ Philo, de prov. I 22; Justin, apol. I 59, 5; Theoph. Autol. II 13; zu dieser Stelle vgl. Waszink, Observations S. 138; Nautin, Ciel, pneuma et lumière chez Théophile d'Antioche (Notes critiques sur Ad' Autol. II 13), Vig. Chr. 27 (1973) 165–171.

³⁴ Gen. rabba I 9; vgl. H.-F. Weiß, Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums (1966) 89f.

³⁵ Observations S. 133f.

³⁶ Orig. princ. IV 4, 6 (33). Über den Gebrauch der Sapiientia vgl. Th. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons II (1890) 99, Anm. 2. Für die ersten zwei Jahrhunderte ist eine Zitierung von Sap. 11, 17 nicht nachgewiesen: Biblia Patristica I (Paris 1975) 220.

³⁷ Adv. Herm. 15, 4: Nam et Hermogenes expugnat quorundam argumentationes dicentium mala necessaria fuisse ad inlumenationem bonorum ex contrariis intellegendorum; dazu M. Pohlenz, Die Stoa II (1964³) 189.

³⁸ Diese Fragen behandle ich in meinem Buch „Schöpfung aus dem Nichts. Die Entstehung der Lehre von der creatio ex nihilo“ (1978). Zu Hermogenes vgl. S. 142–149. Der vorliegende Aufsatz wurde bereits 1975 abgeschlossen.

platonischen Timaios entgegengesetzt. Er spricht schon fast formelhaft vom Schaffen Gottes „aus nichts“³⁹, so daß die Erklärung, Theophilus habe seine creatio-ex-nihilo-Lehre erst in der Auseinandersetzung mit Hermogenes formuliert, nicht ganz auszureichen scheint. Die Wendung „Schöpfung aus nichts“ erweckt den Eindruck, schon älter, schon einigermaßen geprägt zu sein. Hellenistisch-jüdische Autoren können in einer vagen, unspezifischen Weise vom Schaffen Gottes aus dem Nichts reden⁴⁰, und noch Hermas, der von jüdischen Traditionen abhängig ist, gebraucht die Formel in diesem unbestimmten Sinn⁴¹. Dieser Sprachgebrauch gehört sicher in die Vorgeschichte der Formel des Theophilus⁴². Darüber hinaus besitzen wir aber einen Beleg dafür, daß aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in Antiochien schon vor Theophilus eine Schöpfung aus dem Nichts, die in bewußter Antithese zur bloßen Weltbildung und als deren Überbietung konzipiert war, gelehrt wurde, freilich in einer überaus eigenwilligen Gestalt: Der Gnostiker Basilides, der in Antiochien gelebt hat, bevor er nach Alexandrien ging⁴³, ließ seinen Welterschöpfungsmythos damit beginnen, daß der „nichtseiende“, transzendente Gott den Samen des Kosmos aus dem Nichts schafft. Dieser Schöpfungsakt sollte, wie in Hippolyts Referat über eine basilidianische Quelle ausdrücklich betont wird, weder als Emanationsvorgang noch als Formung einer vorgegebenen Materie verstanden werden⁴⁴. Wir haben an dieser Stelle nicht nach dem exakten Sinn der Schöpfungslehre des Basilides zu fragen. Worauf es in unserem Zusammenhang ankommt, ist dies: Wir können annehmen, daß antiochenische Christen, und zwar solche gnostischer Richtung, aber nicht notwendigerweise nur sie⁴⁵, schon vor Theophilus die Auffassung, daß die Welterzeugung in der bloßen Formung der gestaltlosen Materie bestanden habe, kritisiert und den biblischen Schöpfungsbericht im Sinne einer creatio ex nihilo verstanden haben. Die Konfrontation mit solchen Anschauungen könnte Hermogenes veranlaßt haben, sein platonisches Schöpfungsverständnis literarisch darzulegen⁴⁶. Natürlich sind die zuletzt angestellten Überle-

³⁹ Theophil. Autol. I 4. 8; II 4. 10. 13.

⁴⁰ Vgl. II. Makk. 7, 28; Philo, leg. all. III 10.

⁴¹ Hermas 1, 6; 26, 1.

⁴² So etwa R. M. Grant, Theophilus of Antioch to Autolytus, in: After the New Testament (Ges. Aufs., Philadelphia 1967, S. 126–157) 141.

⁴³ Iren. haer. I 24, 1; Epiphan. panar. 23, 1, 1 f. (nach Irenäus?).

⁴⁴ Hippol. ref. VII 21, 4; 22, 2–4.

⁴⁵ Die Unterscheidung eines Schaffens aus nichts und eines Schaffens aus den vier Elementen, freilich nicht in bezug auf die Welterzeugung, findet sich auch in dem ursprünglich jüdischen Gebet Const. Apost. VII 34, 6 (vgl. VIII 12, 17): Gott hat die Seele des Menschen aus dem Nichts, seinen Leib dagegen aus den Elementen erschaffen. Enge Parallelen gerade zu diesem aus Syrien stammenden Gebet finden sich bei Theophilus; vgl. G. Kretschmar, Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie (1956) 37–39.

⁴⁶ Nach Tertullian ging Hermogenes von der These aus, daß Gott das All entweder aus sich selbst oder aus dem Nichts oder aus einem Stoff geschaffen haben müsse, und erklärte dann allein die dritte Möglichkeit für denkbar (adv. Herm. 2, 1: Praeaestruens aut[em] dominum de semetipso fecisse cuncta aut de nihilo aut de aliquo). Er könnte dabei an die drei

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gungen weitgehend hypothetisch. Sie können nicht mehr sein als ein Versuch, die geschichtliche Situation zu rekonstruieren, in der Hermogenes seine Lehre vertreten hat. –

Auch in seiner Lehre von der Seele ist Hermogenes von dem Motiv bestimmt, von Gott jede Beziehung zum Bösen fernzuhalten. Er unterscheidet die aus der Materie stammende sterbliche Seele vom Pneuma, das dem Menschen von Gott bei der Schöpfung eingehaucht wurde (Gen. 2, 7) und das nicht notwendig mit der materiellen Seele verbunden ist. Wäre die Seele identisch mit dem göttlichen Hauch (*πνοή*) von Gen. 2, 7, so müßte man annehmen, daß dieser am Sündenfall beteiligt war, was aber undenkbar ist. Hermogenes sieht sich deshalb genötigt, zwischen göttlichem Pneuma und materieller Seele scharf zu trennen. Nur die letztere ist in den Sündenfall mit einbezogen, und auf Grund ihrer Herkunft ist sie auch sterblich⁴⁷.

Die Deutung der *πνοή* von Gen. 2, 7 auf das Pneuma, das dem Menschen bei der Schöpfung verliehen wird, ist nicht selbstverständlich. Die nächste Parallele finden wir in der Lehre Tatians von Pneuma und Seele: Der Mensch hat nach Tatians Auffassung durch die Sünde das Pneuma verloren, das ihm ursprünglich verliehen worden war und das sich mit seiner Seele verbunden hatte. Die Seele ist durch diesen Verlust sterblich geworden, und nur durch die Wiedergewinnung des Geistes kann sie abermals die Unsterblichkeit erlangen⁴⁸. Tatian gibt freilich nicht an, in welcher Weise der Mensch das Pneuma empfangen hat. Aber wir können annehmen, daß auch er, genauso wie Hermogenes, in Gen. 2, 7 die Einhauchung des Geistes durch Gott beschrieben fand: es läßt sich nämlich eine ganze Auslegungstradition nachweisen, in der die Genesisstelle auf die Geistverleihung bezogen wird. Diese Tradition findet sich sowohl bei Gnostikern als auch bei kirchlichen Theologen und stammt aus dem hellenistischen Judentum⁴⁹. Hermogenes und Tatian sind offensichtlich beide von ihr abhängig. Wahrscheinlich hat Hermogenes ähnlich wie Tatian angenommen, daß der Mensch durch den Sündenfall das göttliche Pneuma verloren hat und damit sterblich geworden ist. Die Erlösung sah er dann wohl ebenfalls in einem neuen Empfang des Geistes⁵⁰. –

Auf die größten Schwierigkeiten und Rätsel stößt man bei dem Versuch,

Auffassungen von der Schöpfung als Emanation, als *creatio ex nihilo* und als Formung der Materie denken, doch bleibt es völlig offen, ob er konkrete Positionen im Auge hat oder ob es sich um eine rein theoretische Überlegung handelt. Den Gedanken der *creatio ex nihilo* hat Hermogenes zurückgewiesen, weil er die Herkunft des Bösen im Kosmos nicht erklären kann (Tert. adv. Herm. 2, 4), und eben diese Frage bildet für ihn das Hauptproblem der Schöpfungslehre.

⁴⁷ Tert. de anima 11, 2. Sämtliche Zeugnisse für die Seelenlehre des Hermogenes sind vereinigt bei Waszink, Tertulliani de anima S. 7⁺–14⁺.

⁴⁸ Tatian, or. 7, 3; 13; 20, 1.

⁴⁹ Vgl. W.-D. Hauschild, Gottes Geist und der Mensch. Studien zur frühchristlichen Pneumatologie (1972) 256 ff.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Heintzel S. 54f.; Hauschild S. 199.

die Christologie des Hermogenes zu rekonstruieren. Hippolyt gibt über sie ein kurzes Referat: „Er (Hermogenes) bekennt, daß Christus der Sohn Gottes ist, der das All geschaffen hat; und er bekennt auch, daß er aus der Jungfrau und dem Geist geboren ist, wie es dem Wortlaut der Evangelien entspricht. Nach dem Leiden sei er auferweckt worden und den Jüngern im Leibe (*ἐν σώματι*) erschienen; beim Aufstieg in den Himmel habe er seinen Leib in der Sonne zurückgelassen, sei aber selbst zum Vater gegangen“. Als Schriftbeweis für die Behauptung, daß Christus seinen Leib in der Sonne gelassen habe, führte Hermogenes eine Stelle aus dem neunzehnten Psalm an: „In die Sonne setzte er sein Zelt“⁵¹. Diese Darstellung wirkt recht schematisch, und es erscheint fraglich, ob sie die Christologie des Hermogenes in ihrer ganzen Eigenart wiedergibt⁵². Sicher zuverlässig ist jedenfalls die Angabe, Hermogenes habe unter Berufung auf Ps. 19, 5 behauptet, der Leib des zum Himmel auffahrenden Christus sei in der Sonne zurückgeblieben, denn sie wird von mehreren Seiten bestätigt⁵³. Das Motiv für diese Lehre scheint offenkundig zu sein: Der Leib konnte wegen seiner Stofflichkeit nicht höher aufsteigen als bis zur Sonnensphäre⁵⁴. Dies muß freilich nicht heißen, daß Hermogenes den Leib des Auferstandenen als einen echten irdischen Menschenleib ansah, obwohl das Referat Hippolyts diesen Eindruck vermittelt⁵⁵. Die Vorstellung, daß der Leib Christi in der Sonne seinen Ort findet, ist sicher nicht einfach aus Psalm 19 herausgesponnen⁵⁶. So wie wir die Bildungsvoraussetzungen des Hermogenes kennen, ist anzunehmen,

⁵¹ Hippol. ref. VIII 17, 3f. (Ps. 19, 5 = 18, 5 LXX).

⁵² Heintzel S. 39, Anm. 122 vermutet, Hippolyt gebe ein Glaubensbekenntnis des Hermogenes wieder, das er in der Schrift des Theophilus gefunden hatte. Aber der gleichartige Aufbau von Abschnitten wie ref. VII 27, 8ff.; 35, 2; 38, 3–5; VIII 19, 2; 20, 1 zeigt, daß die scheinbare Bekenntnisform ein Darstellungsschema Hippolyts ist.

⁵³ Clem. Al. ecl. proph. 56, 2; Theodoret, haer. fab. I 19 (nach Hippolyt); Origenes, sel. in ps., XII 73 Lomm. nennt Hermogenes nicht namentlich, so daß Harnack, Marcion S. 418⁺ offen läßt, ob es sich um die Lehre des Apelles oder die des Hermogenes handle, doch ist nach den eindeutigen Angaben bei Klemenis und Hippolyt sicher Hermogenes gemeint; so auch Nautin, Genèse 1, 1–2 S. 90. Die Erwähnung der Auslegung von Ps. 19, 5 bei Filastrius 55, 3 spricht dafür, daß auch dieser Abschnitt, der über die angeblichen galatischen Häretiker Seleukos und Hermias berichtet und Hermogenes nicht erwähnt, Traditionen enthält, die auf Hermogenes zurückgehen; s. o. Anm. 3.

⁵⁴ So interpretiert Origenes, sel. in ps., XII 73 Lomm.: *Quidam quidem dicebant, quod salvator noster adscendens e terris ad coelum et corpus suum adsumens pervenit usque ad eum circulum, qui solis zona nominatur, et ibi aiunt posuit tabernaculum corporis sui: non enim ultra erat possibile id progredi.*

⁵⁵ A. Hilgenfeld, Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums (1884) 555 vermutete, Hermogenes habe in der Sonne die „obere Grenze der Körperwelt“ gesehen, deshalb habe der Leib Christi in ihr zurückbleiben müssen, ähnlich Kretschmar, Art. Hermogenes Sp. 286 („Grenze der Welt“). Aber im Weltbild der Kaiserzeit nimmt die Sonne die mittlere der sieben Planetensphären ein, und die Grenze zwischen irdischer und himmlischer Welt bildet die Mondsphäre; vgl. auch Heintzel S. 40, Anm. 126.

⁵⁶ Die Exegese des Hermogenes knüpfte natürlich an das Stichwort „Zelt“ an; vgl. II. Petr. 1, 13f., auch II. Kor. 5, 1. 4; dazu W. Michaelis, Art. *σκήνωμα*, Theol. Wörterb. z. NT VII (1964) 385f.

daß er mit der Vorstellungswelt der kaiserzeitlichen Solar-Theologie vertraut war und sich von ihr anregen ließ⁵⁷. Für diese Solar-Theologie stammen die menschlichen Seelen aus der Sonne und stehen unter ihrer Herrschaft, während die Leiber dem Einfluß des Mondes unterliegen. Nach der im Tod erfolgten Trennung vom Leib steigen die Seelen zur Sonne auf⁵⁸. Das bekannteste Beispiel für diese Anschauungen ist der Mythos am Ende von Plutarchs Schrift "De facie in orbe lunae": Der Leib des Menschen stammt von der Erde, die Seele vom Mond und der Nous von der Sonne. Nach dem Tode trennen sich Seele und Nous gemeinsam vom Leib, sie durchlaufen einen Reinigungsprozeß und steigen zum Mond auf. Dort bleibt die Seele zurück, während der Nous schließlich zur Sonne zurückkehrt⁵⁹. Auf dem geistigen Hintergrund solcher Spekulationen erscheint es eigentlich ausgeschlossen, daß für Hermogenes der Christusleib, der bis zur Sonne emporsteigt, ein gewöhnlicher irdischer Leib war. Er sah in ihm doch wohl ein Gebilde, das in seiner besonderen stofflichen Qualität der reinen himmlischen Substanz der Sonne entsprach⁶⁰. Harnack hat schon in einer Jugendarbeit die Christologie des Hermogenes mit der des Markioniten Apelles verglichen⁶¹. Dieser lehrte, Christus habe sich beim Abstieg zur Erde aus dem Stoff der Gestirne seinen Leib geschaffen und habe dessen Bestandteil bei der Himmelfahrt wieder an ihren jeweiligen Herkunftsort zurückgegeben⁶². Der Gottessohn erschien also in einem wirklichen Leib – insofern milderte Apelles den radikalen Doketismus Markions ab –, aber dieser Leib unterschied sich, seiner Herkunft aus dem Gestirnbereich entsprechend, qualitativ von aller irdischen Leiblichkeit⁶³. Die Rückgabe der Stoffe des Christusleibes an die

⁵⁷ Zur Solar-Theologie vgl. F. Cumont, *La théologie solaire du paganisme romain*, in: *Mémoires Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 12/2 (Paris 1913) 447–479 und zuletzt H. Dörrie, *Die Solar-Theologie in der kaiserzeitlichen Antike*, in: *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte I: Die alte Kirche*, hrsg. v. H. Frohnes u. U. W. Knorr (1974) 283–292. H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1966) 142, Anm. 74 vermutet einen Einfluß dieses Vorstellungskreises auf Hermogenes. W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907) 222 meinte, Hermogenes sei von der Vorstellung des „Sonnenheros“ abhängig, die auch auf den Urmenschenmythos gewirkt hätte, doch überzeugen seine Belege nicht.

⁵⁸ Vgl. Cumont S. 463f. Zu der konkurrierenden Vorstellung vom Mond als Aufenthaltsort der Seelen vgl. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion II* (1974³) 491–497.

⁵⁹ Plut. *de fac.* 28–30 (943ff.).

⁶⁰ Auch Origenes meint, daß der Leib des Auferstandenen sich wandeln mußte, um in den Himmel aufsteigen zu können; vgl. Cels. III 42: *πῶς οὐ δυνατόν καὶ τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀμείρασαν ποιότητος γεγονέναι τοιαύτην ὅποιαν ἐχρῆν εἶναι τὴν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω αὐτοῦ τόποις πολιτευομένην* . . . ;

⁶¹ Harnack, *De Apellis gnosi monarchica* (1874) 88, Anm. 5.

⁶² Tert. *carn. Chr.* 6, 2; 8, 2; vgl. adv. Marc. III 11, 2; Ps. Tert. adv. omn. haer. 6, 5. Nach Hippol. ref. VII 38, 3–5; Epiphan. panar. 44, 2; Filastr. 47, 4f. formte Christus erst auf der Erde aus den vier Elementen seinen Leib, doch ist sicher die von Tertullian bezeugte Gestalt der Lehre ursprünglich; vgl. Harnack, *De Apellis gnosi monarchica* S. 80ff.; ders., *Marcion* S. 193f.

⁶³ Tert. *carn. Chr.* 8.

Gestirne bildet eine auffallende Parallele zu der Vorstellung des Hermogenes, daß Christus seinen Leib in der Sonne abgelegt habe, zugleich besteht aber zwischen der Lehre des Apelles und dem, was wir von der Christologie des Hermogenes wissen, auch ein erheblicher Unterschied: Bei Apelles erscheint Christus in seiner aus den Gestirnsphären stammenden Leiblichkeit auf Erden, und eine menschliche Geburt ist ausgeschlossen⁶⁴. Dagegen hat Hermogenes nach der Darstellung Hippolyts nicht nur die Jungfrauengeburt gelehrt, sondern scheint überhaupt von der kirchlichen Christologie nicht abgewichen zu sein, wenn man von seinen Spekulationen über die Himmelfahrt absieht. Nun gibt das Referat Hippolyts freilich zu manchen Fragen Anlaß. Denn es erscheint kaum denkbar, daß Hermogenes, für den der Gegensatz zwischen Gott und Pneuma auf der einen und der Materie auf der anderen Seite eine fundamentale Bedeutung hat, in irgendeiner Form eine echte Inkarnation annehmen konnte. Im Bericht Hippolyts dürften also wesentliche Züge der Christologie des Hermogenes ausgefallen sein, doch besitzen wir nicht die Möglichkeit, sie zu ergänzen. Man könnte beispielsweise daran denken, daß Hermogenes im Stil der Valentinianer und anderer gnostischer Richtungen die Jesusüberlieferung der Evangelien mit doketischen Anschauungen verbunden und entsprechend umgedeutet hat, aber an diesem Punkt ist über Mutmaßungen nicht hinauszukommen⁶⁵. Mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit können wir nur sagen, daß für Hermogenes der Leib des auferstandenen Christus aus einem Stoff bestand, der von gleicher Art wie die Sonnensubstanz war.

Wirklich überraschend ist es, daß bei Hermogenes Christus keine kosmische Funktion hat und die Logoslehre zu fehlen scheint. Er beschreibt den Vorgang der Schöpfung in der Weise, daß Gott lediglich durch sein Erscheinen und seine Annäherung die Materie forme, so wie das Schöne durch seine bloße Gegenwart und der Magnet durch seine Annäherung wirkt⁶⁶. In dieser Auffassung vom Schöpfungsakt scheint ein Schöpfungsmittler keinen Platz zu haben. Außerdem redet Tertullian in seiner Streitschrift von Christus als Weisheit und Logos in einer Weise, daß man den Eindruck gewinnt, Hermogenes habe diese Begriffe in seiner Christologie nicht verwendet⁶⁷. Auf eine ungewöhnliche Abweichung von der mittelplatonischen Dogmatik und der von ihr beeinflussten Logoslehre hat erst vor kurzem J. Pépin hingewiesen: Nicht der mit den Ideen gleichgesetzte Logos dient nach der Meinung des

⁶⁴ Tert. carn. Chr. 1, 3; 6, 1; adv. Marc. III 11, 2.

⁶⁵ Filastr. 54 bezeichnet Hermogenes als Patripassianer, eine Angabe, die nicht nachprüfbar ist und höchst unwahrscheinlich klingt.

⁶⁶ Tert. adv. Herm. 44, 1. Diese aristotelisierende Vorstellung hat Hermogenes wahrscheinlich ebenfalls vom Mittelplatonismus übernommen; vgl. Wazink, Observations S. 135.

⁶⁷ Tert. adv. Herm. 18; vgl. Heintzel S. 81, Anm. 314. Die Stelle adv. Herm. 1, 3, auf die Heintzel ebenfalls hinweist, ist dagegen nicht auf Christus zu beziehen; vgl. Wazink, Kommentar S. 103f., Anm. 11.

Hermogenes bei der Schöpfung als modellhaftes Paradigma der Welt⁶⁸, sondern diese Rolle wird der Materie zugewiesen. Sie ist das Vorbild der Schöpfung. Der Kosmos läßt deshalb in allen seinen Teilen seine Herkunft aus dem ungeordneten Stoff erkennen und ist gleichsam dessen Spiegelbild⁶⁹. Es ist zu vermuten, daß diese Theorie von der Materie als Paradigma der Schöpfung in den Zusammenhang der Gedankengänge gehört, mit denen Hermogenes erklären wollte, wie der geordnete Kosmos immer noch an dem ursprünglichen chaotischen Zustand der Materie Anteil haben kann, der den Grund des κακόν in der Welt bildet.

Hermogenes scheint also Christus als eine reine Erlösergestalt verstanden zu haben, und er hat wahrscheinlich auch einen viel massiveren Doketismus vertreten, als die Darstellung Hippolyts ahnen läßt. Es ist aber noch auf eine andere Interpretationsmöglichkeit für die Christologie des Hermogenes hinzuweisen, die Heintzel erwogen hat: Er fand die nächsten gedanklichen Parallelen bei den römischen Monarchianern, vor allem bei Theodot von Byzanz, und wollte die Lehre des Hermogenes als eine Form des dynamistischen Adoptianismus verstehen⁷⁰. Eine solche Deutung würde einleuchtend erklären, warum bei Hermogenes die Logoslehre fehlt, und könnte sich auch auf die Angaben Hippolyts berufen, nach denen Hermogenes die Menschheit Jesu nicht in Frage gestellt hat⁷¹. Hingegen dürfte die Behauptung des Hermogenes, daß Christus bei der Himmelfahrt seinen Leib in der Sonne ablegte, ein anderes christologisches Schema voraussetzen als der dynamistische Adoptianismus. Für Theodot und seine Schüler handelt es sich um das Einwohnen des Geistes in dem irdischen Menschen Jesus, also um die Relation Pneuma – Mensch, während für Hermogenes die Annahme eines materiellen Leibes durch Christus das Problem ist, das er zu lösen sucht, d. h. er denkt in dem Schema himmlischer Christus – stofflicher Leib. Gerade diese Soma-Spekulation ist aber das am besten bezeugte Stück der Christologie des Hermogenes und gewiß authentisch. Es scheint mir deshalb eine methodische Notwendigkeit zu sein, mit der Interpretation an diesem Punkt einzusetzen und nicht bei den anderen, weniger charakteristischen Angaben Hippolyts. Die Überlieferung reicht nicht aus, um volle Klarheit über die Christologie des Hermogenes zu gewinnen. Die hier angestellten Überlegungen sollten aber wenigstens den Problemhorizont aufzeigen, in dem Hermogenes gedacht hat. –

Wir versuchen zum Schluß eine zusammenfassende Antwort auf die eingangs gestellte Frage zu geben: Wo hat Hermogenes im Rahmen der theolo-

⁶⁸ Zur platonischen Lehre vgl. W. Theiler, Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus (1964²) 9 ff. Zum Logos als Paradigma der Schöpfung vgl. Athenagoras, leg. 10, 2. 3; Tert. adv. Herm. 20, 2; dazu Waszink, Observations S. 139–141.

⁶⁹ Tert. adv. Herm. 17, 1; 40, 1. 2; ein Echo vielleicht bei Ambrosius, exam. I 2, 7 (S. 6, 14–16 Schenkl); vgl. I 2, 5 (S. 5, 1–3): J. Pépin, Echos de théories gnostiques de la matière au début de l'Examéron de saint Ambroise, in: Romanitas et Christianitas (Festschr. J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam 1973, S. 259–273) 259 ff.

⁷⁰ Heintzel S. 81.

⁷¹ Auch Theodot lehrte die Jungfrauengeburt: Hippol. ref. VII 35, 2.

gischen Strömungen und Entwicklungstendenzen des zweiten Jahrhunderts seinen Platz? Wenn wir auf seine Kosmologie blicken, über die wir am besten unterrichtet sind, so müssen wir ihn – im Bewußtsein der historischen Problematik, die mit einer solchen Einordnung verbunden ist – als christlichen Platoniker bezeichnen⁷². Typisch gnostische Motive fehlen gerade in der Schöpfungslehre: Hermogenes hält an der Einheit Gottes fest, es fehlt der Mythos vom Fall eines göttlichen Wesens, und wir finden bei ihm auch nicht die für die gnostische Spekulation so charakteristische Umsetzung philosophischer Begriffe in mythologische Wesen und Vorgänge. Wenn Hermogenes die Materie in ihrer ungeordneten Bewegung mit einem Topf voll siedendem, überwallendem Wasser verglich, so ist dies eben nur eine bildhafte Veranschaulichung gewesen⁷³. Es scheint mir also nicht zuzutreffen, wenn man in Hermogenes einen Gnostiker sieht. Aber das heißt natürlich nicht, daß die geistige Welt des Hermogenes mit derjenigen der Gnostiker nichts zu tun gehabt hätte. Die zentrale Bedeutung, die in seinem Denken der Frage nach dem Ursprung des Bösen zukommt, und die negative Sicht des Kosmos, die wohl auch in der Lehre von der Materie als dem Paradigma der Schöpfung sichtbar wird, verraten eine ähnliche geistige Grundhaltung, wie sie den Gnostikern eigen war.

Den größten Schwierigkeiten begegnet man, wenn man versucht, die Christologie des Hermogenes zu rekonstruieren. Er scheint Christus als reine Erlösergestalt, nicht auch als den kosmischen Logos gedeutet zu haben, und offenbar trug seine Christologie doketische Züge. Mit diesen Vorstellungen scheint Hermogenes gnostischem Denken nahe zu kommen, aber auch an dieser Stelle muß man sich der komplexen geistigen Lage der Zeit bewußt sein: Der Doketismus war die große Gefahr jedes gebildeten griechischen Christen, für Valentin ebenso wie für Klemens von Alexandrien.

So haben wir in Hermogenes einen christlichen Theologen vor uns, der entscheidend vom Platonismus seiner Zeit beeinflußt ist, der aber in seinem Denken und geistigen Wollen auch Gemeinsamkeiten mit der Gnosis zeigt. In mancher Hinsicht kann man ihn mit Tatian vergleichen, bei dem die Abhängigkeit vom mittleren Platonismus sich ja ebenfalls mit gnostisierenden Vorstellungen verbindet. Zumindest in seiner Genesisexegese, wo wir dies nachprüfen können, ist Hermogenes von Auslegungstraditionen abhängig, die in allen christlichen Lagern verbreitet waren. Er ist also keineswegs ein theologischer Außenseiter gewesen. In seinem Denken kommt vielmehr eine Reihe von Motiven und Traditionen zusammen, die für die Theologie seiner Zeit charakteristisch sind.

⁷² Zum Problem eines „christlichen Platonismus“ vgl. H. Dörrie, Was ist „spätantiker Platonismus“? Überlegungen zur Grenzziehung zwischen Platonismus und Christentum, Theol. Rundsch. N. F. 36 (1971) 285–302 und E. P. Meijering, Wie platonisierten Christen? Zur Grenzziehung zwischen Platonismus, kirchlichem Credo und patristischer Theologie, in: God Being History. Studies in Patristic Philosophy (Amsterdam 1975) 133–146.

⁷³ Tert. adv. Herm. 41, 1; vgl. 43, 1; Hippol. ref. VIII 17, 2.

Paul and Plato in Second Century Ethics

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This subject has been confused by so many generalisations that I shall concentrate on certain passages in Clement which provide more than enough material for consideration. The reasons for the investigation are several: Plato, later Platonism and Paul are understood differently and, I think, better than they were thirty years ago¹ and it is more than thirty years since this problem was considered.² Further, important questions of method arise and these prevent us from accepting conclusions which derive from a biblicist use of Paul or an idealist view of Plato.³

We select Clement because he is the chief figure in the second century interaction; but we do not exclude thereby the apologists who prepared the way or Irenaeus and Tertullian who have been mishandled in relation to

¹ The best summary of work on later Platonism is to be found in A. H. Armstrong, (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967), and in J. Daniélou, *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux II^e et III^e siècles* (Paris, 1962; Eng. tr., London, 1973). On Plato the work of I. Crombie has been of great value; a contemporary Platonism has been put forward by Iris Murdoch, *The Sovereignty of Good* (London, 1970). On Paul, the work of E. Käsemann has been the major development in New Testament scholarship in recent decades. See especially, *An die Römer* (Tübingen, 1973) and *Paulinische Perspektiven* (Tübingen, 1969; Eng. tr., London, 1971).

² E. Aleith, *Paulusverständnis in der alten Kirche* (Berlin, 1937); H. Seeßemann, *Das Paulusverständnis des Cl. Alex.*, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1936, 312–346. — More recent work by U. Wickert and M. F. Wiles deals with later periods.

³ An example of biblicist use of Paul is found even in the important work of E. Molland, *The Alexandrian Conception of the Gospel* (Oslo, 1938), p. 169. "No other theologian has been more faithful to the line in the Bible which may be termed the Platonism of Holy Scripture, and which is perceived in St. Paul and in the *autor ad Hebraeos* . . . This line in the Scripture is generally overlooked by modern Protestant theology. But, none the less, it is there . . . (2 Cor. 4. 18); this is 'Platonism in a nutshell' as Inge remarks." It would be hard to defend this approach to scripture and to Plato. The need for a critical approach to Paul was seen clearly by C. E. Raven, *Jesus and the Gospel of Love* (London, 1931), p. 290. "The mainspring of his life is his vision of the risen Christ . . . It is by reference to the mind of Christ that he directs his whole course . . . Paulinism is an invention of the systematisers." More recently the critical position has been put by Käsemann, "To sum up, the Gospel begets the critical faculty and creates the critical community." *New Testament Questions of Today* (London, 1969), p. 262 (hereafter abbreviated NTQT), and *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, 2 (Göttingen, 1964), p. 269 (hereafter EVB 2).

this question. Odd as it may seem, Irenaeus had hesitations about Paul⁴ and positive reactions to Plato⁵; while Tertullian has been properly described as the first Christian philosopher.⁶

I. Faith and reality

Stromateis 1, chapter 7 is valuable because it shows the attitude which Clement holds towards philosophy and the close integration of this attitude with his theology. The main theme is the parable of the sower⁷ which Clement expands exuberantly to show the kind of God who would keep on sowing seeds of truth on his children.⁸ The Gospel is the basis and also the criterion for Clement's eclecticism; this makes it a very unusual kind of eclecticism. Between the one beginning (the bountiful God) and the one end (the gate of the Lord into which the righteous enter) there is an amazing variety and liberality. The seed is sown by God on all. The one good saves in many ways.⁹

Yet there is only one way of righteousness and that is the way of faith. Abraham was justified by faith, not by works.¹⁰ There is a sharp line between what someone says about truth and what truth says about itself. Guessing at truth is one thing; truth is another thing. *ἄλλο ὁμολῶσις, ἄλλο αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, καὶ ἡ μὲν μαθήσει καὶ ἀσκήσει περιγίνεται ἡ δὲ δυνάμει καὶ πίπτει.*¹¹ The one good God brings men by different paths to this one gate; but there is only one righteousness, one gate and that is of faith. Clement has taken the antithesis of 1 Corinthians between the wisdom of this world and the Christ who is the power and wisdom of God and joined it to the antitheses between works and faith in Romans and opinion and reality in Plato. He continues¹² with a negative account of sophistry which deals in appearance, not in reality. He draws on Plato for the *φανταστικὴ τέχνη* and the *ψευδὴς δόξα*¹³ of the Sophist. Plato and Aristotle were just as much against this trafficking with appearance as Clement is.¹⁴

⁴ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3. 13. 1. The Lord did not come just to save Paul. God has more than one apostle who understands the dispensation of his Son.

⁵ *Ibid.* 3. 25. Plato taught the goodness of the creator, and stands to condemn Marcion and others.

⁶ On Tertullian note Ritter's comment that Tertullian was "one of the first men to have done philosophy in a Christian sense". Yet Tertullian did describe Paul as "haereticorum apostolus", not disparaging Paul but stating a fact concerning the use of his writings. *Against Marcion*, 3. 5. 4.

⁷ See E. F. Osborn 'Parable and Exposition', *Australian Biblical Review*, 1974, p. 20.

⁸ See E. R. Dodds in *Les Sources de Plotin, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, V (Geneva, 1957), p. 15. "The First God is like the farmer: he 'sows the seed of every soul' in its appropriate receptacle." See my comment below under Conclusion (i).

⁹ S. (Stromateis) 1. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Clement continues *ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς θεοσεβείας, χάρις δὲ ἡ πίστις.*

¹² S. 1. 39.

¹³ Sophist 236 C and 240 D.

¹⁴ Clement's references are to be found in Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* 2. 12.

II. *The twofold hope*

The second half of Strom. 2 deals with the opinions of philosophers on the end or moral purpose of human life. Chapter 22 describes Plato's twofold end and its similarity to the Christian's twofold hope. For Plato there is (a) the Good which is participated in, is first and exists in the forms themselves and (b) human virtue which participates in the Good and shares its likeness. Socrates, who identifies *ὁ δίκαιος* with *ὁ εὐδαιμών*, cursed the separation of *τὸ δίκαιον* and *τὸ συμφέρον*. For Plato, *εὐδαιμονία* was a good state of the *δαίμων*, or ruling part of the soul, and was the most complete and perfect good. This says Clement, is what some of our people have said when they speak of the image and likeness of God. Man receives the image at birth and the likeness by subsequent growth in perfection.

In Plato and in Christianity we have, from Clement's view, a starting point and a twofold end. "The starting point of the good life is the daemon, the ruling part of the soul, or the image of God. These things are present in every man. The twofold end consists of the good life and the perfect Being and the former participates in the latter. The good life consists of eudaemonia – keeping one's daemon in good condition, or of assimilation – making one's image of God more like him. It is the most complete and perfect good, the life of virtue with all the virtues as contributing causes and parts. It is assimilation to God, participation in the Good, the life of righteousness."¹⁵

The initial reference to Plato's twofold end is drawn from Clement's contemporary sources. Albinus¹⁶ gives this account and that of Apuleius is similar. The distinction between *τὸ μεθεκτόν* and *τὸ μετέχον* is crucial.¹⁷ It safeguards the *extra nos* of man's salvation and brings man to his humanity. It performs for Clement what eschatology did for Paul; just as Paul reminded the Corinthians that they had not arrived and used eschatology for this purpose¹⁸, so Clement uses participation to stress the limitation of man's present salvation, against Gnostics for whom God and elect man were of the same substance.

A passage from Cleanthes¹⁹ stresses the inseparability of *τὸ δίκαιον* from either *εὐδαιμονία* or *τὸ συμφέρον*, while *Timaeus* 90 C continues the ethical stress by identifying *εὐδαιμονία* as the most perfect and complete good. The

¹⁵ E. F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 85f.

¹⁶ See Albinus, Diss. 27, 6, 17a; Apuleius, *De Platone*, 2. 1. 220: prima bona esse deum summum mentemque illam, quam νοῦν idem vocat; secundum ea, quae ex priorum fonte profluerent, esse animi virtutes, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem.

¹⁷ Cf. Justin, Dial. 6. 1. However Justin was more concerned with continuity in his account of spermiotic logos; 1 Apol. 46; 2 Apol. 10 and 13. The antitheses in S. 1. 38 are stronger.

¹⁸ Cf. Käsemann on apocalyptic as the mother of Christian theology; NTQT, 124–137; EVB 2, 120–131.

¹⁹ Cleanthes, SVF, 558, Bd. 1, p. 127.

superlative introduces the notion of comparison or progression²⁰ in excellence and this is taken up in the account of *ὁμοίωσις* which follows. The Theaetetus reference to *ὁμοίωσις* is qualified by *ταπεινοφροσύνη*,²¹ which is explicit in *Laws* 4 and which reinforces the ideas of limitation or *extra nos*. For Paul *ταπεινοφροσύνη* is central to the life which is always dependent on and subject to grace.²² The account from *Laws* of the all-embracing divine and sovereign word and righteousness provides the logical setting for Plato's own demand for humility in following righteousness or God.²³ Paul's cosmic view of the righteousness of God prevents it from becoming a subjective conversion experience²⁴ and his account of the body of Christ reaching through the whole world is much closer to Clement's *ὡς πάντα ἐν* than has ever been realised.²⁵

Well-being, for Plato, consists in following the divine justice in humility and proportion *ἥς ὁ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσῃν μέλλον ἐχόμενος ξυνέπεται ταπεινός καὶ κεκοσμημένος*. Humility in Plato is linked more to fear, *εὐλάβεια*, than to grace as it is in Paul but in both cases it is linked with following. The order or proportion of the soul is the other part of following. "Like will be dear to like" answers the question "What kind of conduct then is dear and appropriate to God?" Plato explains further that the measured is dear to the measured while the unmeasured is dear neither to what is unmeasured nor to what is measured. He who wants to be God's friend must become like him. The *σώφρων* man will be dear to God but the man without self-control will always be unlike and different. So the notion of likeness to God is tied to the reality of divine justice and not to man's efforts after self-transcendence. The righteousness of God is prior and sovereign.

Clement returns to a fuller statement of Theaetetus 176 where likeness is defined as righteousness, holiness and wisdom. The need for this ethical definition is clear in Strom. 3 where divine justice is made, by Carpocratians, a ground for sexual promiscuity and general lawlessness. There was a general suspicion of those who denied the ancient gods which had been the ground of

²⁰ Cf. Apuleius, *De Platone*, 2. 20, 247; *Perfecte sapientem esse non posse dicit Plato, nisi ceteris ingenio praestet artibus et prudentiae partibus . . .*

²¹ *ἀντίκα ὁ Πλάτων τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ταύτην μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἔσεσθαι.*

²² Cf. E. Käsemann, EVB 2, 219; NTQT, 213: "the Lord, who stakes his claim to the world by facing it continually in the person of his servants with the eschatological token of his lordship — the quality of *ταπεινοφροσύνη*". Cf. also EVB 1, 121; ENT (Essays on NT Themes, London, 1964), 78.

²³ S. 1. 132.

²⁴ E. Käsemann, 'The Righteousness of God in Paul', EVB 2, 192; NTQT, 180.

²⁵ E. Käsemann, 'Ministry and Community in the NT', EVB 1, 114; ENT, 68. "In our bodies the Cosmocrator is taking possession of that world which hitherto has not acknowledged his lordship, and the Body of Christ is the real concretion before the Parousia of the universal sovereignty of Christ." See also, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper', EVB 1, 20; ENT, 118: The Body of Christ is neither sociological nor metaphysical (as for Gnostics for whom the elements of the world of light come together in their homogeneity). "The members do not constitute either the Body itself or its unity, because this Body receives its character as well as its unity from the Kurios alone."

moral behaviour. Plutarch wrote of a "godless negligence and ruthlessness when you tear away from the gods the appellations attached to them and by that single act annihilate all sacrifices, mysteries, processions and festivals"²⁶, Apuleius tells of an amoral wife who justified her outrageous behaviour by a claim of loyalty to one God: *mentita socrilega praesumptione dei, quem praedicavit unicum*.²⁷ So it was necessary for the ethical nature of Christian discipleship to be clear; and so later critics have foolishly bewailed the moralism of the early fathers.²⁸

As Clement insists, so Plato had in the *Theaetetus*, on the reality of moral values. The true reason for the pursuit of virtue has nothing to do with one's reputation, but has to do with God. "God is in no way at all unrighteous, but utterly and perfectly righteous, and there is nothing so like him as one of us who becomes as righteous as possible." There are two patterns set in the nature of things, the divine and the godless. Whatever men think, the truth is that a just life links them with the first and an unjust life links them with the second. (*Theaet.* 177)

The same insistence on moral contrast and ethical realities may be seen in Apuleius. Only the honourable (*honestum*) is good, as the bad is disgraceful (*turpe*). What is shameful (*turpe*) cannot be good. There is no way of reconciling good and evil; on the other hand, *pares paribus irresolubili nexu iunguntur*.²⁹

When Clement moves in the next paragraph to Pauline citations he inserts some of Plato's terms. We must strive towards the *τέλος ἀτελεύτητον* and we do this by obedience to God³⁰ in his commandments without faltering, and intelligently because we know God's will. The stress on commandments and intelligence is proof against antinomian Gnosticism.³¹ Plato's assimilation, as far as possible, is further qualified by right reason and is linked with "restoration to perfect sonship through the son eternally giving glory to the father through the great high priest" who makes us his brothers and joint heirs (Heb. 2, 11). The concise statement of Romans 6 joins liberation from sin, service to God, holiness and eternal life. Glimpsing the double hope, Paul points to the confidence that comes through the power of God's love already present in man's heart.³² This love brings us to the promised restoration and rest. The long citation from Ezekiel stresses the two points – ethical behaviour and the twofold hope. "He is righteous. He shall surely live."

Isaiah 55 brings out the negative aspect of twofold hope – man's virtue

²⁶ Plutarch, Reply to Colotes, 22. 1119.

²⁷ Metamorph. 9. 14.

²⁸ See E. Aleith, op. cit., p. 2f. and H. Seeseman, op. cit., 344–6.

²⁹ Apuleius, De Platone, 2. 13. 238.

³⁰ S. 2. 134.

³¹ Cf. S. 3. 5f. See E. F. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 46–49.

³² Rom. 5: 4f. Cited by Clement three times and (verse 5) by Augustine 201 times. See Käsemann, *An die Römer*, in loc.

is not the same as God's (against Gnostics who identified virtue in elect man and God).³³ Man must seek the Lord by turning from wickedness; he will receive mercy from him whose thoughts are higher than our thoughts, as the heavens are high above the earth. Yet Paul shows how this gap is bridged: by faith we wait for the hope of righteousness and in Christ nothing matters but faith active through love. The letter to the Hebrews urges zeal for the final fulfilment of hope, imitating those who by faith and endurance inherit the promises. Through God's own work, we are strongly encouraged as we flee to lay hold of the hope set before us. This hope, as an anchor for the soul, sure, firm, enters within the veil where Jesus our forerunner and eternal high priest entered for us (Heb. 6, 11–20). The subtle tension between present and future, between fulfilment and non-fulfilment comes out also in a short verse from Wisdom, "He who hears me shall dwell, trusting in hope." Clement finds the "shall dwell" most beautiful (*παγκάλως*) because it shows the rest of one who has received the hope which he hopes. His quietness knows no fear of evil. The way is put quite openly by Paul as "Imitate me as I imitate Christ", for *μίμησις* moves through Christ to God. The goal of faith is therefore what Plato was talking about in Theaetetus 176 B and the *telos* is the restoration of the promise in faith.³⁴

The remarkable thing about this passage is its sensitivity at different levels, a sensitivity which escapes the rapid reader, who can see nothing but a string of quotations. Yet here Clement is moving beyond the lists of quotations to the sources from which they spring. He says of one quotation that it puts the point "most beautifully"; but all his quotations, from Paul, Hebrews, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Wisdom show an aesthetic sensibility when examined. Theologically there is sensitivity to the great antitheses of the righteousness of God as found in Paul: indicative/imperative, present eschatology/future eschatology, gift/service, freedom/obedience, forensic/ethical.³⁵ Logically, there is sensitivity in Paul and in Plato to the tension between universal and particular or between perfection and contingency.³⁶ Spiritual vision and practical performance are each stressed. Perfection of goodness is balanced by a sense of man's finitude, fallibility and corruption. Finally there is sensitivity in debate. How on earth did Paul and Plato come to be so finely interwoven in Clement? The answer is simple: Clement was fighting the same battle which Paul fought in the letters to the Corinthians. He saw Paul from the inside. Corinthian enthusiasts and Alexandrian Gnostics claimed to have arrived, to be the other side of ethics, to be beyond obedience

³³ Cf. Chrysippus, SVF 250. On Isaiah 55 and the difference between God and man, see Philo, On Providence, 2. 35: "For in the first place the judgments of men and God are not alike."

³⁴ S. 2. 136, cf. Apuleius, De Platone, 2. 23. 253; sapientem quippe pedisequum et imitatore dei dicimus et sequi arbitramur deum, id est enim *ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*.

³⁵ Käsemann, NTQT, 173; EVB 2, 186.

³⁶ See E. F. Osborn, Ethical Patterns, pp. 11–14, 37–48.

and the law.³⁷ Paul argued from eschatology and his twofold hope. For Clement eschatology was not enough so he supplemented it with Plato's twofold end, and showed that they could mean the same thing. The longer one looks at his intricate argument, the less one doubts that he was right.

Beyond all the sensibility of Clement there lay the sense of tragic urgency which was the key to early Christian thinking – "Immortality and righteousness – the two thoughts go together, and both depend on Jesus Christ. He is emphatically called 'our Hope' – a favourite phrase with Ignatius.³⁸ Some strong hope was needed – some 'anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast' (Heb. 6, 19). Death lay in wait for the Christian at every turn, never certain, always probable."³⁹

III. *Theology of the cross*

The picture of the true gnostic in Strom. 7 is justly famous but it would be wrong to take it as Clement's total picture of true humanity. It was written to convince hostile philosophers of the piety of the true gnostic⁴⁰; while opponents are always a valuable stimulus they limit the reply to their concerns.

There is a more important account in Strom. 4. Clement begins with the question of what makes a man human. Man lives, is mortal, but may receive immortality; he is capable of contemplation and self rule. Wisdom, Pythagoras and Paul declared, belongs to God alone and the philosopher is he who has God for friend.⁴¹ God begets the truth which the gnostic loves. True philosophy leads the soul above toil and fear. Yet fear, like the law to which it is tied, still has a place. Man's life, as Paul showed, is in separation from sin and service to God (Rom. 6, 20–23); his soul, not his body, is what makes him human. Like Plato's philosopher (Phaedo 67 D, 80 E) he separates body from soul and finds no problem with physical death. Paul was crucified to the world (Gal. 6, 14) and lived as a citizen of heaven (S. 4. 12).

True humanity is therefore to be found in the martyr who is greeted by his Saviour as "dear brother" because of their affinity. Martyrdom is man's perfection, because it is the highest act of love (S. 4. 14). The Greeks⁴² knew this when they praised those who died in war because they were not weakened in soul by illness. Plato claims that he who dies illustriously in battle is "first of the golden race" (S. 4. 16). Not that this means that the body is bad

³⁷ S. 3. 28 and 30. On Paul, see Käsemann, NTQT, 131–137; EVB 2, 125–131 and *Der Ruf der Freiheit* (Jesus means Freedom), chapter 3.

³⁸ Ignatius, Eph. 21; Magn. 11; Phil. 11.

³⁹ T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (London, 1909), p. 164f.

⁴⁰ S. 7. 1.

⁴¹ Cf. Diog. Laert. Proem. 12; Cicero, Tusc. Disp., 5, 39.

⁴² e.g. Plato, Menexenus, despite its satirical overtones.

or irrelevant, as the false gnostics claim. Plato insisted that care of body was needed for the harmony of the soul.⁴³

Those who leave all for the gospel and the name of Christ are "gnostic" martyrs as distinct from "plain" martyrs who die a physical death for Christ. "If the confession to God is martyrdom, every soul which has lived purely in the knowledge of God, which has obeyed the commandments, is a martyr both in life and word, no matter what way it may be released from the body, pouring out faith as if blood all along the path of life till it goes hence." (S. 4. 15). This notion of martyrdom as testimony and word is closely linked with the *Apology* of Socrates, with Justin Martyr, and the Johannine tradition.⁴⁴ The mother whom the gnostic forsakes is his land, his fathers are the laws of the state. These he despises, though thankful, as a large-minded righteous man because he wants to be God's friend and to sit at God's right hand.

Martyrdom may be misunderstood. Some heretics die out of hatred for the creator; they cannot be true martyrs because they do not believe in the true God. Other heretics are cowards who take refuge in the notion of gnostic martyrdom and do not put their lives at risk.

Like the Stoics, who may properly be admired, Paul endured hardship. His bonds brought courage to others (Phil. 1, 13f.) and testimonies from the past bring encouragement now (Rom. 15, 4). Yet pain and poverty may deflect the soul from its true purpose and are therefore not to be sought.

The beatitudes speak of poverty and wealth in the spiritual realm (S. 4. 25f.). The testimony of the lips may be worthless (Luke 6, 46); but true testimony is obedience to the Lord's commandments, crucifying the flesh and walking by the Spirit (Gal. 5, 24f.), sowing to the Spirit and reaping life everlasting (Gal. 6, 8) (S. 4. 43). Plato in the *Phaedo* (107 C) has shown that death is not the end. Life under the flesh cannot please God. This does not mean the rejection of creation (as Marcion claims) for Paul goes on to claim God's saving action for all creation through all history so that present suffering cannot be compared with future glory (Rom. 8, 7-30). Martyrdom is done from love, for the martyr does not see the glory which is to be his; he is saved by hope and hope that is seen is not hope (S. 4. 46).⁴⁵ So the theme of a twofold hope recurs in Clement's account of human perfection.

The believer is able to stand against the powers about him. Though as a sheep for the slaughter he constantly faces death, yet he is more than conqueror through the Christ who loved him⁴⁶, like Antigone who bravely rejects the proclamation of Creon "Zeus did not utter this proclamation".⁴⁷ On

⁴³ Rep. 410 C; 591 D.

⁴⁴ H. von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 2 ed., 1964), p. 20 and p. 175; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 110. 4 and 2 *Apol.* 12; Plato, *Apol.* 1.

⁴⁵ Rom. 8 : 24f. See Käsemann, *An die Römer*, p. 227 ff.; cf. p. 116.

⁴⁶ Note that Paul here refers to a specific act of love.

⁴⁷ Sophocles, *Antigone* 450.

the other hand, God now proclaims to men and he must be believed. Faith and confession go together. "For with the heart man believes to righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made to salvation. Therefore the scripture says, whoever believes on him shall not be put to shame" (Rom. 10, 10f.). The peak of manhood is only reached, says Simonides⁴⁸, by bitter sweat and toil. Great fates bring great destinies, while slaves fear death, says Heraclitus.⁴⁹ God replaces the spirit of bondage and fear with that of power, love and a sound mind (2 Tim. 1; 7f., Rom. 8, 15). The twofold hope remains central. "If then, the God of hope is he, to whom we bear witness, we confess our hope as we speed on to hope, saturated with goodness, filled with all knowledge." (cf. Rom. 15, 13f.)

While most people are busy sharing earthly things, Heraclitus saw glory as the one thing of value and let the common herd stuff themselves like cattle.⁵⁰ But for us our old man has been crucified with Christ, so that we should not serve sin (Rom. 6, 6). Yet for Paul, Plato and Clement the contempt is on the side of the world, not on the side of the righteous. God has put his apostles on last in the show, destined for death. They hunger, thirst, go naked, are beaten, are weak and work with their hands. "When cursed, we bless; when persecuted, we endure; when defamed, we entreat; we have become, as it were, the refuse of the world" (1 Cor. 4, 9 and 11-13). This is exactly like Plato's just man, who while stretched on the rack, with his eyes dug out, remains *εὐδαίμων*.⁵¹ The true gnostic sets his chief goal, not in earthly things but in being a royal friend of God, and, though shame, exile, deprivation and death come to him, he cannot be torn from his freedom and his supreme love of God (S. 4. 52).

Many more verses of Paul follow, on the excellence of love, on concern for men as brothers and on spiritual warfare. "Armed with these weapons, the gnostic says 'O Lord provide the occasion and receive the proof; let this terrible thing pass; for love of you I despise dangers'." (S. 4. 55).

The theme of martyrdom and a theology of the cross run on with the same mixture of Paul, philosophers and poets. Christ's promise to confess before the angels those who confess him before men is central to Clement's defence of martyrdom against Heracleon. "Alone, then, the Lord, because of the ignorance of those who plotted against him and for the purification of those who disbelieved him, 'drank the cup'. Imitating him the apostles so that they might be real gnostics, and perfect, suffered on behalf of the churches they had founded. So then also the gnostics who follow in the steps of the apostles ought to be without sin and for love of the Lord love their brother too. So that, if the occasion call, for the sake of the church, not faltering in their endurance of afflictions, they may drink the cup." (S. 4. 74)

⁴⁸ Simonides of Keos, frag. 37.

⁴⁹ Heraclitus, frag. 25.

⁵⁰ Heraclitus, frag. 29.

⁵¹ Rep. 362.

It is wrong to voluntarily seek 'martyrdom for Jesus said "When they persecute you in this city, flee to the other" (Matt. 10, 23) (S. 4. 76). Further refutation of heretical Gnostic ideas follows. Then chapter 14 (S. 4. 95f.) completes the account of martyrdom. It is quite inevitable that those who are Christ's will receive hostility and persecution when they live as they must, in the middle of the devil's works. Here Clement, like Paul, takes his final stand not in serenity but in strife; yet nothing can separate him from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord and here man's creatureliness and God's love come together.⁵²

Conclusion

Every book of the *Stromateis* points to a synthesis of Paul and Plato. In Book 3 the antinomian Gnostics are refuted by four tightly woven references to Plato.⁵³ In Book 5 Paul and Plato speak of mystery and the practice of death until Paul's wonder at the depth of wealth in the wisdom and knowledge of God lead on to Clement's main statement on negative theology.⁵⁴ This Platonic utterance closes with Paul on the Areopagus; Clement would feel no tension between the *Epistles* and *Acts*. Book 6 includes an account of righteousness, as a power which actively does good.⁵⁵ "For what is the value of good that does not act and do good?"⁵⁶ Book 7 begins with Paul's account of the indwelling Christ and Plato's third divine image. The argument is built on the inseparability of gift and giver.⁵⁷

Clement's use of Paul and Plato was not occasional but constant; he interwove their ideas in an intricate way. He understood Paul at a profound level. His accounts of the twofold hope, the theology of the cross, the mystery of divine grace, righteousness as a power, the link between gift and giver, have all been confirmed in recent study. This is important because, with the exception of Charles Raven⁵⁸, no one has stressed the deep affinity between Paul and the Alexandrines. How well did Clement understand Plato? While he was clearly influenced by the contemporary Platonic theme, it is no accident that the one citation from a second century philosopher (Numenius) points to the dependence of Plato on Moses.⁵⁹ Platonism belonged

⁵² S. 4. 96.

⁵³ S. 3. 42. 4–6, including allusions to Plato, *Rep.* 394, *Theaet.* 176 and 177, *Phaedo* 107.

⁵⁴ S. 5. 81f.

⁵⁵ S. 6. 103.

⁵⁶ S. 6. 104. ⁵⁷ S. 7. 14–16.

⁵⁸ C. E. Raven, *Good News of God* (London, 1943), p. 100: "But this theology possessed the one thing necessary, a full and proportionate concept of God's nature and work. It had, what no subsequent age has yet recovered, a real doctrine of the continuity and energy of God's working in the world – that is, a worthy theology of the Holy Spirit . . . For them the constant, vitalising activity of God in his world was the essential element in their teaching."

⁵⁹ S. 1. 150.

before Paul and after Moses. Because the one Word had spoken to each, Clement could use Plato and Paul to illustrate each other. Contemporary Platonism could only seem an anachronism to Clement; yet what he found in Plato was shaped by the problems he faced, the questions he was asked, and the Platonic discourse of his day. Caution must be exercised in tracing elements to particular writers; but in many places Clement goes beyond Plato's own account and uses terminology found in Middle Platonism.⁶⁰

Can Clement throw any light on the later development of Platonism?

(i) *Strom. 1. 7*

Numenius (F 22) says that the First God is the seed of soul which he sows. *ὁ μὲν γε ὢν σπέρμα πάσης ψυχῆς σπείρει*. This has been regarded as a textual corruption. Two critics comment, "This can hardly be right" and "a sower does not sow himself".⁶¹ Yet this is precisely what Clement's God does sow. It is probable that Numenius anticipated Clement here, unless Eusebius was over-zealous in his account of the preparation for the Gospel.

(ii) *Strom. 2. 22*

Here there are at least two points which call for comment. *ὁμολῶσις* is given a dominant position and an ethical meaning. Both of these derive from the Theaetetus itself; but the widespread use of the term in the second century made clearer definition necessary.⁶² Clement insists that "like will be dear to like". There is no point in claiming affinity with God if the life lived is discordant with the holiness of God. This is a reaffirmation of Plato's insistence on the irreconcilable difference between good and evil (Theaet. 177).

The second point is the distinction between the divine righteousness as a cosmic entity and God himself, a distinction which is implicit in the ruling concept of a twofold end. Here Clement may have anticipated Plotinus, for this doctrine of the divine mind which embraces its content "has always been regarded as one of the most distinctive and important points of the philosophy of Plotinus".⁶³ Clement speaks elsewhere of the Logos as *ὡς πάντα ἐν* while God is a simple bare unity. Again here he may have anticipated Plotinus who "rooted out from the First Principle the Aristotelian *νοῦς* with which not only Numenius but Albinus and other Middle Platonists had identified it".⁶⁴

(iii) *Strom. 4*

The theology of the cross and the practice of death anticipate Plotinus' protest against Gnostic dualism. The martyr does not die from hatred to

⁶⁰ Literary dependence is harder to establish than has been realised.

⁶¹ E. R. Dodds in *Les Sources de Plotin* (see note 8 above), p. 15.

⁶² See A. Méhat, *Étude sur les Stromates de Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1966), p. 374.

⁶³ A. H. Armstrong in *Les Sources de Plotin*, p. 393.

⁶⁴ E. R. Dodds, *ibid.*, p. 20.

creation and the harmony of the body helps the soul. Platonism included optimistic and pessimistic strains.⁶⁵ Christian Platonists like Clement were optimistic in opposition to Marcion and Gnostics; sometimes competitive other-worldliness drew them to pessimism.

Finally, Clement was not chiefly concerned to expound Paul or Plato, but to defend Christianity from obvious threats. In *Strom.* 1. 7 he answers the objections raised against the newness of Christianity and its claim to universality and against its puzzling mixture of eclecticism and stubbornness. In *Strom.* 2. 22 he solves the ethical problem which Gnostic antinomianism made urgent. Man was never of the same ἀρετή as God, but he could, by divine grace be ethically transformed to the likeness of God. That this likeness was found most clearly in ἀπάθεια was declared elsewhere in Middle Platonism⁶⁶; but for Clement the important thing was the flat contradiction between the πάθη of the Gnostics and the God they claimed to embody. Finally in *Strom.* 4 Clement is concerned with a theology of the cross which does not disown the world. Gnostics speciously evade the cross and Marcionites rigorously reject the world. Clement holds both cross and world together, through Romans 8, where present suffering is joined to the travail of a world which waits for the liberty of the children of God.

⁶⁵ See A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès trismégiste*, II, *Le dieu cosmique* (Paris, 1949), p. xff.

⁶⁶ See S. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 109–117.

Le problème de la conscience chez Philon d'Alexandrie

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Il n'est évidemment pas question, en si peu de temps, de rentrer dans les détails si délicats de la notion de *συνειδός* et de *συνειδήσις* chez Philon, et le titre de ma communication est très prétentieux.

Je voudrais seulement montrer que la filiation grecque qu'on a souvent voulu établir pour la notion de conscience n'est pas si simple que l'on veut bien le penser. Philon, et si ce n'est pas une révélation, il faut quand même toujours y revenir, est au carrefour de deux traditions, la grecque et l'hébraïque.

La notion de *συνειδός*, comme on le voit chez lui souvent, (et comme on l'a montré d'ailleurs), est liée à la représentation du *tribunal*, du *jugement*, du *témoignage* et de la *preuve*. Le modèle de fonctionnement de la conscience est l'action judiciaire, le débat ou le sujet serait à la fois, par la voix de sa conscience, son accusateur, son témoin irréfutable et son condamné.

A. Pelletier¹ voit une influence de Ménandre dans le cadre de l'imagerie judiciaire, «où», écrit-il, «*τὸ συνειδός* se trouve personnifié et voisine avec < *Preuve* > dont la personnification dans ce même cadre était due à Ménandre.» Nous ne nions pas l'influence possible de Ménandre ni même que l'allégorie existe chez Philon; mais elle nous semble, en tout cas, le signe d'autre chose de plus particulier. Autrement dit, il nous paraît qu'existe une contradiction entre deux sens, deux manières de concevoir la conscience qui serait, si l'on veut, l'une grecque et l'autre hébraïque.

La conscience grecque est liée à la connaissance et, avec Platon et Aristote surtout (*l'Ethique à Nicomaque*), au problème de la volonté et du jugement, corollairement à la responsabilité, cette dernière étant en rapport avec la mise en évidence du caractère volontaire (*ἐκῶν*) ou involontaire (*ἄκων*) de l'action.

Tout cela représente un effort pour sortir justement d'une perspective tragique qui faisait de l'homme le responsable de ses actes et de ce qu'il est, quel que soit le degré de connaissance qu'il a de la finalité de ses actes. Mais la parole de Dieu qu'apporte Philon bouleverse les catégories judiciaires. L'oeuvre de Philon témoigne de l'apport de quelque chose qui n'est pas grec

¹ A. Pelletier, *Deux expressions de la notion de conscience dans le judaïsme hellénistique et le christianisme naissant*, in *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, Tome LXXX, 1967, p. 363.

ou même, disons, gréco-romain; je voudrais simplement citer un cas intéressant parmi d'autres.

Dans le *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*, 123 s., Philon essaie de penser *Gen.* 6, 11: « La terre était corrompue devant Dieu et remplie d'injustice » et *Lev.* 13, 24: « Si on voit apparaître chez le lépreux, de la chair vive, il sera souillé; et même la chair saine sera une souillure. » C'est, dit Philon, un paradoxe; car de l'avis commun, c'est la chair malade qui corrompt la saine. Mais, par une suite assez obscure de raisonnements, Philon va tenter de réduire le paradoxe; et le réduire, c'est faire finalement rentrer la parole divine dans les catégories grecques, aristotéliennes si l'on veut ou stoïciennes, de la connaissance de la finalité de l'acte. La chair vive, c'est le *συνειδός*; la chair malade, c'est l'âme. « La coloration saine et vivante de l'âme, qui apparaît franchement à la surface, est une pièce à conviction », traduit Mosès². *Ἐλεγχός* = la Preuve. « Lorsqu'*ἐλεγχός* paraît: il dresse une liste de toutes les fautes de l'âme et ne cesse presque pas de l'injurier, de lui faire honte . . . Ainsi convaincue, l'âme connaît (*γνωρίζει τὰ καθ' ἑκάστα*) chacun de ses actes contraires à la droite raison (*παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον*) et découvre sa folie, son libertinage, son iniquité et toutes les souillures dont elle est pleine. »

Curieux raisonnement, qui voudrait que l'on soit malade parce que l'on se *sait être malade*. Cela, je pense qu'un grec le comprendrait; dans un autre sens peut-être: pensons à *Oreste*, à la *σύνεσις-νόσος*, (395 s.). (*La connaissance-maladie* que l'on doit comprendre par rapport aux valeurs du Léthé, c'est-à-dire la non-connaissance du mal liée au bonheur). Mais le rôle de ce raisonnement est d'abord d'introduire un vocabulaire de la connaissance et du raisonnement. Il ne s'agit pas d'un péché général et confus, qui pèserait sur l'âme. Un tel péché nous renverrait dans une perspective tragique que justement l'effort de la philosophie a voulu effacer; ce n'est pas le péché, c'est le détail des fautes conques comme un écart par rapport à la norme (*ὁρθὸς λόγος*).

Ce premier paradoxe se complique d'un autre: *la lèpre partielle est plus fâcheuse que la lèpre totale*. Ce second paradoxe, Philon le traduit aussitôt, en des termes d'actes volontaires ou involontaires.

Si la double lèpre, qui présente de la peau saine, est plus pernicieuse, c'est que, malgré ce qui est sain en nous, nous sommes malades, c'est-à-dire que nous commettons des actes mauvais, c'est-à-dire que nous ne nous servons pas de notre partie saine pour régler la finalité de nos actions. Nous allons donc au naufrage.

Tandis que l'homme livré tout entier à la lèpre, c'est l'homme sans *conscience* et par conséquent irresponsable et non condamnable. « La lèpre qui évolue de manière à ne présenter qu'une apparence figure l'erreur involontaire (*τὴν ἀκούσιν . . . τροπήν*) . . . l'esprit est alors radicalement amputé de la réflexion (*τὸ λογίζεσθαι*) et il ne lui reste aucun germe de ce qui constitue la connaissance; comme les personnes perdues dans une obscurité et des

² Philon d'Alexandrie 7-8, Introduction, traduction et notes par A. Mosès, Paris, 1963.

ténèbres profondes, il ne voit rien de ce qu'il faut faire, . . . il s'expose à des faux pas constants et à des chutes consécutives et involontaires. »

On se trouve devant beaucoup plus qu'une *allégorie*; il s'agit d'une conversion de quelque chose d'étranger à la pensée grecque, qui est la notion de péché. Philon traduit le péché en *ἀμάρτημα*, c'est-à-dire une *erreur de la visée*, une faut de calcul (*λογισμός*).

On sait que selon Aristote l'*ἀμάρτημα* se trouve situé entre l'*ἀδίκημα* et l'*ἀτύχημα*. Si l'on voulait classer dans un genre le lépreux total, il faudrait le mettre dans le cas de l'*ἀτύχημα*. Mais c'est bien autre chose sans doute que signifie la parole divine. Pensant grec, Philon reconnaît dans cette parole une figure de rhétorique, le *paradoxe*, qu'il résout selon une technique qu'il a apprise sans doute des stoïciens (comme celle que décrit Cicéron dans les *Paradoxes Stoïciens*).

Mais qu'est-ce que cette « conscience » qui n'est pas traduisible? Quelle est cette notion? Elle est évidemment liée à une notion du mal que le rationalisme grec a voulu évacuer. Il s'agit d'un mal qui dépasse la notion d'*ἀμάρτημα*, d'erreur de la visée.

Il n'y a donc pas de *généalogie naturelle de la notion de conscience* en partant du versant grec. On pourrait citer d'autres textes qui marqueraient cette différence, à propos par exemple de l'*aveu*. Dans *In Exsecrationibus* 163, Philon nous parle de la nécessité de confesser à haute voix pour le profit des auditeurs, après s'être confessé à soi-même au regard net et clair de la conscience: soyons sûr que ce n'est pas gréco-romain. Le *De Legibus* de Cicéron ou le livre I des *Questions naturelles* de Sénèque nous font voir au contraire que c'est encore un dernier reste de respect humain que de ne pas *avouer* la faute, de ne pas la faire monter à la *conscience claire*. Il faut au contraire chercher des excuses pour nier le mal.

Pour montrer que Philon réfléchit sur la difficulté d'harmoniser deux leçons, la grecque et l'hébraïque, je citerai simplement pour terminer *De Josepho* 47-48, qui est la réponse de Joseph à la femme de Putiphar; et il serait facile de montrer que Philon a conçu ce récit comme la réplique du mythe de Gygès, mythe radical de la conscience, que nous trouvons chez Platon et Cicéron.

Quiet Christian Courage

A topic in Clemens Alexandrinus and its philosophical background

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Clement of Alexandria is fond of military language¹: 'the mighty trumpet sounds . . . will not Christ summon his peaceful soldiers? . . . let us put on the armour of peace' (*Prot.* 116. 2f.). He also likes the imagery of the games. The Christian gnostic, he tells us, 'is truly the athlete, crowned in the amphitheatre of this fair universe for his true victory over all the passions' (*Str.* 7. 20. 3). Such images are clearly meant to imply that the virtues of soldiers and athletes, above all courage and endurance, are incumbent also upon Christians, albeit in a different sphere of activity. The obvious function of a soldier is to fight against other soldiers; the athlete contends with other athletes; and the virtues which they exemplify can be classed as 'competitive'.² That is, the soldier's courage, the athlete's endurance are first and foremost qualities which enable one to compete successfully against others and to defend oneself against them. But this function of courage is rejected by Clement.³ Christians are 'soldiers of peace'. He can even say that the virtue of courage lies in *not* defending oneself, in turning the other cheek (*Str.* 4. 61. 2) — which, incidentally, is how women can practise courage. True valour, he tells us, is shown in two ways: in the endurance of untoward circumstances which may befall us (*Str.* 2. 109. 3, 7. 62. 1–5, etc.), the most spectacular of these being martyrdom (*Str.* 2. 81. 4); and, secondly, in resistance to grief and anger, desire and, above all, pleasure (*Str.* 7. 17. 4, 7. 64. 4–65. 1, etc.). The gnostic is crowned for overcoming his *passions*. Christian fortitude here comes to look remarkably like temperance or self-control; it may be classed as a 'quiet' rather than a 'competitive' virtue, being exercised solely upon oneself and not against others.

This conception of courage was far from new. Clement, who so frequently presents his teaching as Christian 'philosophy', was invoking an idea which had been familiar to philosophers since the 5th. century BC. A couple of sentences in the *corpus Democriteum* read:

¹ See A. Harnack: *Militia Christi. Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen 1905, pp. 23–5, 96–8.

² The distinction here between 'competitive' and 'quiet' is roughly that suggested by A. Adkins in *Merit and Responsibility. A study in Greek Values*, Oxford 1960, p. 6f.

³ On Clement's conception of courage, see W. Völker: *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus*, TU 57, Berlin 1952, pp. 470–3.

Brave is not only he who masters his enemies, but he who masters his pleasures. Some there are who lord it over cities, but are slaves to women.⁴

Here the traditional and normal notion of bravery, which we find expounded by Aristotle and later by St. Thomas, is considerably extended. Courage is generally associated with mastery over one's fears, not one's pleasures; and it was seen as the virtue exercised above all on the battle-field, where the brave man confronts the fearful prospect of pain and death.⁵ Against that, the virtue concerned with pleasure, in particular with sexual and other animal pleasures⁶, was temperance. As a negative virtue shown in restraint, this was distinguished from and often contrasted with courage, a positive virtue shown in achievement.⁷ The two could be regarded as barely compatible.⁸ When Alcibiades, in Plato's *Symposium*, found himself 'marvelling at the natural temperance and bravery' of Socrates (219d), who had saved his life at the battle of Potidaea (220d) and resisted his amorous advances on another occasion (217a-219d), he was admiring a paradoxical combination of excellences. Now our Democritean fragment is implying that temperance is in fact a form of courage and be valued as highly. Nor was Democritus the only moralist of his time to assimilate the two virtues in this way. But why should anyone have wished to do so? And, secondly, how was the assimilation possible? What was its theoretical basis?

The answer to the first question is fairly straightforward. Courage was a virtue far more glamorous and highly valued than temperance. The Greek term for 'courage' — *andreia*, literally 'manliness' — and the term for 'virtue' or 'excellence', *arete*, were to some extent synonymous.⁹ The reason was that courage, in early Greek history, was the most necessary of the virtues. 'The continued existence of a Greek city-state depended ultimately in the military qualities of its adult male citizens'.¹⁰ Hence *arete* referred above all to 'that combination of bravery and skill which we look for in a fighter'¹¹; and the 'good' man was preeminently the man who had proved his worth on the field of battle.¹² By the end of the 5th. century, however, it had come

⁴ VS. 68 B 214. The two sentences are found together at Stob. 3. 7. 25. The first also appears separately at 3. 17. 39 after B 232 and B 233, the second at 3. 6. 26 preceding B 212 and B 32. (A garbled version of the first sentence is also ascribed to Aristotle in some collections. See Hense *ad* Stob. 3. 17. 39.)

⁵ See, above all, Aristotle *EN* 1107a 33f., 115a 6-10, a25-b6, 1117a 32-5; also Thomas Aquinas *S. Th.* II. 2. 123. 3, 4 and 5.

⁶ Note Aristotle *EN* 1118a 23-6, *Pol.* 1263b9-11.

⁷ See K. J. Dover: *Greek Popular Morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford 1974, p. 67f.

⁸ Note here Plato *Polit.* 306b.

⁹ See Aesch. *Sept.* 610; Eur. fr. 282. 23 N²; ps-Tyrt. 9. 20 D.

¹⁰ Dover, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹¹ Dover, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Cf. Tyrt. 8. 14 D, Theogn. 867f.

¹² Hence the formula ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι for those fallen in battle. See Dover, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-6.

to be realised that courage, though necessary, is hardly sufficient; that a person endowed with fortitude and all the other 'competitive' virtues, while also unjust and uncontrolled, could be a far greater menace than a mere coward would ever be. As a result, we find moralists emphasizing the need for 'quiet', 'cooperative' virtues like fairness and temperance, at the same time commending them for persuasive effect in the language normally reserved for the more attractive and traditionally more admired 'competitive' virtues. In Euripides' *Electra*, for instance, Orestes refers to the husbandman's chastity as *euandria* or 'mainly excellence'.¹³ Our Democritean fragment is similarly offering a persuasive re-definition of temperance. In the second place, there was a growing sense that the objects for which men compete with each other – social preeminence, material success and the like – are too uncertain to count as 'good' without qualification, and that happiness may depend not so much on an ability to satisfy all one's desires as on the power to control them. In this context, the concept of *enkrateia* or 'self-mastery' comes into prominence¹⁴ and with it the idea that true kingship means ruling oneself.¹⁵ 'The Persian King regards every one as his slave, except for his wife . . . ' (Plut. mor. 780 c). He lords it over cities, but is a slave to his women folk. 'The only true king is he who can rule his passions'¹⁶ – and these, according to our Democritean fragment, are what we should first seek to conquer.

To extend the concept of courage on similar lines from one of gallantry on the battle-field to that of stoutly resisting one's passions was in fact quite easy. A soldier on campaign has not only to risk his life; he must endure prolonged exertions and discomforts, heat and cold, lack of sleep, hunger and thirst. He must grow used to having his physical wants unsatisfied. Such endurance could readily be associated in its turn with resistance to sexual and even financial temptations.¹⁷ An extended notion of courage covering virtually these aspects had become current by about 400 BC. In the *Laches*, one of his earliest dialogues, Plato can introduce it without more ado. Socrates has asked for a definition of courage, and been told that it means 'remaining at one's post and not running away' (190e). To which he replies that he is asking about courage 'not only of the infantryman . . . and not only in war, but . . . in face of disease and poverty, and in public life, and again not only of those who are courageous against pain and fear, but of those who are good at fighting desires and pleasures' (191de). Laches then suggests that courage is 'a certain endurance of the soul' (192bc); and, when this suggestion fails, Nicias puts forward the view, which is essentially that of Socrates

¹³ Eur. *El.* 369. See Adkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–9.

¹⁴ See W. Jaeger: *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*, II, Oxford 1947, p. 54f.

¹⁵ See O. Gigon: *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien*, Schw. Beitr. z. Alt. wiss. 7, Basel 1956, p. 51f.

¹⁶ Socrates ap. Gn. V. 472 Sternbach.

¹⁷ See Dover, *op. cit.*, pp. 163f. and 208f.

himself, that bravery is 'the knowledge of what should be dreaded and of what should be ventured upon' (194e). This proves to mean 'knowledge of good and evil' (198b-9c); and the question then arises of whether one can be brave without having the other virtues as well: can the courageous man with his knowledge of good and evil be lacking in temperance, justice and holiness (199d)? Thus the discussion of courage comes to involve two of the principal Socratic paradoxes, that 'virtue is knowledge' and that the individual virtues entail one another so as to make up a 'unity'. The most widely acceptable basis, however, for assimilating courage to temperance was provided by the concept of *andreia* as endurance. Plato himself by no means rejected this concept in the way that the *Laches* might suggest. He demands, in the *Republic*, that the guardians of his ideal state be men who can maintain their public spirit against the force of pain and the bewitchment of pleasure and fear.¹⁸ Courage will serve to protect their convictions against *all* the passions (429cd. Cf. 442bc). *Andreia*, he tells us in the *Laws*, concerns the fight not only against fears and pains, but against yearnings and pleasures as well (633cd). On that basis, he can criticize the Spartan system of education with its 'naked games' and the like: it may have produced excellent soldiers; it also gave the Spartans their taste for unnatural vice (636bc).

The *Laches* in fact touches on all the major themes of Hellenistic and Roman writings about courage. On the theoretical level, the Socratic paradoxes, tackled in different ways by Plato and Aristotle, were to be re-affirmed by the Stoa.¹⁹ On the practical level, particularly in the literature which we class as 'diatribe', writers are concerned with courage as the virtue confronting poverty and similar circumstances on the one hand, resisting the passions on the other. We hear little from Hellenistic moralists about the competitive aspects of courage²⁰ or the military qualities of the hoplite. When they speak, as they frequently do, of life's 'warfare',²¹ they are speaking metaphorically. But the metaphor can be developed with considerable pathos and elaboration, particularly when poverty, disease and the like are seen as the work of personified Fortune. 'Know that you are exposed to all her blows', writes Seneca (*Marc.* 9. 3), '... when someone beside or behind, you falls, cry out: "You cannot fool *me*, Fortune! ... I know what you are planning. You have hit someone else. You were aiming at *me*"'. In this context, the imagery can be varied to that of a gladiatorial²² or athletic contest; 'the man of sense ... stands like a pancratiast ... on guard'²³; while the tribulations of life can be presented, not as blows of Fortune, but as trials imposed

¹⁸ *Rep.* 412d-3c, echoed by Clement at *Str.* 7. 17. 4.

¹⁹ *SVF.* 3. 262, 295, etc.

²⁰ with the significant exception of Panaetius (*Cic. off.* 1. 61-92).

²¹ Seneca *ep.* 96. 5, Epict. 3. 24. 34, *M. Ant.* 2. 17. 2, etc. Instances of the theme in Seneca are listed, none too systematically, by A. Oltramare: *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, Lausanne 1926, p. 280f. (Th. 52 h).

²² e.g. Sen. *prov.* 3. 4.

²³ Panaetius fr. 116 v. *Str.* (= Gellius 13. 28. 4).

upon the good man by God.²⁴ Epictetus here can anticipate the language of Christianity by speaking of the philosopher as God's 'witness', His *martyr*.²⁵ In real life, of course, the contest is less dramatic than these images might suggest. It consists principally in putting up with untoward circumstances and in learning to dispense with blessings like health and riches. In Epictetus' words, ἀνέχον καὶ ἀπέχον.²⁶ To fight the good fight is to live the simple life as preached above all by the Cynics. Philo is thus very much in the tradition of Greek popular philosophy when he begins his essay *On Courage* by showing that poverty, obscurity, blindness and disease can all readily be conquered (5–14) and asserts that almost everything which he has said about *atyphia*, the 'modest' existence, applies also to courage (17). The treatise culminates with an account of how the women of Midian tried to seduce the Israelites and were slain (34–44). Philo describes their slaughter as an act of 'piety' (45). But the story has its relevance, none the less, to the standard diatribe on courage: the Midianite women symbolize the lusts of the flesh²⁷, which courage has also to conquer. Our struggle with circumstances naturally covers our emotional response to them, since it is only through our attachment to her blessings that Fortune has any hold over us; and it is not simply our grief at misfortune or our fear of it which must be resisted. The struggle extends to all the passions, to any appetite which might leave us at her mercy. 'Fortune is at war with me', writes Seneca, 'if I yield to pleasure, I must yield to discomfort, I must yield to poverty' (*ep.* 51. 6–8). And the struggle against the passions can be presented in full military language: 'the enemy must be fought off at the frontier'; 'fight with yourself; if you have the will to conquer anger, it cannot conquer you'.²⁸

Clement was thus on well trodden ground when he presented courage as the virtue confronting our outward tribulations and inner passions. One philosophical topic after another reappears in his treatment of it.²⁹ Echoes of Socratic and Stoic doctrine are clear enough, when he derives the courage of the Christian gnostic from his sure knowledge of what is truly dreadful and what is not (*Str.* 7. 65. 2, etc.), or when he asserts that temperance 'at the gnostic level' entails courage, that the presence of one major virtue implies that of the others (*Str.* 2. 80. 2–5). At the same time, the content of the gnostic's knowledge is the Christian revelation. What makes him fearless, what makes him 'act the true man' under all circumstances³⁰, is his 'hope

²⁴ e.g. Sen. *prov.* 4. 7.

²⁵ 1. 29. 46, 3. 24. 113, 4. 8. 32. See R. Reizenstein: *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*, Göttingen 1916, pp. 85–8.

²⁶ fr. 10 (= Gellius 17. 19. 6). Cf. M. Ant. 5. 33. 6. See R. Bultmann, *Z. N. W.* 1912, pp. 97–110.

²⁷ Cf. Philo *v. Mos.* 1. 295, Clem. *Str.* 2. 83. 4, Basil *Hom.* 10 (*PG.* 31. 368b), etc.

²⁸ Sen. *ira.* 1. 8. 2, 3. 13. 1.

²⁹ e.g. the topic that children and animals, being without reason, cannot be truly brave (*Str.* 7. 66. 3. Cf. Plato *La.* 197a).

³⁰ See *Str.* 2. 81. 4 (alluding to *Dt.* 22. 5). Cf. Philo *virt.* 18–20.

(*Str.* 7. 63. 2) and, still more, his *agape* (*Str.* 7. 67. 1), his 'affectionate sense of affinity' (*Str.* 6. 73. 3) with God. This love, 'surpassing all knowledge in holiness and might' (*Str.* 7. 68. 1), is the cause of all true moral endeavour, and it is primarily to make room for it that the passions must be resisted.³¹ The topics of pagan philosophy tend to be transformed when Clement uses them. He can dwell, for instance, as vigorously as any writer of dialogue on the tyranny of the passions, which he describes as the hardest of persecutions (*q.d.s.* 25). But the motive for struggling against them is no longer the self-sufficiency preached by Stoics and Cynics.³² Moreover, the terms of the struggle are different. The passage which compares the gnostic crowned for his victory over the passions continues:

the president of the games is Almighty God; the umpire is His only-begotten Son; angels and gods are the spectators; and the contest of all arms is not against flesh and blood, but against the spiritual powers of empassioned passions working through the flesh (*Str.* 7. 20. 4).

Clement here is quoting from the *Epistle to the Ephesians* (6. 12).³³ He is also echoing the belief, universal among early Christian writers, that the passions are somehow the work of the devil. This belief, more than anything else, is what separates their moral psychology from that of Hellenistic philosophers. As Clement sees it, the role of the demons is relatively modest.³⁴ The passions are no more than 'imprints of the spiritual powers against which we wrestle' (*Str.* 2. 110. 1). What these powers do is to dangle before us images of pleasure (*Str.* 2. 111. 3) which rise like mist off a marsh and which will, if indulged, solidify into a conglomerate of passions (*Str.* 2. 115. 4–116. 1). The 'image of passion' which the soul carries round with it is thus due to consent on our part as well as to the wiles of the devil (*Str.* 2. 111. 4). In one passage, Clement describes him not as 'operating' but rather 'co-operating' (*Str.* 7. 66. 2). Even so, the activity of his demons means that the 'battle against the passions' is no longer a mere psychological metaphor. The Christian is faced with a real battle against living adversaries. In later writings, this 'realism', this sense of fighting demonic enemies, is vastly increased. It culminates in our accounts of the desert fathers.³⁵ We learn that on one occasion St. Antony was physically knocked unconscious by demons (*v. Ant.* 8. 2) and that he could hit them back (*v. Ant.* 40. 2). There are times when we might wonder whether the quiet courage of the Christian ascetic was quite so divorced as Clement might suggest from the fighting spirit of the old Greek hoplite.

³¹ See *Str.* 6. 73. 6–74. 1, 6. 105. 1. Clement is anticipating the doctrine later formulated by Evagrius (*PG.* 40. 1221 c: ἀπάθειας ἔκγονον ἢ ἀγάπη, κτλ.).

³² desirable though this may be. Note the quotation from Plato *Menex.* 247 c at *Str.* 7. 65. 4. Cf. Cic. *TD.* 5. 36, etc.

³³ *Eph.* 6. 10–8 is the biblical text most frequently cited à propos the *militia Christiana*.

³⁴ a good deal more modest than in the gnostic theories attacked at *Str.* 2. 112–114. See, further, M. Pohlenz: *Klemens von Alexandria und sein hellenisches Christentum*, NAG 1943, V 3, p. 125.

³⁵ See A. and C. Guillaumont, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* III 1967, sv. *démon*, cc. 189–96.

The Epistle to Diognetus and Contemporary Greek Thought

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This brief apologetic treatise, which Stephanus probably miscalled an Epistle¹, has long proved controversial on virtually every level of discussion. Alleged by the rubric of the Codex Argenteratensis (F) to be the work of Justin Martyr, it has been held by most scholars since 1691 to be the work of some other hand. Suggestions regarding its date have ranged from Tillemont's proposed 70 A.D. put forward in 1694 to Donaldson's XIXth century assertion that we have a renaissance forgery written by a Greek exile from the fall of Constantinople.² Serious modern scholarship which takes account of its relation to the fragments of the *Predicatio Petri* preserved in the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria and its likeness to the works of Aristides, Hippolytus, Theophilus and Clement himself tends to date the work between 125 and 200 A.D. The literary quality of this piece has again proved extremely contentious. Marrou praises it highly³, and Ulrich von Willamowitz-Moellendorf put it in his *Griechische Lesebuch* II, pp. 357–363 as a choice instance of Christian Hellenism, yet Kirsopp Lake declares it to be "rhetorical in the extreme",⁴ and suspects it was "the exercise of some young theologian rather than an actual apology sent to a living person." Finally, the inclusion of the work in the corpus of Apostolic Fathers is purely traditional and derives from the belief propounded in 1742 by Gallandi that the work was composed by Apollos himself.

Factors which one age found decisive for dating have often been shown by later scholarship to possess a merely marginal significance. However, there are a number of interesting chronological indications. The lack of reference to the Gnostic controversy was deemed by Harnack a ground for dating the work after this dispute was over and forgotten – about 310 A.D.⁵ On the other hand the apparent 'binitarianism' of Chapters vii to ix leads one to think that the work must be closer to the date (also still in dispute) of the Pastor of Hermas. "Its Christology, if more advanced than that of Justin, is less elaborate and precise than that of Origen".⁶ Nor can it be very seriously

¹ A Diognète, H. I. Marrou (Sources Chrétiennes), 1952, p. 92.

² L. R. Radford, *Epistle to Diognetus* (SPCK), 1908, p. 10.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁴ Kirsopp Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 348 (Loeb).

⁵ *Chronologie der althristlichen Litteratur*, I, p. 514.

⁶ Radford, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.

maintained that Chapter x, 4–7 really is an echo of the Gnostic degradation of Christ from his unique sonship any more than this can be said of Hebrews i, 9–11. The anti-Jewish tone of Chapters iii and iv is unrelieved by any notion of the role of the chosen people, of Messiahship, or of Hebrew prophecy, such as we find in other early apologetic. This has been held to date the work before or during the Bar-Cochba rising against Hadrian and second Roman sack of Jerusalem in 135 A.D. In the same vein the criticism of Jewish obsession with the Calendar in iv, 5 is held to suggest a date before Christians came to be plagued with similar controversies relating to the date of Easter in 167 A.D. The criticism of Jewish temple sacrifices is to be found in other and later writers because the Jews still believed they were necessary, even whilst temporarily impossible. Thus neither this passage in Chapter iii nor the earlier reference to Christians as *καινὸν τοῦτο γένος* (Chapter i) can be pressed to suggest a very early date before 70 A.D.⁷ The persecutions mentioned in Chapter v may refer equally to Trajan's reign (Martyrdom of Ignatius, c. 112 A.D.), to that of Antoninus Pius (151–5 A.D.), or of Marcus Aurelius (160–180 A.D.). But it may be suggested that these general grounds might favour a date between 155 and 160 A.D.

Before turning to some philosophical considerations affecting the dating and understanding of the epistle, a few words must be said about its textual tradition. All our MSS are copies of F (Codex Argentoratensis) which was destroyed by fire in the Prussian bombardment of the city of Strasbourg on August 24 1870. It was a work of 260 pages by two hands. The earlier included several works attributed to Justin Martyr (ob. 163 A.D.). The titles were "On the Monarchy of God", "An Exhortation to the Greeks", "An Exposition of the Faith Concerning the Right Confession of the Trinity", "To the Greeks", and "To Diognetus". After these follow two other works – one on Sibylline prophecies – and then two works attributed to Athenagoras (ob. 177 A.D.) – namely "Petition on behalf of the Christians" and "On the Resurrection". The rest of the codex was written in another hand; but this earlier portion seemed to be written in a characteristic 13th century Byzantine hand.

The Codex was found in 1436 in Constantinople in a box of wrapping paper in a fish shop and promptly bought by a Latin priest Tommaso d'Arezzo. When he decided to abandon his Greek studies and become a missionary to Turks, he gave the codex to Jan Stojkovic of Ragusa, who was in Constantinople in 1435–7 as a legate from the Council of Basel, whither he returned with our text in his possession. At his death the Cardinal Stojkovic bequeathed his library to a community of Dominican Friars at Basel. They sold our codex to the humanist Johannes Reuchlin who kept it till his death in 1522. In 1580 it was discovered again in the library of the Abbey of Maursmünster and copied for Martin Crusius by one Bernard Haus.

⁷ As Tillemont tried to do.

Henri Stephanus was unaware of this copy and made his own in 1586, which is still extant in Leyden (st). In 1590 Beurer made a further transcript, now lost, which Stephanus collated against his own for the *editio princeps* of 1592. In the revolution of 1793 the Abbey was dissolved and the codex passed to the municipal library of Strasbourg, with which it was destroyed.

All texts until 1842 continued to be based on the Stephanus and Beurer copies used for the Paris *editio princeps* and for Sylburg's Heidelberg edition which appeared a year later in 1593. But in 1842 Otto had Cunitz re-collate the codex in Strasbourg for his edition of Diognetus. Again in 1861 Otto decided to employ Reuss to prepare yet a further collation of this codex F in connexion with the third edition of the complete works of Justin Martyr which finally appeared, long after the burning of the codex, in 1879. Immediately afterwards, in 1880, K. J. Neumann re-discovered the Haus copy (h) made in 1580. Thereupon Funk chose – unwisely – to treat (h) as an independent witness against (F) for the text of his 1901 edition of *Die Apostolischen Väter*. The main text editions have been Gebhardt (1875), Otto (1879), Lightfoot-Harmer (1898), Funk (1901) and Meecham (1948).

The story of the suggested attributions of the work is both confusing and fascinating. Influenced by Tillemont's evidence for a date before A.D. 70 put forward in 1691 Baratier suggested Clement of Rome in 1740 and Gallandi proposed Apollos in 1742. In 1845 Dorner assigned the work to Quadratus – allegedly the first apologist, and recorded by Jerome as Bishop of Athens about 126 A.D. Further, though Tillemont believed he had disproved any connexion with Justin Martyr beyond the accidents inherent in transcription in 1691, later advocates of Justin have included such scholars as the great Otto, who did not renounce his position until 1882. Early in the 19th century attempts were made to assign the work to Marcionite influence, Bunsen attributing it to Marcion himself, and Dräseke choosing Apelles on the assumption that he reverted to catholicism late in life – about A.D. 180. Then Doucet in 1880 and Kihn in 1882 sought to identify the author with Aristides, whose Apology was discovered in Syriac by Rendell Harris in 1889 and recognised by Armytage Robinson in the Greek of Barlaam and Ioasaph.⁸ It is significant that both these works share a noteworthy element – the argument from Old Testament Prophecy which is so common in other apologists is totally lacking in either. In this century renewed attention has been given to the authorship problem, and the case for Hippolytus and that for Theophilus of Antioch have been fully canvassed. Marrou in his valuable edition of 1952 wishes to assign the work to the late second century Alexandrian doctor Pantaenus.

However, the authorship problem is not restricted to the main body of Chapters I to X. Controversy has also raged around the unity of the work, and a majority of scholars accepts the view that Chapter XI and XII are

⁸ See Loeb edition, Woodward and Mattingly, 1914, p. viii.

drawn from another work, not apologetic in character, but perhaps an Epiphany Homily. Certainly at the sudden close of Chapter X the Strasbourg MS preserved a note "here the copy had a break".

The candidates proposed for the authorship of Chapters XI to XII have included Hippolytus of Rome who was first proposed by Bunsen in 1852. Later came Harmer's suggestion of Pantaenus in 1891 and then in 1940 Bonner's attribution of this fragment to Meliton of Sardes, whose only extant treatise is dated between 170 and 190 A.D. No scholar, except Barnard⁹, now proposes dating this section much before 190 A.D. Therefore scholars who wish to regard Chapters I to XII as a continuous work by the same hand which has been disfigured by a large lacuna after Chapter X must date the whole composition of *ad Diognetum* no earlier than 190 A.D. This is the position into which Marrou is driven.¹⁰

How then does Marrou justify his position? On page 260 he freely admits that the 'apologetic' Chapters II to IV exhibit marked parallels with the *Predicatio Petri* and with Aristides' *Apology* – and that indeed much of V to VI is also reminiscent of Aristides. However on page 261 he makes a determined effort to associate the 'catechetical' portions with Tertullian. "Pour ne rappeler que le cas le plus précis, la polémique contre la doctrine gnostique du Messie-Ange (VII, 2) ne nous offre de parallèle daté que le *de carne Christi* de Tertullien, ce qui nous rapporte aux années 208–211." But the conclusive evidence of relation with the beginning of third century apologetic is the hortatory tone. . . . "le thème de l'exhortation, et avec lui les parallèles en question, apparaissent dès l'introduction (I, 2) avant de s'épanouir au Chapter X". Partly influenced by such factors as the reference to *τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ θεοῦ* which also occurs in the Clementine *quis dives salvetur* (III, 33), Marrou dates the work before 203 A.D., and suggests that its recipient was a Procurator entitled to the style *κατίσπε* named Claudius Diognetus. According to papyrological evidence this person was from 197–202 A.D. *Archiereus Aegypti*, the Roman official in charge of the administration of temples and priestly estates throughout Egypt. By custom this official was not merely an equestrian but also a man of letters.¹¹ Marrou thus concludes his case by suggesting that the whole present work in its complete form was composed by Pantaenus about 200 A.D. and dedicated to this official at this period in the "lesser peace of the Church".¹²

The authorship is likely to remain a riddle – but how far does the philosophical argument of the work suit the proposed date and recipient? In answer to this question we should expect that an appeal to a Roman official acting as a kind of ancient 'Church Commissioner' would take the form either of a plea for tolerance or an attempt at conversion. In fact it is quite clear

⁹ L. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background*.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, pp. 262–3.

¹¹ H. Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Administration*, OUP, 1920, pp. 26–32.

¹² *op. cit.*, p. 265.

even for those of us who do not share Marrou's view of the integrity of the treatise that Chapters I to X represent the latter type of appeal – a call to conversion. In such a case then we should expect an attempt to show that Christianity lacked the defects of Alexandrian Judaism and Alexandrian paganism, and also that its tenets were in full harmony with the best insights of contemporary philosophy. As Marrou is careful to point out, this is in fact done in relation to Stoicism and to Platonism.¹³ Further the argument of VII, 2 is similar to the writings of Numenius and suggests attitudes found in Plotinus. So far then the date and recipient proposed by Marrou are consistent with the philosophical allusions which suggest the beginnings of the fusion between later Stoic thought and Middle Platonism which we find in the early third century.

Against the view, however, that we have a basic structure of such philosophical significance stands the recent and excellent study by Rudolf Brändle: *Die Ethik der "Schrift an Diognet"* Zurich, Theologischer Verlag, 1975. He contrasts our author with other Apologists, who were obviously sympathetic to Greek thought, remarking "Diog 8, 2–4 bleibt die einzige Stelle in unserer Schrift, die explizit auf die Philosophie aufgeht".¹⁴ It is true that this is the only Chapter which reviews philosophy specifically: however, once one suspects dynamic application of amphibolic lexis, it becomes reasonable to interpret Chapters V and VI in Zenonian terms. On the other hand Brändle does great service in reminding us of Johannine and Pauline influences also at work.¹⁵

Now a study which begins *κράτιστε Διόγνητε* in deliberate clear reminiscence of Luke-Acts (*κράτιστε Θεόφιλε*, Lk. I, 3) is unlikely to ignore the Pauline address to the philosophers of Athens in *Acts* in appeal to a Stoicising Roman official (*Acts*, 17, 22–31). The quotation *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν* is attributed to the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, but Aratus' line is probably based on a similar one in the Stoic Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* which Paul doubtless also had in mind, *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*.¹⁶ Given that Aristides insists the Christian 'new race' traces its true genealogy from Christ¹⁷ and that our author also refers to *καινὸν τοῦτο γένος* in I, and then exhorts Diognetus to become *ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος*, we may have an interesting case of Stoic amphibolic lexis at the outset. Marrou very properly renders the foregoing Greek phrase "quand tu seras devenu un homme nouveau semblable à celui qui vient de naître", and this would be very clearly suggestive to a Stoic who believed that words exists by nature and that thus homonymy in language corresponds to real association in nature. In short Diognetus is being exhorted to cease being *Dio-gnetus* in order to be reborn in baptism as *Christo-gnetus*. Annexure I(b) shows Stilpo making a jest at the expense of Zeno the Stoic's other teacher Crates the cynic which similarly relies on amphiboly, or the possible interpretation of the same lexis *ἑματίον καινοῦ* as two lekta; first *ἑματίον/και-*

¹³ op. cit., pp. 139–140.

¹⁴ op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁵ ibid. p. 50.

¹⁶ Annexure I(d).

¹⁷ xxvii, 252.

νοῦ, secondly *ἱματίου/καί/νοῦ*. Annexure I (c) is the standard definition from Diocles Magnes with the model *αὐλητρίς πέπτωκε* taken either as *αὐλητρίς/πέπτωκε* "the flute girl has fallen over", or as *αὐλή/τρίς/πέπτωκε* "the house has collapsed three times".

In the light of our examples from Stoic sources and the instance of amphiboly suggested by the name of the recipient, we should perhaps re-examine *ὥς ἂν καὶ λόγον καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολόγησας, ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος*. The translators feel a problem here. Kirsopp Lake is quite banal: "as one, as you yourself admitted, who is about to listen to a new story". This is hardly the comment we expect from a cultured Stoic official, and an expert in Egyptian cultus. Radford offers us, "since thou art about to listen to a doctrine which is itself a new thing, as thou thyself didst acknowledge": this is better, but begs the question. Marrou does rather better "puisque c'est un langage nouveau – tu en conviens toi-même – que tu apprêtes à entendre," and is probably right, but is there also an amphibolic *double-entendre*? It is more than likely that Diogenes had stated that he would heed nothing but *argument and rationality* (*λόγον/καί/νοῦ*): the author now insists that in order to achieve this he must learn a *new language* or new doctrine (*λόγον/καινοῦ*). One suspects we have here a good-humoured verbal fencing match between two experts in Stoicism – one a convert and the other a man who accepts and allegorises all natural religions. On this basis the curiously limited condemnation of idolatry without reference to its offering facilities for demons, and of Judaism as simply inconsistent and subversive comes, *pace* Marrou, to make perfect sense. Finally, our division of *logos* and *nous* (*speech* and *reason*) on which this view depends is not merely captious or analogical: it is maintained and varied in the ensuing sentence. We have reference to *eyes* and *intelligence*, *material* and *form*, *call* and *consider*: each pair harmonising with our first amphibolic one.

The argument of II, 2–9 continues by explicating that the *hypostases* of idols are shared by other utensils made from similar *hypostases*, be these wood, bronze, stone, or pottery. Further, their *forms* are due to human craftsmen, not to any divine *pur technikon*: further the same craftsmen might create any number of additional examples at will and equally well might re-use the material of present idols for any other utensils men might require. Then it is emphasised in II, 4 that these idols cannot move, perceive, think or speak: they lack psychic *pneuma* in Stoic terms. Most serious, it is pointed out in II, 5 that the worshipper comes to resemble his idols. This odd warning is reminiscent of a psalm passage (134, 15–18) – but it makes sense only from the standpoint of the Stoic doctrine of *oikeiosis* or environmental assimilation. The theory of this process is discussed in a recent study by S.G. Pembroke.¹⁸ Moreover, it was also a "natural law" applied under the

¹⁸ S. G. Pembroke, *Oikeiosis*, in A. A. Long, *Problems in Stoicism*, Athlone Press, 1971, pp. 114–149.

early Empire in the programme of Romanization. Thus Tacitus remarks on its use by Agricola in Britain: *namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent*.¹⁹

So here again we have a controversy where both parties argue from Stoic bases: our author confutes Diognetus' acceptance of natural religion in terms of allegory by showing that its idolatrous forms impose a damaging *oikeiosis* on the participant. Such cults will damage the psychic *aesthesis* of the worshipper – thus destroying his power to attain knowledge. A further argument shows that the treatment meted out to idols by the worshippers is inconsistent with the view that they had any power of perception or reasoning, and they are thus devoid of all psychic *pneuma*.

In Chapter III the case turns to the claims of Judaism. Jewish rejection of images admittedly prevents the damage to a worshipper's *hegemonikon* which idols might induce – but the sacrifices of blood and hot fat are equally disgusting for the one Jewish God as for the many Greek deities. But this is not the only problem here. The word *eironeia* in Chapter IV describes a further fault which is difficult to explicate. In a thesis as yet unpublished on the use of *eironeia* in reference to tragedy Gerasimos Markantonatos finds our passage quite atypical. "A peculiarly interesting but uncertain example is found in the Epistle to Diognetus. I doubt however whether the contrast made in the excerpt is between *eironeia* and *alazoneia*. The latter evidently means 'boasting'. But a comparison of each question raised with its answer does not show any force of understatement in *eironeia*. Apparently the meaning he puts into the word *eironeia* is 'deceit', 'hypocrisy', or 'petty business'. But the very fact that the Aristotelian antithesis fails here may perhaps be doubly significant. The two terms had been used together so often that one who wrote and spoke Greek might set them together out of mere instinct and popular habit: in other words the combination had become a commonplace."²⁰ Kirsopp Lake calls the word 'sham', Radford chooses 'affectation'²¹, while Marrou renders it as 'la fausse humilité'.²²

In my view the proper commentary is IV, 5. Radford renders thus: "To watch the stars and the moon, and mark thereby the observances of months and days, to divide the arrangements of God and the changes of the seasons according to their own inclination and assign some for feasting and some for mourning, who would regard this as an example of piety rather than folly?"²³ Now as can be seen from Annexure II(b) *ειρωνεία* was regarded by Chrysippus as an instance of the *ἀφροσύνη* or folly of the fool (*φαῦλος*). So per-

¹⁹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21.

²⁰ G. Markantonatos, *The Origin of Thirlwall's Concept of Tragic Irony* (University of Southampton), p. 38.

²¹ *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²² *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²³ *ibid.* pp. 59–60.

haps we may now render "the *boastfulness* of circumcision and the *foolishness* of new moons and fasts". Here again the assumption that the argument is being conducted within Stoic terms of reference assists the exegesis of the text before us.

In Chapter V the Christian *polity* (rather than Christian *citizenship*) seems carefully compared and contrasted with the doctrine of a universal world society set out in Zeno's *Πολιτεία*. In this early work the founder of Stoicism was admittedly still heavily influenced by the total naturalist anarchism of Crates and the Cynics, but none the less the concept of universal natural law was already very strong. In Zeno's ideal society men are to live after the model of herbivorous herd animals sustained by the common *law* (*νόμος*) and/or *pasture* (*νομῶ*) of the cosmos. In the Christian polity again we have world-wide society, but one that obeys Epicurus' injunction to "live in hiding" by participating as metics or resident aliens in the various Greek and barbarian cities whose laws and customs they observe whilst surpassing them in sense of duty and charity. Since Panaetius' time (180–110 B.C.) the "newer" Stoic thought had accepted the validity of human states, especially comprehensive ones like Rome, and Panaetius himself found great significance in being a citizen of Rhodes. Therefore the Christian notion of man's participatory role in a human society had much in common with Panaetian Stoicism, and Christians shared Panaetius' strictures against such promiscuity as Zeno had advocated. Annexures III to VI bring out these points, and also the parallel between *erôs* as Zeno's social cement and *agapé* as the Christian form of it.

In Epictetan Stoicism *sarx/sarkidion* frequently describes the appetitive and non-rational *psyche*. So the contrast, in the manner of Epicurus, of *ἐν σαρκί/κατὰ σάρκα* would be quite meaningful to Diognetus if he were a Stoic, and the point is made in Annexure VIII(b). On the Stoic view an ideal society achieves perfect happiness: in our text here in Chapter V the Christians are shown to comply with most elements of that Stoic definition, yet they live hated and persecuted. As Stoics and Christians agree that the world is providentially governed for the best, it follows that such apparent suffering must be true happiness, a point taken up in Chapter VI.

In Chapter VI, 2 our text compares the Christians in the world with the soul scattered through the limbs of the body. This passage Marrou regards as an extreme instance of Stoicising tone. "Rien de plus Stoïcien que cette manière d'évoquer la présence immanente de l'âme répandue dans toutes les parties du corps".²⁴ Here Professor Joly has taken serious issue with Marrou's conclusion. He points out that the usage of *ἐσπαρταί* in this passage hardly suits Stoicism, as our Annexure VII(b) illustrates. Rather the word looks to the usage of Plutarch *de anima* (fr. 178 Sandbach) and of Plato himself in *Phaedo* 65c–d, where the soul is described as fragmented and scat-

²⁴ op. cit., p. 139.

tered throughout the body during waking hours, but coalescing together during sleep. Joly's further citations from Pindar, Aeschylus and the Pseudo-Hippocratic *Regimen* establish the point beyond reasonable doubt: "Il ne fait aucun doute non plus que l'origine en soit à chercher dans le mysticisme païen, orphico-pythagoricien."²⁵ Moreover, in VI, 3 the author advances a Pythagorean-Platonist view reminiscent of the *σῶμα/σῆμα* opposition of *Phaedo* 62b: the soul shut up in the prison of its body. Just as the soul within is invisible, so Christians are seen as persons but their piety is not visible to men. But in VI, 5 we find the *sarx* waging war upon the (rational) *psyche* because it opposes the pleasures of the *sarx*.

We are now on Epictetan ground as well as Platonic.²⁶ Stoics influenced by Posidonius *On the emotions* and his view of *daemones* might well see the first and second primary impulses of Stoic ethics, *care for self* and *love for others*, as separate intelligences acting upon one's human *hēgemonikon*. The *psyche* which loves the *sarx* which hates it is clearly the embodied second primary impulse of *love for others* – Christianly termed *agapē*, and it conflicts with the first impulse of *care for self*. Thus Christians are not merely 'soul' in the sense of the rational vital pneumatic material giving form and life to the inert matter of the world, they are also the world's embodied second primary impulse. Thus the conflict of the principles in which the unselfish must suffer ill rather than doing it in Socratic terms will in the end strengthen this other-regarding force. So the internal Stoic debate continues; Diognetus is shown that the second primary impulse receives not merely demonic expression in the personality but social expression in the Church.

It is true that here we apparently fall into the same snare as that in which Joly finds Marrou has trapped himself. Having declared that the author means by *kosmos* "L'Oekoumène", "l'ensemble de l'humanité" or "l'Empire romain" on page 131, Marrou then, as Joly deplures, changes ground on page 139 to interpret *kosmos* as the Universe, and thus enables himself on page 142 to describe the Christians as functioning as "l'âme cosmique".²⁷ However against our valued colleague M. Joly we might well defend ourselves in Stoic terms – we are utilising the natural valid and meaningful amphiboly of *kosmos*. On the same basis, whilst unable to justify Marrou's view as to the essential force of *ἐσπάρται* we might suggest that it was intended to introduce an incidental implication of the Stoic sense of *λόγος σπερματικός* as well as its main Orphic-Pythagorean significance.

The seventh Chapter exhibits some of the process whereby (on this view) Stoic doctrine became assimilated with Neoplatonism. The activity of the rational *pneuma* of the universe as *nous* or general *pronoia* and as *logos* or creative reason in man and as *spermatikos logos* in the whole of nature opened

²⁵ R. Joly, *Christianisme et Philosophie, Etudes sur Justin et les Apologites grecs du deuxième siècle* (Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles), p. 205.

²⁶ A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und die Stoa*, pp. 293–4.

²⁷ R. Joly, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

the door to syncretism with the Middle Platonist doctrine of 'First' and 'Second' Gods. Clearly here the *Logos* and *Truth* is seen as the Neoplatonist Logos or 'second God' who has become man in Jesus Christ. Annexure IX with its passage from Numenius – a writer of the early third century – makes this patent. Noteworthy it is for our view that the 'Holy Logos' is called both *technites* like the Stoic *pur technikon* and *demiourgos* in the manner of Plato's *Timaeus* and the Neoplatonists. In another passage Numenius explains that the 'third God' is the *cosmos*, that part of the Logos appropriated by matter. The apparent 'binitarian' aspect of VII is thus an attempt to state Christian revelation in contemporary philosophical terms; not a doctrinal but an apologetic statement.

In Chapter VIII the relationship between 'First' and 'Second' Gods is restated in Christian terms rather than those of Neoplatonism. In IX the delay in the incarnation is discussed. Though one would not care to press this, IX, 2 *may* suggest that the failure of Augustan Rome to achieve the dream of Virgil's Eclogue IV made human iniquity complete, and hence accounted for the date of the incarnation. A Roman sympathiser might interpret it thus, anyway.

With Chapter X we come to the notion of *imitatio dei*. The notion that Godhead is a human social role seems to the modern Christian offensive: but it was characteristic of the theory of Hellenistic monarchy which still survived in Roman Egypt from the Ptolemies. But from the Stoic view of God as the cosmic *Pronoia* any good man whose *hēgemonikon* was in tune with the pulsation of the universe could be a minor *pronoia* whose behaviour would be totally selfless and totally impeccable. Further, the middle and newer Stoa taught that the *proficient* could attune his soul by consciously practising at the spontaneous conduct of the sage, that is, by doing the providential actions described in X, 4–6. Annexure X will help to clarify this point.

What then of the lost conclusion? One may suspect that the worthy Diognetus is to be told that Christianity alone is a pure natural religion, duly founded by God who is the basis of nature, and that this form of worship alone will not infect the *hēgemonikon* with erratic vibrations through an unwholesome *oikeiōsis* to things injurious. Therefore Christian baptism, eucharist, prayer and conduct were shown to be the appropriate religious framework for an adherent of the then evolving amalgam of Stoic teaching and the Middle Platonist philosophical doctrine of Numenius or Albinus. However, after the disasters of the third century, this simple cultural fusion became impossible, and the work was mutilated after the Decian or Diocletianic persecution by the excision of its eirenic conclusion. To complete the treatise, a passage from the end of a homily stressing the victory and power of the Church and the centrality of its life and ritual was then added to form our Chapters XI and XII. Such was the end of this attempted symbiosis of philosophy and reasonable Christianity.

APPENDIX

In a very cogent note on the text of Ad Diognetum III, 2 Robert Joly has laid the ghost of *σέβειν καὶ* and restored to us the clearly correct *σέβονται* found also in the parallel passage of Aristides (Barlaam and Ioasaph, xxvii, 252). Yet his impressive solution following Lindner loses something of the desirable structural parallelism which should be evident in this sentence and its context: *καὶ εἰ θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβονται δεσπότην, ἀξιῶ φρονεῖν*.

One is tempted to see the mischief as implicit in the VIth century uncial archetype φ which scholars of F have long postulated as the original mentioned in that now lost Strasbourg MS. Personally I am disposed to conjecture that it was an archetype of analogous script and colometry to the biblical Codex Alexandrinus, and that there were about 26 letters to the line. Retaining Hilgenfeld's conjecture *καλῶς* and accepting Joly's *σέβονται* I would replace the offending *ἀξιοῦσι* with *ἀξιοῦντες*, taking *φρονεῖν* in Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich sense 1, and adopting their version "think of God as master".

*ΚΑΛΩΣΘΕΟΝΕΝΑΤΩΝΠΙΑΝΤΩΝΣΕΒΟΝ
ΤΑΙΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝΑΞΙΟΥΝΤΕΣΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ*

Damage at the edges could readily have caused confusion of uncial E and O, producing *σέβειν*, whilst damage at the beginning of the next line could lead to T being read as K. We might render the passage thus:

"The Jews then, since they abstain from the cult we have mentioned, correctly worship God one over all, considering it suitable to think of him as Lord: but, since they offer him this religious service in the same way as those before mentioned, they are thoroughly in error."

**Annexures Relating to the Epistle to Diognetus
(the text used in these is Lightfoot-Harmer)**

I. (a) I. 'ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ὁρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν

II. "Ἄγε δὴ καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀπατῶσάν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος, καὶ γενόμενος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγον καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησας, ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος·

(b) Diog. Laert. II, 118.

πάλιν δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Κράτητα χειμῶνος συγκεκαυμένον, "ὦ Κράτης," ἔφη, "δοκεῖς μοι χρειᾶν ἔχειν ἱματίου καινοῦ." [ἔπερ ἦν νοῦ καὶ ἱματίου.] καὶ τὸν ἀχθεσθέντα παρῳδήσας εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω (Diels 1).

(c) S. V. F. Diogenes Babylonius.

23 Diocles Magnes apud Diog. Laert. VII, 82. ἀμφιβολία δέ ἐστι λέξεις δύο ἡ καὶ πλείονα πράγματα σημαίνουσα λεκτικῶς καὶ κυρίως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, ὥσθ' ἅμα τινὰ πλείονα ἐκδέξασθαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν λέξιν, ὅλον "αὐλήτρις πέπτωκε". δηλοῦται γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον "οἰκία τρεῖς πέπτωκε", τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον "αὐλήτρια πέπτωκε".

(d) J. Adam, Texts to illustrate Greek Philosophy after Aristotle.

196 Cleanthes apud Stobaeum *eclogae* 1 p. 25 Wachsmuth

Χαίρε· σέ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσανδάν. ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν,

II. (a) IV. Ἄλλα μὲν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν φοροδεές, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου [οὔ] νομίζω σε χρήζειν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν.

(b) S. V. F. Chrysippus 630.

Τὸ δ' εἰρωνεύεσθαι φαῦλων εἶναι φασιν, οὐδένα γὰρ ἐλεύθερον καὶ σπουδαῖον εἰρωνεύεσθαι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ σαρκάζειν, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰρωνεύεσθαι μετ' ἐπισυρμού τινος. Ἐν μόνους τε τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀπολείπονσι φιλίαν, ἐπεὶ ἐν μόνους τοῦτοις ὁμόνοια γίνεται περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον· τὴν δ' ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιστήμην.

III. (a) V. 4. κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ, θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολιτείας. 5. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίαις, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη.

(b) S. V. F. Zeno.

262 Plutarchus de Alex. virt. I 6 p. 329a. καὶ μὲν ἡ πολὺ θαυματομένη πολιτεία τοῦ τὴν Στωικῶν αἵρεσιν καταβαλομένου Ζήνωνος εἰς ἐν τοῦτο συντείνει κεφάλαιον, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πόλεις μὴδὲ κατὰ δήμους οἰκῶμεν, ἰδίους ἕκαστοι διωρισμένοι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡρώμεθα δημότας καὶ πολῖτας, εἰς δὲ βίος ἢ καὶ κόσμος, ὥσπερ ἀγέλης συννόμου νόμῳ κοινῷ συντρεφόμενης.

IV. (a) V. 6. γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ ῥίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα.

(b) S. V. F. Zeno.

270 Diogenes Laert. VII, 121. καὶ γαμήσειν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, (τὸν σοφόν) καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι.

V. (a) V. 7. τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοιτὴν.

(b) S. V. F. Zeno.

269 Diogenes Laert. VII, 131. ἀρέσκει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθὰ φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. — ib. 33. κοινὰς τε τὰς γυναῖκας δογματίζειν, ὁμοίως Πλάτωνι, ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

VI. (a) V. 11. ἀγαπῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. 12. ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται. θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται.

(b) S. V. F. Zeno.

263 Athenaeus XIII 561 C. Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνωνας ἔφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἐρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ἑλευθερίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁμοσίᾳς παρασκευατικόν, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔφη "τὸν Ἐρωτα θεὸν εἶναι, συνεργόν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν."

VII. (a) VI. 'Απλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. 2. ἐσπαρταὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἢ ψυχῇ, καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις. 3. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχῇ, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.

(b) J. Adam, Texts to illustrate Greek Philosophy after Aristotle.

146 Chrysippus apud Galenum v.p. 287 Kühn ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμά ἐστι σύμφυτον ἡμῖν συνεχὲς παντὶ τῷ σώματι διῆκον ἔστ' ἂν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς συμμετρία παρῇ ἐν τῷ σώματι.

VIII. (a) VI. 5. μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι· μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανούς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. 6. ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾷ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπῶσιν.

(b) Arrian, Discourses of Epictetus, II, 22, 19:

ὅπου γὰρ ἂν τὸ "ἐγὼ" καὶ τὸ "ἐμὸν," ἐκεῖ ἀνάγκη ῥέπειν τὸ ζῶον· εἰ ἐν σαρκί, ἐκεῖ τὸ κυριεῦον εἶναι· εἰ ἐν προαιρέσει, ἐκεῖ εἶναι· εἰ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐκεῖ· εἰ τοῖνυν ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅπου ἡ προαίρεσις, οὕτως μόνως καὶ φίλος ἔσομαι οἷος δεῖ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πατήρ. τοῦτο γὰρ μοι συνοίσει τηρεῖν τὸν πιστόν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν ἀνεκτικόν, τὸν ἀφεκτικόν καὶ συνεργητικόν, φυλάσσειν τὰς σχέσεις· ἂν δ' ἀλλοχοῦ μὲν ἔμμαντον θῶ, ἀλλοχοῦ δὲ τὸ καλόν, οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς γίνεταί ὁ Ἐπικουροῦ λόγος, ἀποφαίνων ἡ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἢ εἰ ἄρα τὸ ἐνδοξον.

Διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διεφέροντο καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδόνες πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Γέτας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τὰ ἐν Ἰλλυρὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο. ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Μενελάου ξένος ἦν, καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοὺς εἶδεν φιλοφρονουμένους ἀλλήλους, ἠπίστησεν ἂν τῷ λόγοντι οὐκ εἶναι φίλους αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ μέσον μερίδιον, κομφὸν γυναικάριον, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ πόλεμος.

(c) *ibid.*, III, 7, 4,:

Τί οὖν κρεῖσσον ἔχομεν τῆς σαρκός; — Τὴν ψυχὴν, ἔφη. — Ἀγαθὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ κρατίστου κρείττονά ἐστιν ἢ τὰ τοῦ φανωτότερου; —

IX. (a) VII. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος Θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσεν καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, οὐ καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν ἀνθρώπος, ὑπηρέτην τινὰ πέμψας ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, φ' τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐκτισεν, φ' τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίοις ὁροῖς ἐνέκλεισεν, οὐ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων [ἥλιος] εἴληφε φυλάσσειν, φ' πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, φ' πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρον τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ φ' πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕφεσι, τὰ ἐν βάθεσι, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ· τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν.

(b) Ritter & Preller: *Historia Philosophiae Graecae* (ed. 9, 1913).

626 Numenius ap. Euseb. pr. ev. XI 18, 3 (fr. 26 Th.) ὁ θεὸς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὢν ἐστὶν ἀπλούς διὰ τὸ ἑαυτῷ συγγινόμενος διόλου μὴ ποτε εἶναι διαιρετός· ὁ θεὸς μέντοι ὁ δευτέρως καὶ τρίτος ἐστὶν εἰς· συμφερόμενος δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὕση ἐνοὶ μὲν αὐτήν, σχίζεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐπιθυμητικὸν ἦθος ἐχούσης καὶ βεούσης. 4. τῷ οὖν μὴ εἶναι πρὸς τῷ νοητῷ ἦν γὰρ ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕλην βλέπειν ταύτην ἐπιμελούμενος ἀπερίωπτος ἑαυτοῦ γίνεταί. 5. καὶ ἄπτεται τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ περιέμπει ἀνάγει τε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἦθος ἐπορεξάμενος τῆς ὕλης. — (fr. 27) 6. καὶ γὰρ οὔτε δημιουργεῖν ἐστὶ χρεῶν τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦντος δὲ θεοῦ χρῆ εἶναι νομίζεσθαι πατέρα τὸν πρῶτον θεόν.

X. (a) X. 3. ἐπιγνούς δέ, τίνος οἶει πληρωθήσεσθαι χαρᾶς; ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σὺτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; 4. ἀγαπήσας δὲ μιμητῆς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ δύναται μιμητῆς ἀνθρώπος γενέσθαι Θεοῦ· δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ.

(b) J. Adam, *op. cit.*

135 Arius Didymus apud Eusebii *praeparationem evangelicam* XV 15. 1–4

ὃν γὰρ τράστον πόλις λέγεται διχῶς, τό τε οὐκνητήριον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐνοικοούντων σὺν τοῖς πολίταις σύστημα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος οἰοῖ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστώσα, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων. κοινωνίαν δ' ὑπάρχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, διὰ τὸ λόγον μετέχειν, ὅς ἐστι φύσει νόμος· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα γεγονέναι τούτων ἕνεκα. οἷς ἀκολούθως νομιστέον προνοεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντα θεόν, ἐδεργτικὸν ὄντα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, δίκαιον τε καὶ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἀρετάς. διὸ δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιος ἡμῖν ἐστι.

VIII. LITURGICA

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St. Cyprian and the "Aquarians"

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The sixty-third letter of St. Cyprian has been much read and studied for its eucharistic doctrine. It provides the earliest extended treatment of the Eucharist in Latin. But, at a more mundane level, there is still room for questions and discussion as to how and why this letter came to be written in the first place.

The impression which a modern reader receives is that St. Cyprian appears to be using a very large sledge-hammer to crack a very small nut. His problem (or rather the problem of his correspondent, the Bishop Caecilius) was a number of people who were insisting, most perversely, on celebrating the Eucharist with water only, and not with the mixed chalice. The malpractice does not appear to have been widespread. Certainly it was of recent origin – "*humana et novella institutione*". There is no suggestion that it is being done out of any deep but misplaced theological conviction; there is no hint that the trouble is connected with any "gnostic" mistrust of the created order. It was all happening "*vel ignoranter vel simpliciter*"¹. It was not even a problem of people's teetotal scruples. The Aquarians reserved their water-offering for the morning only, but, like everybody else, they would offer the mixed chalice "*cum ad cenandum venimus*"².

For practical purposes the business seems little more than a nuisance created by a small number of eccentrics – a cross which every Bishop has to bear. Why then could not Caecilius deal with these people himself, as Cyprian does in fact deal with them by saying that "... in the offering of the cup the Lord's tradition must be maintained? Nothing other should be done by us than what the Lord himself first did for us"³. Everybody must do what the Lord did, and (possibly more questionably from the point of the modern New Testament critic) what the Lord commanded to be done. Why then should Caecilius have deemed it necessary to consult his Metropolitan on such an elementary point of Christian practice? Even more to the point,

¹ Ep. 63. 1, Cypriani Opera, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. III, pars i., ed. G. Hartel, Vienna, 1868.

² ch. 16. An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cenandum venimus mixtum calicem offerimus.

³ ch. 2. Admonitos autem nos scias ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio servetur, neque aliud fiat a nobis quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecit.

why should Cyprian himself, far from telling Caecilius not to waste his time, have furnished such a painstaking, not to say pedantic, answer? Genius may be the infinite capacity for taking pains. Pastoral wisdom may lie in an equally infinite capacity for patience with the most ignorant and stubborn. But all this is rather too much. Has not Cyprian got things rather out of proportion, unless, perhaps, there are hidden but genuine reasons for him to have written as he does?

There are two possible clues to a better understanding of the problem. The first lies in the extent and use of the argument from Scripture in the letter. The second, distinct but related, is the question of the hour of the Celebration, and the Aquarians' operation of a double standard of practice for morning and evening.

First, in respect of the use of Scripture: letter 63 consists largely of a long series of scriptural citations. These, however, are not picked at random, but are very carefully selected and put together. The starting point is the Lord's words, "I am the true vine" (John, 15 : 1). This means, Cyprian argues, that "the blood of Christ is in no sense water, but wine. His blood by which we are quickened and redeemed cannot be symbolised (*nec . . . potest videri*) when wine is lacking in the Cup, which is shown to be the blood of Christ, the one who is proclaimed in the mystery and witness (*sacramento et testimonio*) of all the scriptures"⁴.

In Cyprian's view of the matter, then, the answer to the problem of the Cup of the Eucharist depends on a proper understanding of the types and symbols of Scripture. He now goes on to cite and expound his material in some detail: the drunkenness of Noah⁵, the offering of Melchisedech⁶, the cup mingled by Wisdom in Proverbs, 9 : 1-5⁷, Genesis, 49 : 11 - the Blessing of Judah⁸, the treading of the winepress in Isaiah 63 : 2⁹. By this means Cyprian endeavours to build up an elaborate and compelling exposition of the mystery of Scripture in which Christ proclaims himself to be the True Vine. Not only is there the natural association between the blood of the grape and the Blood of Christ. There is a deeper symbolism expressed in the association between the winepress and the Lord's Passion. Grapes have to be pressed before the wine can be drunk. "So we", says Cyprian, "are not able to drink the Blood of Christ had he not been trampled upon and crushed, and first drunk of that cup in order that he might administer it to the faithful"¹⁰. If, in Cyprian's well-known words, "the Passion of the Lord is the Sacrifice we offer", then the Lord's Passion can only be fully and properly

⁴ ch. 2. *nam cum dicat Christus, "ego sum vitis vera". sanguis Christi non est aqua utique sed vinum. nec potest videri sanguis eius, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, quando vinum desit calici, quod Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui scripturarum omnium sacramento et testimonio praedicetur.*

⁵ ch. 3.

⁶ ch. 4.

⁷ ch. 5.

⁸ ch. 6.

⁹ ch. 7.

¹⁰ ch. 7. *quia quomodo ad potandum vinum veniri non potest nisi botruus calcetur ante et prematur, sic nec nos sanguinem Christi possemus bibere, nisi Christus calcatus prius fuisset et calicem prior biberet, quo credentibus propinaret.*

symbolised by the presence of wine in the Cup. Only in this way can there be a "*legitima sanctificatio*"¹¹.

Cyprian only introduces the Matthaean narrative of the Institution and the Pauline account of I Corinthians within this wider scriptural context¹². Christ taught by his own authority ("*magisterii exemplo*") that wine should be mingled in the cup, and St. Paul adds apostolic authority to the dominical command. Conclusions are not to be drawn from this, one way or the other, either about the presence, absence or function of a liturgical Institution Narrative in Cyprian's time. However, it looks very much as though St. Cyprian did not think that the Gospel narrative, by itself, could be expected to convince the Aquarians, without the other evidence assembled.

For him the problem is one of the understanding of the whole Scripture. This is where the Aquarians were failing, and a proper grasp of the types and symbols would have prevented their mistake. Even so, it is hard for us to see how they could have missed anything so obvious. The Synoptic Gospels, each to a greater or lesser degree, describe the Last Supper as a Passover meal, which would presuppose the drinking of wine. We know also that the Jews, in common with the rest of the nations of the civilised world, drank their wine diluted. Drinking neat wine was a disgusting habit, found only among Scythians, Thracians and other barbarous peoples. That the cup which the Lord took contained wine mingled with water is a straight and obvious inference on our part. Nevertheless, we forget that it is still *only* an inference. Scripture does not say so in as many words. Even Cyprian feels it necessary to support the Gospel evidence with "*calix tuus inebrians perquam optimus*" of Ps. 22 : 5¹³ to make the point for which we would think any further evidence unnecessary.

It has to be admitted that there is nothing, according to the exact letter of Scripture, in this way of arguing, that would compel the Aquarians to use wine at the Eucharist if they did not wish to do so for other reasons. Cyprian is using his long typological argument to appeal from the letter to the spirit. The Aquarians' error is the result of perverse and over-exact interpretation of the letter of Scripture. This is why it was so difficult to refute. It is never easy to demonstrate what anyone with a modicum of commonsense would take for granted. Besides, their approach to Scripture was shared, largely by Cyprian himself.

But what set the Aquarians off on this false path? This is where the question of the hour of Celebration may need to be considered. Cyprian accuses the Aquarians of using water in the morning, because they recoil from the Passion of Christ and are themselves afraid of persecution¹⁴. This strange

¹¹ ch. 9. unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri si desit vinum calici, nec sacrificium dominicum legitima sanctificatione celebrari nisi oblatio et sacrificium nostrum responderit passioni.

¹² ch. 9.

¹³ ch. 11.

¹⁴ ch. 15. nisi si in sacrificiis matutinis hoc quis veretur, ne per saporem vini redoleat sanguinem Christi. sic ergo incipit et a passione Christi in persecutionibus fraternitas retardari, dum in oblationibus discit de sanguine eius et cruore confundi.

argument is certainly ironical and very likely slander. There is no evidence that the Aquarians were more timid than anybody else. Possibly nearer the truth is the feeling that the evening was the proper time for the Eucharist. Again, this has the support of the literal evidence of Scripture. The Last Supper took place "sub die passionis". The death of Christ also, the climax of the Passion, took place towards evening. Cyprian had to explain that "Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei" to fulfil the law of Moses; "but", he goes on to add, "we ourselves celebrate the Lord's resurrection at morning time"¹⁵.

It is possible to understand how a morning celebration might have come to feel wrong, especially to people of a conservative and over-literal temperament. Even though this had been happening in Bithynia since the days of Pliny the Younger, there is evidence that it had arrived in Africa much more recently¹⁶, while it certainly continued much later in Egypt¹⁷. But by Cyprian's time the morning Celebration was definitely the main service, the evening gatherings being only poorly attended¹⁸. Tertullian had already commented at an earlier date on the problems of getting wives and slaves to Church in the evening¹⁹, and in any case the Roman authorities were perpetually suspicious of nocturnal assemblies. In the circumstances of changing practice the Aquarians may have been tempted to distinguish between morning and evening celebrations to the detriment of the former, whereas, in fact, the "dominicum" must be properly celebrated, at whatever hour, exactly as the Lord has commanded. Cyprian's main argument is that the Eucharist, when and wherever it is celebrated, is the celebration and representation of the Lord's Passion. "Et quia passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus (not just in some only) facimus, passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus". Obedience consists in following the spirit of the Lord's command, and not in slavish obedience to the written letter.

I am most grateful to the Revd. D. L. Powell of the University of Exeter for his very helpful private comments on this communication made subsequently. In brief, he agrees with the main substance of the argument of this short paper, but suggests a further possible element in the situation leading to the writing of Letter 63, the separation of 'agape' and 'eucharist'. External pressures led to general practice of morning celebration, now held without the 'agape'. The 'agape' still lingered on in the evening, but rapidly fell into disuse because of the unfavourable character of the hour at which it was held. The Aquarians, on the other hand, being conservatively minded, maintained the traditional 'eucharist/agape' in the evening, but introduced a kind of surrogate eucharist early in the day with water only as a concession to contemporary trends. This is an interesting and helpful suggestion which deserves further study.

¹⁵ ch. 16.

¹⁶ Tertullian, de Corona, 4. "Eucharistiae sacramentum . . . mandatum a Domino *etiam* antelucanis coetibus". The force of the *etiam* suggests that the morning celebration was still something of a novelty in Tertullian's time.

¹⁷ Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, V. 22.

¹⁸ ch. 16. sed cum cenamus, ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni praesente celebremus.

¹⁹ Tertullian, ad Uxorem, II. 4.

The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople

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Out of the more than two thousand Greek New Testament lectionaries in the Aland list¹, there is a small number of Byzantine gospel lectionaries that are designated “*l sel*”² because they contain fewer than the usual number of lections. With only two exceptions, these may be divided into two groups, firstly, those that may be copies of more primitive forms of the Byzantine lectionary³, and, secondly, supplementary codices intended to be used in conjunction with other lectionaries.⁴

This paper is concerned with one of the two exceptions, a minuscule lectionary, *l* 131, which is preserved in the library of the Vatican⁵ under the press mark Ottoboni Greek 175. This is a unique codex, in that it contains precisely those lections which are laid down in the Typicon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople⁶ as being read by the Patriarch himself during the course of four processions and during three of the four most important ceremonies of Holy Week, as well as the Order of Service of the fourth.⁷

The lections are arranged chronologically, commencing with Easter Sunday. This completely chronological arrangement is not customary in Byzantine lectionaries in general, nor is it the order of the days in the Typicon, since at least by the eighth century it had become the custom to write the sections in two cycles, one being the Easter cycle and the other a menological cycle commencing with the first of September.⁸ In the extant lectionaries

¹ Kurt Aland: *Kurzgefaßte Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1963.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ Yvonne Burns: The historical events that occasioned the inception of the Byzantine Gospel lectionaries, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, Vienna 1982 (Abbreviation: Inception).

⁴ Yvonne Burns: Supplementary codices for Byzantine lectionaries (In preparation).

⁵ The writer wishes to express her grateful thanks for all the help and kindness she received on the occasion of her visit to the Library of the Vatican in 1971, and also for the microfilm of the MS sent so expeditiously earlier this year.

⁶ Juan Mateos: *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 165, 166, Rome, 1962, 1963.

⁷ The Order of Service is also given for the ceremony in the Forum on the first of September, before the gospel lection.

⁸ The earliest complete Byzantine lectionaries extant have been ascribed to the eighth century, and these arrange the lections in two cycles.

the Easter cycle begins with Easter Sunday, but in the Typicon it begins with the Sunday before Carnival.⁹ Moreover, the lectionaries place the Easter cycle first, while the menological cycle comes first in the Typicon. The chronological arrangement of the Patriarch's Lectionary is, however, in accordance with the most primitive forms of the Byzantine lectionary, such as we find in seven of the "I sel" MSS.¹⁰ Non-Byzantine lectionaries and tables of lessons, such as Syriac¹¹, Armenian¹² Georgian¹³, and Coptic¹⁴, as well as Greek¹⁵, also arrange the lections in chronological order, which confirms the more primitive nature of such an order. Non-Byzantine lectionaries, however, do not commence with Easter Sunday, which is a peculiarly Byzantine innovation.¹⁶

It does not, therefore, seem likely that the Patriarch's Lectionary was obtained by selecting lections from a normal Byzantine lectionary, nor by reference to a full Typicon, such as the examples of each now extant. On the contrary, it seems much more likely that it was obtained by copying from an archetype that had been written for the Patriarch of the time, perhaps quite soon after the latest lection in it had been chosen, but before it became customary to arrange lections in two cycles.

This comparatively small parchment codex¹⁷ consisting of seventy leaves contains the following headings for the eight ceremonies in question:

1. f1 The Holy and Great Sunday of Easter: from John
2. f4 May 11th. The Founding of the City¹⁸: from John
3. f6v June 5th. During the Prayers at the Field¹⁹: from Matthew
4. f7v September 1st. The Beginning of the Indiction. In the Forum²⁰:
5. f11 September 25th. During the Prayers at the Field: from Luke
6. f12v Holy and Great Thursday.²¹ At the Washing of Feet. Gospel²² from John
7. f14v The Holy and Great Friday of Easter. The Gospel of the Holy Passions of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: from John
8. f47 The Catechesis of Great Friday. The Renunciation (of Satan) and the Adherence (to Christ) taking place on the Holy and Great Friday of Easter

⁹ The Sunday of Carnival is two weeks before the first Sunday of Lent.

¹⁰ Yvonne Burns: *Op. cit.* (Inception).

¹¹ F. C. Burkett: *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, Proceedings of the British Academy, x, London, 1921-3.

¹² F. C. Conybeare: *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905.

¹³ M. Tarnischvili: *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 188, 189, Louvain, 1959.

¹⁴ M 615 (VIII century) and M 573 (IX century), Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

¹⁵ I 844.

¹⁶ Yvonne Burns: *Op. cit.* (Inception).

¹⁷ 24, 1 cm × 17, 8 cm.

¹⁸ Constantinople, founded by Constantine the Great in A. D. 325.

¹⁹ The Field of Mars, by the seventh milestone. See R. Janin: *Constantinople byzantine*, Paris, 1951, p 412.

²⁰ The Forum of Constantine, close to Hagia Sophia. See R. Janin: *Ibid*, pp 68-69.

²¹ Maundy Thursday.

²² In this context, gospel means lection.

If the instructions for these days are read in the *Typicon of Hagia Sophia*²³, it will be seen that a very close correspondence exists between the two documents.

There are many days mentioned in the *Typicon*²⁴ on which the Patriarch takes part in the ceremonies, but on only four of them does the procession stop while the Patriarch reads a gospel lection.²⁵ These are, in the order to the *Typicon*, September 1st, September 25th, May 11th and June 5th, the very menological days for which the gospel lections are given in the Patriarch's *Lectionary*.

When we turn to the festivals connected with Easter, once again we find that for two out of the three lections the *Typicon* states that they are read by the Patriarch, so we may conclude that the third lection was also read by him. Finally, the *Typicon* states that on Good Friday the Patriarch goes to the Church of Holy Peace, where he delivers the catechesis.

Let us now consider the festivals connected with Easter in greater detail.

According to the *Typicon*²⁶, "On Maundy Thursday in the evening after Vespers the rite of Washing the Feet²⁷ takes place in the narthex. The Patriarch washes the feet of three under-deacons, three deacons, three presbyters and an archbishop and two metropolitans. The gospel according to John, chapter 112²⁸, is read, beginning 'Now before the Feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew,' as far as 'Ye are not all clean.' After the rite of Washing the Feet has been concluded, the Patriarch puts down the cloth, puts on his phelonion once again and reads the gospel 'So after he had washed the feet of his disciples,' ending 'happy are ye if ye do them.'"²⁹

The lections for the rite of Foot-washing appear in many Byzantine lectionaries, and in others reference is made to their use in this rite in the rubrics beside the lection for the liturgy (during the course of which they are once again read as part of the long gospel lection recounting the events of the day). However, in all cases both lections are given. Only in the Patriarch's *Lectionary* is the second lection to be found without the first, and the reason must, of course, be that this was all the Patriarch himself read: the first lection had been read by another participant in the ceremony.

²³ Juan Mateos: *Op. cit.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, volume II, pp 312-3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, volume I, p 307, footnote 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, volume II, pp 72-75.

²⁷ To commemorate the fact the Jesus washed the feet of the disciples after the Last Supper.

²⁸ Mateos corrects the chapter number to 114, thinking that the pericope begins at verse 3 because it does so in the lection for the liturgy. However, the chapter number given in the MS (112) is the usual one for verse 1, the incipit quoted. The pericope is John xiii: 1-11, and chapter 112 is correct. These chapter numbers are the Ammonian sections. See Yvonne Burns: *Chapter Numbers in Greek and Slavonic gospel codices*, New Testament Studies, Cambridge, 1976.

²⁹ John xiii: 12-17.

This shows very clearly that the archetype of this codex was intended for the use of the Patriarch himself, and we may therefore conclude that the next lection contained in it, the Gospel of the Passions, was also read by him, although we do not have confirmation of that in the Typicon. Since the first Gospel is the only one quoted, it may be inferred that others read the remaining eleven: twelve being the number normally found in Byzantine lectionaries, as it is in the Typicon.³⁰

On Good Friday, according to the Typicon³¹, the Patriarch goes to the Church of Holy Peace where he conducts the catechesis. Mateos³² considers that this must have been the catechesis published by Goar³³ and that the church was the Church of Holy Peace, the Old and the New, mentioned by Janin.³⁴ Both these contentions are confirmed by the Patriarch's Lectionary.³⁵

This lectionary is unique in giving all the directions for the ceremony of Renunciation of Satan and Adherence to Christ, including the catechesis. Normally such liturgical details would be found in a Euchologion, not a lectionary. In fact, this particular ceremony is found in only a very few Euchologia, one of which being the VIII to IX century uncial manuscript Barberini Greek 336, also in the Vatican Library³⁶, which Goar utilised for his Euchologion.³⁷

The inclusion of this ceremony in the Patriarch's Lectionary implies that the archetype was compiled before infant baptism became the rule and adult baptism the exception. This speaks for the antiquity of the archetype, which gives every evidence of having antedated the Barberini Euchologion, since its instructions are more explicit and more carefully written, including the full text of the creed, and so would have been of more practical use during the actual ceremony.

The formula of Renunciation of Satan had been known from early times³⁸, and references to it were made by Cyril of Jerusalem³⁹, Theodore of Mopsuestia⁴⁰,

³⁰ Juan Mateos: Op. cit., volume II, pp 76–79.

³¹ Ibid, volume II, pp 78–81. *Kai μετά τὴν τριτοέκτην ἀπέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Εἰρήνην, καὶ ποιεῖ κατήχησιν.*

³² Ibid, volume II, p 79, footnotes 5 and 6.

³³ J. Goar: Euchologion, sive Rituale Graecorum, 2nd edition, Venice, 1730.

³⁴ R. Janin: La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, III, Les Églises et les Monastères, Paris, 1953, pp. 108–111, especially p. 110 for the designation 'Old and New'.

³⁵ In the Patriarch's Lectionary the Order of Service begins as follows: *συναγομένων πάντων τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας εἰρήνης τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ νέᾳ. ἔρχεται ὁ π(α)τριάρχης περὶ ὧραν ἑκτὴν καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν τριτοέκτην*. The Church of Holy Peace is here designated 'the Old and the New'.

³⁶ The writer is grateful for the speedy despatch of the microfilm of this MS.

³⁷ Yvonne Burns: The Ceremony of the Renunciation of Satan and Adherence to Christ, including the Catechesis. A critical text, with an introduction and translation (In preparation).

³⁸ Apostolic Constitutions, VII. 41. Tertullian: De Spectaculis, § 4.

³⁹ Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem: Mystagogic Lecture, I, § 2–9

⁴⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia: IInd Homily on Baptism, § 5.

John Chrysostom⁴¹ and Proclus of Constantinople⁴², the last two being themselves patriarchs of Constantinople in their time. The existence of various catecheses indicates that it had been customary for those who instructed the catechumens to speak in their own words, but the inclusion of a particular catechesis in the Patriarch's Lectionary shows that by the time the archetype was written down this catechesis had become part of a stereotyped rite. It may have been written by Proclus or some other patriarch of the V or VI century, as suggested by Antoine Wenger⁴³, or by the patriarch for whom the archetype was compiled, or it may have gradually evolved as the services themselves evolved in Constantinople. Whatever its origins, it had become a standard part of the Good Friday service in Constantinople for those about to be baptised the following day, otherwise it would not have been written down in the Euchologia as well as in the lectionary.

For Easter Sunday, also, we find that the lection given in the lectionary is read by the Patriarch, according to the Typicon⁴⁴, which states that the deacon reads the beginning of the gospel of John in Latin, and later "the Patriarch begins, 'In the beginning was the Word,' the deacon in the ambon repeats the phrases read by the Patriarch, enunciating them in a loud voice, right to the end."

Turning now to the menological festivals, we find that the four for which lections are given in this lectionary are of particular importance for Constantinople, and their inclusion (together with the reference to the catechesis taking place in the Church of Holy Peace, the Old and the New) makes it certain that the archetype of this manuscript was written for Constantinople.

The importance of the festival on the first of September, the Beginning of the Indiction, is emphasised in this codex by the inclusion of the Order of Service. The form this takes is close to that found in a manuscript of the Archaeological Museum in Kiev, quoted by Mateos⁴⁵ after Dmitrievskij⁴⁶. Although Mateos thinks it possible⁴⁷ that the use of the word 'Archpriest' (ἀρχιερεύς) instead of 'Patriarch' (πατριάρχης) may indicate that the Kiev MS was not written in Constantinople, the topological references and the references to the Emperors, the Court and the Army show without doubt that the archetype had been written there. Since the Patriarch's Lectionary and the Kiev MS both use the word 'Archpriest' in the same passage, this

⁴¹ John Chrysostom: *IInd Catechesis*, § 20.

⁴² Proclus of Constantinople, *Mystagogic Catechesis*: MS Gr. 491, Sinai. See Antoine Wenger: *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle*, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1955, pp 96–99.

⁴³ Antoine Wenger: *Jean Chrysostome, Huit Catéchèses Baptismales inédites, Sources Chrétiennes*, No. 50, Paris, 1957.

⁴⁴ Juan Mateos: *Op. cit.*, volume II, pp 92–97.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, volume II, pp 200–203.

⁴⁶ Aleksej Dmitrievskij: *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej hranjaščisja v bibliotekah pravoslavnago vostoka*, volume I, Kiev, 1901, p 152.

⁴⁷ Juan Mateos: *Op. cit.*, volume II, p 201, footnote 1.

Order of Service seems to have been obtained from a common source, which must surely be Constantinopolitan.

The procession on the twenty-fifth of September was in commemoration of the earthquake that took place, according to the *Menologion* of Basil⁴⁸, during the reign of Theodosius the Great in the fourth century. All the townsfolk are said to have left the city, accompanied by the Emperor and the Patriarch, and waited in the Field of Mars, by the seventh mile, until the earthquake was over. The earthquake was said to have continued until a heretical addition to the Trisagion was omitted, and it would be this justification of Orthodoxy that made the commemoration important to the Patriarch.

The eleventh of May commemorated the founding of the city by Constantine, and, according to Wellesz⁴⁹, was the national festival of Byzantium, being celebrated in the presence of the Emperor and the Patriarch with music and dances by the crowd, who were feasted by the Emperor. These relics of earlier pagan festivities doubtless took place after the procession during which the Patriarch read the lection in the codex under discussion.

The latest festival to be inaugurated is that of June the fifth, which commemorated the Avar surprise of Constantinople, which N. H. Baynes⁵⁰ has demonstrated took place on Sunday, June 5th, A.D. 617, during the reign of Heraclius. In the *Typicon*⁵¹ there is a special note to the effect that the gospel lection is read by the Patriarch, and that the Order of Service is the same as that held on the twenty-fifth of September.

We must conclude, therefore, that the archetype of this lectionary was written in Constantinople some time after A.D. 617, for the use of the Patriarch in the eight most important ceremonies of the ecclesiastical year. The fact that it was written in one cycle supports the view that it was written in the seventh century, before it had become customary to write Byzantine lectionaries in two cycles.

This codex also supports the writer's contention that single-cycle "I sel" manuscripts are copies of early lectionaries exhibiting a more primitive form than that of the double-cycle Byzantine lectionaries, and not selections from such double-cycle lectionaries as some scholars seem to have assumed.

⁴⁸ *Menologium graecorum Basilii Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris*, Migne PG 117, col. 449.

⁴⁹ Egon Wellesz: *Byzantine Music and Liturgy*, Cambridge Medieval History, IV, Cambridge, 1967, p 136.

⁵⁰ N. H. Baynes: The date of the Avar surprise, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 21, Leipzig, 1912, pp 110-128.

⁵¹ Juan Mateos: *Op. cit.*, volume I, pp 306-307.

Novum Saeculum dans une formule liturgique romaine du V^e siècle

C. COEBERGH O. S. B. †

Le but de l'enquête présente consiste en un essai de corroborer la datation de la grande formule «Ad virgines sacras» du Sacramentaire Léonien aux environs de l'année 450 et si possible son attribution au pape Léon le Grand. *Novum saeculum* est une expression caractéristique. Il faudra donc du moins esquisser l'ambiance idéologique dans laquelle une locution d'origine païenne s'est accréditée dans le christianisme, évidemment en se spiritualisant. Nous présentons d'abord aussi brièvement que possible cette esquisse. Quelques nouvelles observations concernant la formule «Ad virgines sacras» compléteront notre enquête.

Rappelons premièrement les résultats intéressants de l'étude de Jean Gagé sur le millénaire de Rome et sa répercussion sur un monument chrétien¹, à savoir une mosaïque de la première moitié du V^e siècle à la basilique de Sainte Marie-Majeure. Il insiste sur le fait que *saeculum novum* est une des formules les plus nettes de la phraséologie «séculaire» de l'empire romain. On trouve fréquemment cette légende sur les revers monétaires vers le milieu du III^e siècle. Elle rappelle la cérémonie très particulière des fêtes du millénaire de Rome, célébrées en 248 après Jésus-Christ par Philippe l'Arabe et son fils, exactement mille ans après la fondation de la «Ville éternelle», en 753 avant Jésus-Christ selon la tradition. Les revers monétaires à la légende *saeculum novum*, frappés en grand nombre par les deux Philippes et isolément par plusieurs de leurs successeurs indique qu'il s'agit d'un espoir officiellement proclamé d'ouvrir un nouvel âge de mille ans, *miliarium saeculum*, suivant une autre légende des monnaies de Philippe. Par ailleurs la représentation systématique d'un temple sur ces monnaies est à relever. André Grabar a relevé une correspondance curieuse à propos de la mosaïque à Sainte Marie-Majeure; là sur le registre supérieur de l'arc triomphal, côté

¹ Jean Gagé, *Saeculum novum*. Le millénaire de Rome et le Templum Urbis sur les monnaies du III^e siècle ap. J.-C., dans: *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* . . . held in London by the Royal Numismatic Society June 30-July 3, 1936 . . . edited by J. Allan, H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson, London 1938, pp. 179-186. Voir aussi: E. H. Kantorowicz, Puer exoriens. On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, dans: H. Rahner und E. von Severus, *Perennitas*, Beiträge zur christlichen Archäologie und Kunst Thomas Michels zum 70. Geburtstag, pp. 118-135, mais surtout pp. 120-122 *novum saeculum*.

droit, un temple à quatre colonnes figure dans la scène de la *Purification de la Vierge*. C'est le temple de la Présentation «dans le Temple de Jérusalem». Mais en fait le fronton est occupé par une image fort distincte de la *déesse Rome*, assise en majesté suivant l'usage traditionnel. L'on peut constater ainsi une transition assez remarquable, la Rome ancienne est devenue la nouvelle Jérusalem. Il est intéressant et curieux que dans la scène évangélique, où la prophétesse Anne annonce en Jésus la *redemptio saeculi*, l'artiste romain a évoqué le grand temple qui avait été par excellence, à Rome, celui du *saeculum novum*. Sans scrupules, puisque de son temps, pendant le pontificat de Sixte III (431-440) la légende de Philippe empereur chrétien, propagée par Orose, s'était accréditée, et que la *fête du millénaire* passait pour avoir été vouée par cet empereur au Christ et à l'Église. En tout cas, le *templum Urbis* fut, en 248 le principal théâtre des fêtes millénaires de Rome, et l'Éternité de Rome est demeuré longtemps un dogme pendant toute la durée du Bas-Empire, dogme politique plus que dogme religieux. Relevons encore que malgré le fait indubitable que Philippe l'Arabe et ses contemporains aient mis un contenu païen dans ces mots de *saeculum novum*, plus tard Gratien à la fin du IV^e siècle les reprendra avec une arrière pensée chrétienne: *gloria novi saeculi*. La présence du *labarum* christianise déjà le contenu païen de *saeculum novum*. On sait du reste que Philippe l'Arabe est déjà tiré au christianisme chez Eusèbe, sur la foi d'anecdotes lues chez Origène et Denys d'Alexandrie. De l'autre part le *miliarium saeculum* rappelait le fameux *millenium* de l'Apocalypse.

Passons maintenant aux témoignages patristiques de *novum saeculum*.

En examinant autant que possible tous les ouvrages des Pères publiés dans le *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* de Vienne, en consultant surtout les Régistres à la fin des volumes l'extrême rareté de la locution *novum saeculum* nous a frappé. De l'autre part les registres de la Patrologie de Migne n'offraient aucun exemple, ni la partie imprimée du *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Il y a d'abord une surprise assez inattendue dans les ouvrages poétiques de *Commodien*²:

Carmen apologeticum, versets 310-312:

Hinc adeo nobis est spes in futuro quaerenda:
Hoc deus hortatur, hoc lex, hoc passio christi,
Ut resurrecturos nos credamus in novo saeclo.

Item, versets 702-704:

Ne cadas in fauces latronum, cautior esto
Unum quaere Deum, qui quaerit hostia nulla,
Ut possis abolutus resurgere saeclo novato.

On peut relever aussi un texte des *Instructionum*, lib. I, xxvi Repugnantibus adversus legem Christi Dei vivi, versets 35-36:

Et cum renovasti saeculum, et ille praegressus
Immortalis erit; nam tu sub tartara planges.

² *Commodiani carmina* (CSEL XV, 1887), B. Dombart.

L'influence de Commodien, poète très médiocre, nous paraît minime, et donc négligeable. On peut mentionner que le fameux *Décret pseudo-gélasien* de la fin du V^e siècle a relégué les œuvres de Commodien parmi les écrits condamnés comme «apocryphes»³. Un témoin plus important est *Saint Augustin* en personne. Rappelons aussi dès maintenant que le regretté Dr F. L. Cross a démontré naguère l'influence des écrits d'Augustin sur ceux du pape Saint Léon le Grand⁴.

Saeculum novum dans le *De Civitate Dei* de *Saint Augustin*.

On peut relever d'abord un passage de *De civ. Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. xix : «Sed si hoc decebit in illo novo saeculo, ut indicia gloriosorum vulnerum (sc. sanctorum martyrum) in illa immortali carne cernantur, ubi membra, ut praeciderentur, percussa vel secta sunt, ibi cicatrices, sed tamen eisdem membris redditae, non perditae, apparebunt . . .»⁵ Ensuite : *ibid.*, lib. XXI, cap. xv : «Quod omne opus gratiae Dei eruente nos de profunditate veteris mali ad futuri saeculi pertineat novitatem»⁶, et un peu plus haut : «Quod nobiscum agitur per testamentum novum, non pertinere nisi ad novi saeculi haereditatem novam, ut hic pignore accepto illud cuius hoc pignus est suo tempore consequamur, nunc autem de die in diem spiritu facta carnis mortificemus.»⁷

Encore *lib. XXII, cap. vii* : «ut contradicentibus tam multis tamque magnis persecutionibus praecedens in Christo, deinde in ceteris ad novum saeculum secutura resurrectio adque immortalitas carnis et fidelissime crederetur et praedicaretur intrepide et per orbem terrae pullulatura fecundius cum martyrum sanguine sereretur».⁸

Enfin *lib. XXII, cap. x* : «In eis veris est praecipuum, quod Christus resurrexit a mortuis et immortalitatem resurrectionis in sua carne primus ostendit, quam nobis adfuturam vel in principio novi saeculi vel in huius fine promisit».⁹

Il vaut la peine d'insister sur le sens et la portée des cinq citations relevées plus haut. *Novum saeculum* signifie chez Augustin très nettement la nouveauté du siècle futur dans la béatitude céleste, telle qu'elle est annoncée en particulier dans l'Apocalypse. Augustin fait ressortir en particulier l'immortalité de la resurrection de la chair. Pour Augustin le monde nouveau, *novum saeculum* a été inauguré par la résurrection du Christ lui-même. Dans le dernier passage cité ici, il introduit une nuance dans ce sens, que grâce à cette inauguration le renouvellement du monde se poursuit jusqu'au dernier

³ Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis, dans PL 59, col. 157; PL 62 col. 537, et PL 84, col. 843. Cf. E. von Dobschütz, dans : *Texte und Untersuchungen* 38, 4 (1912); E. Dekkers-A. Gaar : *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 2^e édition (1961) n° 1676. — Dans PL 59, col. 163 on peut lire ceci : *Opuscula Commodiani, apocrypha*.

⁴ F. L. Cross, *Pre-Leonine Elements in the proper of the Roman Mass*, dans *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Volume L (Oxford 1949), pp. 191—197.

⁵ Augustin, CSEL XXX², p. 631, ligne 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 545, lignes 3—4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, lignes 11—14.

⁸ L. c., p. 595, ligne 9.

⁹ L. c., p. 615, ligne 4.

jugement: «inmortalitatem resurrectionis . . . ostendit, quam nobis adfuturam vel in principio novi saeculi vel in huius fine promisit». ¹⁰

Novum saeculum dans la grande formule de la Consécration des vierges du Sacramentaire Léonien.

La formule susdite se trouve dans le fameux manuscrit de Vérone, Bibliotheca capitolare LXXXV, fol. 112^{rv}–113^{rv}. La meilleure édition de ce *sacramentarium Veronense* est celle de L.C. Mohlberg – L. Eizenhöfer – P. Siffrin. ¹¹ C'est le fameux *Sacramentaire Léonien* des éditeurs antérieurs à savoir Bianchini, Muratori et C. L. Feltoe. L'incipit de la formule est celui-ci:

«*Deus castorum corporum benignus habitator*
et incorruptarum deus amator animarum
deus qui humanam substantiam
in primis hominibus diabolica fraude vitiatam
ita in Verbo tuo per quod omnia facta sunt reparas
ut eam non solum ad primae originis innocentiam revoces
sed etiam ad experientiam quorundam bonorum
quae in *novo saeculo* sunt habenda perducas
et obstrictos adhuc conditione mortalium
iam ad similitudinem provehas angelorum . . . »

In *novo saeculo* rappelle sans doute un texte de l'*Apocalypse*, chapitre XXI, verset 1: «Et vidi coelum novum et terram novam. Primum enim caelum et prima terra abiit, et mare jam non est» (*Vulgata*). Mais en se souvenant toute l'ambiance idéologique esquissée plus haut, mosaïque de la basilique de Sainte-Marie Majeure (431–440), revers des monnaies, de Gratien portant le *Labarum* en particulier, ainsi que du fait que le pape S. Léon le Grand (440–461) s'est souvent inspiré des ouvrages de S. Augustin me suggère de nouveau que c'est lui assez probablement que l'on est amené à considérer comme l'auteur de la grande et belle prière liturgique, dont nous venons de citer un fragment. Pour le moins une datation romaine dans la première partie du V^e siècle me paraît certaine. Un censeur compétant a jugé avec raison que notre essai: Saint Léon le Grand auteur de la grande formule «Ad virgines sacras» du sacramentaire léonien ¹² n'offrait qu'une démonstration assez faible. En effet tous les mots, sauf un seul, se retrouvent dans le vocabulaire de S. Léon, mais à l'état isolé. Les groupements de mots identi-

¹⁰ Voir note 9. Nous devons quelques indications au Dr. W. Ehlers, membre de la Direction du Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, dont nous le remercions gracieusement.

¹¹ *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV (80)). In Verbindung mit L. Eizenhöfer OSB und P. Siffrin OSB herausgegeben von L. C. Mohlberg OSB, Roma 1956, formule 1104; *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, éd. C. L. Feltoe, Cambridge 1896, pp. 139–140; PL 55. Dans l'édition Mohlberg pp. CVIII–CXI on trouve toutes les indications au sujet des éditions antérieures, qui sont plus ou moins défectueuses.

¹² C. Coebergh, Saint Léon le Grand auteur de la grande formule «Ad virgines sacras» du Sacramentaire Léonien, dans: *Sacris Erudiri*, Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen VI. 2 (1954) pp. 282–326.

ques sont rares. Citons: *diabolica fraus, mortali carne circumdatus, virginitatis filius*. Ils sont trop peu nombreux pour qu'on puisse conclure à l'unité d'auteur. Il faudrait savoir s'ils sont bien caractéristiques de saint Léon. C'est à cette dernière question que nous essayons maintenant de répondre, du moins partiellement. Le groupement des mots: *mortali carne circumdatus*.. On le retrouve ainsi chez saint Léon:

Sermo V, 1 *Mortali enim carne circumdati* . . .

Sermo XLI, 2 Unde quia dum *mortali carne circumdamur* . . .

Sermo LI, 2 nullo modo *mortali adhuc carne circumdati* . . .

Sermo LXXVIII, 2 Quia . . . *fragili carne circumdatus* et in isto *mortis corpore* constitutus . . .

Dans la formule *Ad virgines sacras* N^o 1104 du *Sacramentarium Veronense* on lit:

«quando enim animus *mortali carne circumdatus*
legem naturae libertatem licentiae evinceret . . . »

L'étroite parenté entre le groupement des *trois* mots identiques chez saint Léon de l'une part, et dans la formule *Ad virgines sacras* de l'autre est évident. Eh bien un examen prolongé pendant plusieurs années de *tous les auteurs ecclésiastiques latins* nous a montré que l'on ne retrouve *jamais* chez eux ce même groupement des *trois* mots identiques. Voici le résultat de notre enquête: *S. Augustin, De baptismo lib. IV, 13 ecclesiae vero quae adhuc carnis mortalitatem portat*¹³; *idem: Scripta contra Donatistas, Pars I De baptismo: adiuvet itaque nos orationibus suis in istius carnis mortalitate tamquam in caliginoso nube laborantes*¹⁴. Ensuite: *Joannes Cassianus, Collationes XXII, cap. vii: Primum quia caelestis illius mannae tanta maiestas est, ut nemo hac lutea carne circumdatus per verum meritum ejus edulium, et non ex gratuita Domini largitate percipiat*¹⁵. *ibid., Collatio XXII, cap. ix: Quis velut impenetrabili carne circumdatus tantis proeliorum periculis sine periculo misceatur?*¹⁶ Dans le *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* vol. III, fasciculus V *cesso-cito* l'on trouve seulement: *circumdo*, col. 1127–1133; col. 1132 de *animantium natura et corpore* – *Val. Max. 8. 7, ext. 5 Carneades corpore . . . quasi alieno ut supervacuo (circumd-)atus*.¹⁷ *Hier* (onymus), *epist. 96. 18 anima . . . carne (circumd-)atur* (CSEL liv, lv et lvi Hilberg) p. 178, ep. 96, 18, 2 et *quomodo immaculatum, si anima vitiis sordidata adhuc carne circumdatur*. Résultat frappant car chez *aucun* auteur ecclésiastique, sauf le pape Léon le Grand, on retrouve le groupement des *trois* mots caractéristiques de la formule *Ad virgines sacras mortali carne circumdatus*. Chez *S. Augustin* manque *circumdatus* dans cette circonstance; *Cassien* ni *Jérôme* ne présentent alors *mortalis*. Serait-il téméraire de conclure qu'il s'agit ici bien d'une

¹³ CSEL, 51, p. 237, ligne 26 (Petschenig 1908).

¹⁴ CSEL 51, p. 342, ligne 10.

¹⁵ J. Cassianus, *Collationes*, PL 49, col. 1231 (=Collatio XXII, cap. vii).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, PL 49, col. 1232 (=Collatio XXII, cap. ix).

¹⁷ TLL vol. III, fasc. v *cesso-cito*; *circumdo*, col. 1127–1133.

expression caractéristique du langage de saint Léon le Grand lui-même? Dans notre essai de démonstration antérieur nous avions réuni nous semblait-il déjà un nombre non négligeable de rapprochements entre la formule *Ad virgines sacras* et le vocabulaire ainsi que les figures de style et le cursus de Léon. Il y a évidemment deux écueils à éviter, premièrement il ne faut pas conclure trop vite à l'unité d'auteur, c'est à dire qu'il faut éviter une affirmation trop catégorique. Mais de l'autre part l'hypercritique n'est *aucunement* profitable. Ici il ne s'agit aucunement d'une affirmation catégorique, mais seulement d'un essai de corroborer discrètement une hypothèse qui mérite peut-être l'attention des érudits. Encore une remarque. Lorsqu'il s'agit par exemple de prouver la paternité littéraire du *De Sacramentis* de saint Ambroise, la tâche est *quatre fois plus facile*, étant donné l'étendue quatre fois plus grande des œuvres d'Ambroise par rapport à celles de saint Léon. Pourtant il faut rester discret et préférer plutôt l'adage: «Ignorabimus», et conclure pour le moins que la fameuse formula *Ad virgines sacras* appartient à une sphère de culture que l'on peut appeler: «léoniennes», sans préciser davantage, sauf qu'il s'agit d'une composition romaine de la première moitié du V^e siècle. On fait observer que des rapprochements tels que *aemula integritatis angelicae* avec *imiteris angelos* ne prouvent absolument rien. Il nous semble pourtant qu'au point de vue psychologique on ne peut pas négliger de tenir compte de la différence considérable entre l'auditoire mêlé auquel Léon s'adresse dans ses sermons et la circonstance très particulière dans laquelle le pontife s'adresse aux vierges à consacrer. Des nuances appropriées dans les expressions qui présentent alors seulement des rapprochements idéologiques varient évidemment dans ces circonstances diverses. Alors que dans la formule adressée aux vierges l'orateur insiste sur la virginité *perpétuelle*, «qui sic *perpetuae virgininitatis* est *sponsus* quemadmodum *perpetuae virgininitatis* est *filius*», dans un sermon s'adressant au peuple chrétien en général l'orateur pouvait se contenter d'une expression telle que: «Diligite castimoniae puritatem quia Christus *virgininitatis* est *filius*», expression un peu plus ample que «*virginis filius*», mais quant au fond équivalente. Le rythme et le cursus sont souvent responsable du choix des mots, et réservent parfois des surprises inattendues.¹⁸

¹⁸ Quant au vocabulaire de saint Léon l'on trouve *passim* chez lui le vocable *devotus*. Dans la formule *Ad virgines sacras*, éd. Mohlberg, n° 1104, p. 139, ligne 2—3 on trouve les mots: «*aemula integritatis angelicae, illius thalamo, illius cubiculo se devovit, qui sic perpetuae virgininitatis est sponsus, quemadmodum perpetuae virgininitatis est filius*». Le *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL) vol. V. pars I D (1909—1934) mentionne *devoveo* (col. 881) l.i.q. *consecrare* . . . ex. gr. *Auson(ius) devotae virgininitatis amor* (165, 3); *idem*: 165, tit. *virgo devota* (Victricius 5); *Leo Magnus, sermo* 40, 1; *Pase(io) Petri: amabilius sibi esse pro castitate succumbere, quam Christum, cui devoverant castimoniam, recusare*; col. 883, ligne 11 *Pass. Petri* 2 *castitati se devoverentes, se domino devoverunt*. Cette lecture a pu influencer l'auteur de la formule *Ad virginis sacras*. Mais arrivés non loin de la fin d'une vie vouée en grande partie aux recherches dans le domaine de l'histoire de la liturgie chrétienne, un sentiment de scepticisme quant aux résultats obtenus nous envahit.

Observations on a Christmas Preface (Ve 1241) in the *Sacramentarium Veronense*

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It is a well-known fact that section XL of the venerable *Sacramentarium Veronense*¹ contains a series of nine masses for the feast of Christmas and its vigil which are of considerable interest to the historian of the Roman liturgy, as well as to those seeking a greater understanding of the theology of liturgy and the theology of the Incarnation. Of the various formulae contained therein perhaps the most intriguing are the nine prefaces, all of which present certain peculiarities, of which something has been said – all too briefly – by D. M. Hope in his study of the Leonine Sacramentary².

In the first place, they are fairly distinct to the *Veronense*, having no parallels, except in one instance (Ve 1250 corresponds to n. 20 in Mohlberg's edition of the *Gelasianum Vetus*), in any of the other early sacramentaries. Second, they all reflect those traits of euchological composition which, according to Stuiber³, would indicate a later stage of development of the eucharistic prayer. Unlike the older eucharistic prayers, in which a more compendious statement of the whole economy of salvation is found, these prefaces are all highly thematic, stressing only one aspect of the redemptive mystery, in this case, the Incarnation. Further, both 1245 and 1247 appear to be nothing more than excellent examples of scriptural centonization, while 1250 seems to be simply a paraphrase of the *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae propitio* of the Roman Canon. Except for 1241, of which more will be said in a moment, the remaining prefaces present a rather dense theology of the Incarnation, interlarded with homiletic exhortation. These several characteristics would point to an age of composition which was concerned with an orthodox theological formulation of the Church's belief concerning the twofold nature of Jesus Christ, a period which is generally assumed to have begun with the Council of Chalcedon.

There has, of course, been considerable discussion as to the authorship of

¹ In this paper references throughout are to the critical edition of L. C. Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes I* (Rome, 1956).

² The Leonine Sacramentary. A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose (Oxford, 1971), pp. 95–99.

³ Cf. A. Stuiber, *Libelli Sacramentorum Romani. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sogenannten Sacramentarium Leonianum = Theophaneia*, 6 (Bonn, 1950), pp. 63–67.

these Christmas texts, a topic which need not be rehearsed here⁴. It may be said in passing, though, that in light of Chavasse's recent study of the way Leo the Great incorporates scriptural and liturgical citations into his Sermons⁵, there would appear to be no case for ascribing 1245, 1247, and 1250 to that illustrious pontiff. But the other prefaces of this series are a different matter, for they fairly bristle with ideas, grammatical and stylistic turns of phrases, and vocabulary which pervade Leo's Sermons. Even though Chavasse leans towards the anteriority of the liturgical text as an argument for the orthodoxy of Leo's theology, the question of mutual dependence nevertheless still remains open. But since it is clear that both Leo's writings and these prefaces proceed from a common theological milieu, it seems reasonable to turn to both for mutual clarification of thought and language. This procedure would seem particularly appropriate as regards the preface I would now like to discuss in greater detail, Ve 1241.

Both Coebergh⁶ and Lang⁷ have constructed reasonable hypotheses for Gelasian and Leonine origin, respectively, of this preface, using as the basis of their argument a number of literary parallels. Employing other criteria, Chavasse would claim the preface as part of a group of four masses composed by Vigilus for the Christmas celebration of the year 537⁸. Whoever may have been responsible for the final redaction, nothing prevents us from postulating an original nucleus (which I suspect lies in the first incise), which was then available for subsequent modification, whether by Leo, Gelasius, or Vigilus. However this may be, it is Leo alone, rather than the other two, who is most helpful in our reading of the preface. Before going on, let me give the text in question.

Uere dignum: quoniam quidquid christianae professionis deuotione celebratur, de hac sumit sollemnitate principium et in huius muneris mysterio continetur. Hoc in ipsis generis humani parentibus declaratum est, apostolo praetestante cum de primis hominibus loqueretur: sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia . . .

Simply a first reading will show that the prayer is moving on two levels:

⁴ Cf. E. Bourque, *Etude sur les sacramentaires romaines*, I. Les textes primitifs (Città del Vaticano, 1948), p. 129; A. Stuiber, *op. cit.*, p. 63; T. Piccari, *Il Tomus ad Flavianum ed il cosiddetto Sacramentarium Leonianum nel Magisterium Ecclesiae dei ss. V-VI: Angelicum*, 29 (1952), 76-109; A. Lang, *Leo der Grosse und die Texte des Altgelasianums mit Berücksichtigung des Sacramentarium Leonianum und des Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Steyl, 1957), pp. 330-348; Ig. M. Calabuig Adan, *Los Formularios V-IX de la Sección XL del Sacramentario de Verona* (Roma, 1964).

⁵ Cf. A. Chavasse, *Dans sa prédication, saint Léon le Grand a-t-il utilisé des sources liturgiques?*: *Mélanges liturgiques Bernard Botte* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 71-74. Cf. also A. Chavasse, *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta = Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXXXVIII* (Turnhout, 1973), p. ccxviii.

⁶ Cf. C. Coebergh, *S. Gélase Ier auteur principal du soi-disant Sacramentaire Léonien*: *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 64 (1950), 224-226.

⁷ Cf. A. Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-242.

⁸ Cf. A. Chavasse, *Messes du pape Vigile dans le sacramentaire léonien*: *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 64 (1950), p. 205.

the historical plane of the first contact of the world with the redemptive mystery of the Incarnation, and the liturgical level of the commemorative celebration of the same saving reality. The interplay of both levels – a literary technique involving the same or similar words and expressions – is the best indication that they must be taken together as one efficacious reality, and that to try to separate the two would have the effect not only of destroying the preface as a literary composition, but also of distorting the theological truth which it intends to express.

What is interesting in the preface is the way the author simply accepts St. Paul's reading of Genesis (Eph 5, 32; Gen 2, 24) as a direct reference to the Incarnation. Leo, in fact, has the same interpretation. In Letter 59, addressed to the clergy and people of Constantinople, Leo is intent on showing that Christ, in his Incarnation, assumed a real human nature:

Quicumque in Christo non confitetur corpus humanum noverit se mysterio incarnationis indignum, nec eius sacramenti habere consortium, quod Apostolus praedicat, dicens: "Quia membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius. Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una". Et exponens quid per hoc significaretur, adiecit: "Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia." Ab ipso ergo principio generis humani, omnibus hominibus Christus est denuntiatus in carne venturus.

Going on to illustrate the magnanimity of God's action, Leo applies the parable of the wedding-feast (Mt 22, 1–14) to the Incarnation, seeing here the marriage of the Word and humanity. All those who deny the reality of Christ's human nature would be excluded from the wedding-feast and have no part of Christ. A few lines further on Leo again emphasises the physical reality of Jesus' body: *efficiatur homo corpus Christi, quia et Christus corpus est hominis*. One of Leo's Christmas sermons (Sermon 25, 5) has a remarkable passage which is very redolent both in thought, content and choice of vocabulary of Letter 59 and preface 1241. Here, too, Leo wants to stress that man's union with God is achieved precisely through Christ's fleshly existence:

Agnoscat igitur catholica fides in humilitate Domini gloriam suam, et de salutis suae sacramentis gaudeat Ecclesia, quae corpus est Christi, quia nisi Verbum Dei caro fieret et habitaret in nobis, nisi in communionem creaturae Creator ipse descenderet, et vetustatem humanam ad novum principium sua natiuitate reuocaret, regnaret mors ab Adam usque in finem . . .

Without a doubt, for Leo, as well as for the author of 1241, the great *sacramentum* is the mystical union of Christ with mankind, "pointed to by the words and actions of the patriarchs", as the preface goes on to say, "reinforced by the ordinances of the Old Law, foretold by all the prophets, epitome of the ritual symbols of the former covenant, conferral of present grace, promise of future blessings".

If *sacramentum* of 1241 refers to the historical event of the Incarnation, theologically conceived, it is the liturgical dimension of this mystery of salvation which is emphasized by the cultic terms used in the first statement

of the preface. *Sollemnitatis*, an unassuming word, certainly is a very complex liturgical expression, embracing all the inner and external elements which go to make up the whole liturgical celebration or "mystery"⁹. To say, as our preface does, that the present solemnity is the beginning and source of all that Christian faith celebrates in its public worship would have very little meaning if *sollemnitatis* were to mean nothing more than the external festivity commemorating a by-gone event. Rather it would seem that the Christmas solemnity is truly a *principium* because in the very act of celebration, of which the eucharist is the central act, the Incarnation-*principium* is actualized in and by the Church, and thus made a present reality from which the Christian faith can draw its vitality. Although the Incarnation is itself the beginning and perfection of a Christian's faith (cf. 1248: *tribuisti totius religionis initium perfectionemque constare*), nevertheless it becomes existentially present and active for the Christian through the liturgical solemnity (cf. 1254: *in his sollemniis constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis*; and 1241: *in huius muneris mysterio continetur*).

Actually, this latter phrase is open to several interpretations, since both *munus* and *mysterium* have a wide spectrum of meaning. In the *Veronense*, *mysterium*, with its partner *sacramentum*, is used variously in a number of ways: to refer to the entire economy of salvation, to one or the other historical event in the life of Christ, to the liturgical celebration of the same, in a general way to the rites both of the Old and the New Law, more specifically to the eucharistic action, and rarely, to the beliefs, or mysteries of faith. *Munus*, too, is rather polyvalent. When it occurs in the *oratio super oblata* it normally refers to the material gifts placed on the altar or to the act of offering itself. In the postcommunion prayers *munus* refers to the consecrated species received in communion. Occasionally it refers to the entire eucharistic rite or the liturgical solemnity itself.

The interpretation of *munus* in 1241, however, would seem to lie in another direction, namely as the Latin rendering, along with *donum*, *donatio*, and especially *gratia*, for the Greek *χάρισμα*, to express God's utterly gracious favors and benefactions towards men¹⁰. Instances of this meaning of *munus* are found throughout the *Veronense*, but three from the Christmas section are apposite: 1256: *ut suscipiendo muneri tuo per ipsum munus aplemur*; 1253: *sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia praeuenimus, sic eius munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes*; and especially 1255, with its reference to the Incarnation-*principium*: *mysterium, quod extitit mundo salutare, principalis recordatione muneris adsequamur*. In this connection Leo, in his sixth Christmas sermon (Sermon 26, 4), talks about the celebration of our own

⁹ Cf. A. Pernigotto-Cego, *Cos'è la Festa cristiana? Alle sorgenti liturgiche: il concetto e il valore teologico della "Solennità" nel Sacramentario Veronese: Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 87 (1973), pp. 75-120.

¹⁰ Cf. C. Mohrmann, *Le problème du vocabulaire chrétien: Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, I (Roma, 1961), p. 117.

birth to new life on the very day when the saving mystery of Christ's Incarnation is "renewed":

... *renouat tamen nobis hodierna festiuitas nati Iesu ex Maria uirgine sacra primordia, et dum Saluatoris nostri adoramus ortum, inuenimur nos nostrum celebrare principium.*

And further on in the same sermon God's gift is expressed in words peculiarly reminiscent of our preface: *Magnum est huius muneris sacramentum, et omnia dona excedit hoc donum.*

One other word which requires some explanation is *continetur*. Unfortunately, the only two other instances of this word in the *Veronense* are of little help. Therefore, again we must be grateful to St. Leo for several illuminating passages. Writing to Emperor Marcian about the computation of Easter, he underlines the special efficacy of the paschal celebration:

Paschale etenim festum, quo sacramentum salutis maxime continetur, quamuis in primo semper mense celebrandum sit, ita tamen est lunaris cursus conditione mutabile (Letter 121, 1).

The second citation is from *Sermo 4 de Passione Domini: Passio igitur Christi salutis nostrae continet sacramentum* ... (Sermon 55, 1). A similar expression is used in reference to Pentecost: *magna mysteria in se et ueterum sacramentorum continens et nouorum* (Sermon 75, 1).

Dom de Soos has found in Leo's use of *continere* the idea of an efficacious presence¹¹, and since the liturgical context of all three instances is so similar to that of the Christmas preface 1241, we may legitimately suppose that the same meaning is operative in the phrase *in huius muneris mysterio continetur*, which thus appears as an extraordinarily rich expression, indicating the Church's belief about the real, efficacious presence of the Incarnation, particularly in the mystery of worship.

One final remark about the syntax of this phrase: in the context *muneris* makes best sense as an objective genitive, the whole phrase having the meaning of "is contained in the celebration of this saving-grace". A *genitivus inversus* would have the same result, giving *munus* a cultic value, which it would have to some extent in a preface formula. Interpreted as a *genitivus inhaerentiae*, *muneris* would be identified with *mysterio*, the whole being simply an emphatic stylistic way of saying "in the present liturgical celebration". But from all that has been said, it seems preferable to relate *munus* to the great saving mystery of the economy of salvation, man's union with God achieved in the Incarnation of Christ, which is for Christian faith, the *principium* of new life in Christ, made an actively-present reality in and through the liturgical solemnity.

The few observations recorded here relative to only one Christmas preface may serve as a modest indication of the profound liturgical theology which lies behind section XL of the *Veronense*. The remaining prefaces of this section surely warrant like attention.

¹¹ Cf. M.-B. de Soos, *Le mystère liturgique d'après saint Léon le Grand* = *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 34 (Münster/Westf., 1958), p. 83.

Pseudonymity and Authenticity, with special reference to the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom

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Attributions of authorship, as far as liturgies are concerned, fall into several classes. One class comprises liturgies attributed to one or all of the Apostles, or to other notable figures, usually of the apostolic or subapostolic ages, but including figures of a later date among the later liturgies. Examples are *The Apostolic Constitutions*, the Liturgies of the Twelve Apostles (Syriac and Maronite), Addai and Mari, St James, St Mark, St Matthew, St Ignatius, and the Ethiopian and Syriac Liturgies of St John Chrysostom, which have nothing in common with the standard Greek liturgy of that name. Few scholars today will wish to defend these attributions. They are recognized as frankly pseudonymous: the name was chosen in order to gain authority for the liturgy concerned.

Another class shares the characteristic that the attribution is in all probability correct. With these it is rather a question of there being no possible objection to the attribution, rather than of positive reasons for accepting it as authentic. This applies to the great majority of Syriac anaphoras.

Between these two classes lies a third, much more interesting set of attributions, which may be either pseudonymous or authentic. The author concerned was sufficiently well-known to attract attention to the liturgy, which arouses suspicions of pseudonymity; but he also flourished at the right time and the right place for the ascription to be authentic. In this class are the liturgies attributed to St Basil, St John Chrysostom, St Gregory Nazianzen, Sarapion, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and St Cyril (though in the case of the Syriac St Cyril, the claim to authenticity would be easier to assess if we knew whether Cyril of Jerusalem was meant, or Cyril of Alexandria). To this class also belongs the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, despite its claims to apostolicity.

We have been speaking of 'liturgies', but the question must be faced: what do we mean by 'an authentic liturgy'? Do we mean the whole liturgy? Or merely the anaphora? Or only part of the anaphora? B. Ch. Mercier, the editor of St James, wrote: 'Quand une liturgie est attribuée à une personne, il s'agit de l'anaphore'¹ ('When a liturgy is attributed to a person, it means the anaphora'). While this is obviously untrue of the last five hun-

¹ La Liturgie grecque de saint Jacques, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 26 (1947), p. 121.

dred years, it may well be true of the great majority of Eastern attributions. Clearly each case has to be taken on its own merits. For this short paper I have taken St John Chrysostom as a typical example because the question of authorship has recently been raised by Bishop Gottfried Wagner.² At least since Dom Hieronymus Engberding's article of 1937³, in which he compared St John Chrysostom with the Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles, scholars have tended to accept St John Chrysostom as pseudonymous without further discussion. This conclusion does not necessarily follow from Engberding's investigations, which only suggest a common source for the two anaphoras; but Alphonse Raes believes The Twelve Apostles to be much older than St John Chrysostom⁴; and so did Gabriel Khoury-Sarkis⁵. Frans van de Pavard, again, in his massive discussion of the saint's allusions to the liturgy of Antioch in his sermons, simply refers to the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom as 'Pseudo-Chrysostomos'⁶. Wagner, on the other hand, argues that The Twelve Apostles is a late, perhaps seventh-century, adaptation of St John Chrysostom, made at the time of its translation into Syriac; and he has, at the very least, successfully re-opened the question.

The first point to clear up is, how much of the liturgy do the manuscripts actually attribute to Chrysostom? Nowadays, of course, the whole liturgy bears his name, and this is already the case in the tenth-century Uspensky manuscript. This, however, is an isolated instance at that period, of which a much more typical example is the late eighth-century Barberini manuscript⁷. This first mentions Chrysostom in connection with the Prayer of the Catechumens, and then only in these words: 'Prayer of the catechumens before the holy anaphora of Chrysostom'. Raes says all 'agree in taking *Chrysostom* with *prayer* and not with *anaphora*'; but the natural interpretation of this title is that here is a prayer of unspecified authorship for use before the anaphora of Chrysostom. It is at this point that the liturgy of St Basil diverges from that of St John Chrysostom, and the title fits this circumstance exactly. The prayer itself is clearly secondary, based on material which was already in existence in Chrysostom's time.

Chrysostom's name appears next with the title 'Prayer of the Proskomide of St John Chrysostom', but not at the anaphora, which is natural if this has already been ascribed to him in the first title. It is not clear whether this title is to be taken literally, 'Chrysostom's Prayer of the Proskomide',

² Der Ursprung der Chrysostomusliturgie (Münster 1973).

³ 'Die syrische Anaphora der zwölf Apostel . . .', in *Oriens Christianus*, 34 (1937), pp. 213-247.

⁴ 'L'Authenticité de la Liturgie byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome', in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 24 (1958), pp. 5-16.

⁵ 'L'Origine syrienne de l'anaphore byzantine de saint Jean Chrysostome', in *L'Orient Syrien*, 7 (1962), pp. 3-68.

⁶ Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiochien und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des IV. Jahrhunderts (Rome 1970).

⁷ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford 1896), pp. 309-344.

or as in the previous case, 'Proskomide Prayer (for use with the anaphora) of Chrysostom'. Similar titles appear in the Liturgies of St Basil and St James in a form which supports the former rendering.

Lastly, we find the title *Εὐχὴ διαισθάμενος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*⁸, which appears quite unambiguous. The prayer begins with a dramatic rhetorical question quite in the style of the great preacher. The presence of the word *θεοτόκος*, which Chrysostom never uses, need not disprove the attribution; it merely shows that, even if it is his, later hands have retouched it. (This prayer is ignored by Wagner; was he misled by Raes, who states that it is lacking⁹?)

Thus the manuscripts do not give us clear guidance. But they answer one of our questions: an attribution does not necessarily cover the whole liturgy. Here it is a question of the anaphora and one other prayer, possibly two, being Chrysostom's; only later did this attribution spread to cover the whole liturgy. It is much easier to accept this original limited attribution than the later comprehensive one. But how can we check the veracity of the manuscripts? By what criteria can we establish or deny the authenticity of any anaphora whose attribution is open to doubt?

One method is to search the genuine writings of the author concerned for parallels to the language and ideas of the anaphora. This method was applied to the Liturgy of St Basil by Engberding in 1932¹⁰, and his conclusions have been wellnigh universally accepted. The anaphora of St Basil, or at any rate the first half of it (all that Engberding dealt with), shows what appear to be unmistakable traces of the hand of Basil of Caesarea. Confirmatory evidence was supplied in 1960 by Dom Bernard Capelle¹¹. The same method has been applied to the Armenian anaphoras and the writings of Gregory Nazianzen¹²; to the anaphora of Hippolytus by Dom R. H. Connolly¹³; to Theodore by F. E. Brightman¹⁴; and now to the anaphora of St John Chrysostom by Bishop Wagner. He was not the first to do this, but he has done it much more thoroughly than his predecessors. In all these cases, striking parallels have been brought forward. But as I have urged in a review of Wagner's book, they must be regarded with caution. Jungmann reports that 'a talk with Fr Engberding in November 1942 convinced me that the author wished his chain of reasoning and his deductions to be considered merely an hypothesis'¹⁵; and Raes also points out some difficulties. What in fact do such parallels prove?

⁸ Ibid., p. 343, line 15f.

⁹ Raes, art. cit. (note 4), p. 7.

¹⁰ Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie (Münster 1932).

¹¹ 'Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et Saint Basile', in J. Doreste et E. Lanne, Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile (Louvain 1960), pp. 45-74.

¹² G. Winkler, 'Zur Geschichte des armenischen Gottesdienstes', in *Oriens Christianus*, 58 (1974), pp. 154-172.

¹³ 'The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 39 (1938), pp. 350-369.

¹⁴ 'The Anaphora of Theodore', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 31 (1930), pp. 160-164.

¹⁵ The Mass of the Roman Rite, p. 38, n. 9.

The presence of an identical phrase in a liturgy and in the writings of a Father may indeed be explained as evidence of common authorship; but it may also be that the Father is quoting from the liturgy. This is particularly probable in the case of Chrysostom, who in his sermons frequently appeals to phrases in the liturgy – van de Paverd presents over 150 such passages. In these cases there is usually no doubt that he is quoting from the liturgy, because he specifically says that he is doing so. Usually, but not always; which gives added plausibility to Wagner's parallels with the anaphora. These concern themes of theological importance: the universality of the New Covenant, the incomprehensibility of God, the doctrine of the Trinity (already well-developed), creation *ex nihilo*, the reversal of the Fall. All these are found in the anaphora and recur in the saint's sermons, some of them regularly. Their appearance in any anaphora composed by him would be natural, indeed predictable. So would a reference to John 3.16, a favourite text of the preacher's which duly appears in the anaphora. But it can also be convincingly argued that Chrysostom refers to these themes so often precisely because they were already familiar to him and to his hearers from their presence in the liturgy. Similarly with the unusual phrase *οὐκ ἀπέστῃς πάντα ποιῶν* ('you left no stone unturned'): it may be in the anaphora because it was a favourite phrase of Chrysostom's, or it may have been a favourite phrase of Chrysostom's because it was in the anaphora. Anglican preachers frequently use Prayer Book expressions, almost unconsciously.

Another possible explanation of such parallels is that both sides are drawing on a common source. This need not be an older written document, but may consist simply of words and phrases which were 'in the air' at that time. To put this point in contemporary terms, an anonymous eucharistic prayer written *circa* 1970 might well address God as 'Ground of our being', and refer to Jesus as 'The man for others'; but it would be hazardous to assume forthwith that the prayer had actually been composed by bishop John Robinson. An excellent example of this is provided by what at first sight is one of the most striking of Wagner's parallels. This has a convincing *Sitz im Leben* ready to hand in the Anomoean controversy, to which Chrysostom devoted several sermons, and which could account for the outbreak of apophatic adjectives early in the anaphora: *ἀνέκφραστος*, *ἀπεριόρητος*, *ἀόρατος*, *ἀκατάληπτος*. These also appear in the same order in one of Chrysostom's sermons against the Anomoeans¹⁶, while in *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*¹⁷ he repeats them and adds five more: *ἀνώλεθρος*, *ἀναλλοίωτος*, *ἄναρχος*, *ἀτελέντητος*, and *ἄρρητος*. Further, be it noted that *ἄναρχος*, *ἀόρατος*, *ἀκατάληπτος* and *ἀναλλοίωτος* occur also at the corresponding point in the Liturgy of St Basil, which adds *ἀπερὶγραπτος* for good measure. Engberding ascribes the presence of the first two words to St Basil himself; and few have

¹⁶ Migne, PG, 48, col. 720 A.

¹⁷ Migne, PG, 52, col. 484 C.

ventured to disagree. St Basil also wrote against Eunomius; and if he is allowed to have inserted such terminology into an anaphora, why not Chrysostom equally?

But before we accept the saint's authorship of the anaphora as conclusively proved, the fact must be taken into account that words of this type crop up in groups all over the place: the *Apostolic Constitutions* has seven; Sarapion has, among others, ἀνέκφρατος and ἀόρατος; St James has ἀκατάληπτος. In the *Lexicon of Patristic Greek* ἀόρατος is described as a 'stock epithet after S. Paul'. It already occurs in Ignatius and Origen; and, together with ἀκατάληπτος, in a group of six in Athenagoras, two centuries before Chrysostom.¹⁸ In short, they are not necessarily anti-Anomoean words at all. The fact is that they are drawn from what the Germans conveniently call *Formelgut*, the common stock of phrases; and any orthodox bishop composing an anaphora in the latter part of the fourth century might well have thrown in a handful of these sonorous adjectives, indeed could hardly have avoided doing so. The vocabulary of the anaphora, then, does not inevitably point to Chrysostom, or even to his period.

Yet one other explanation of the parallels must be mentioned, that some are due to assimilation with the Liturgy of St Basil; but the lack of early manuscripts makes it impossible to test this suggestion.

We have used the phrase 'composing an anaphora'; but we need to define more closely what we mean by that at the period we are discussing. Similarly, to speak of 'quoting from a liturgy' implies the existence of a fixed form from which to quote; were such forms already in existence? To what extent had the anaphora become stereotyped, and how much was still left to the δύναμις of the bishop? Hippolytus already provides a complete, written-out form, but then (at any rate in the Oriental versions) allows the celebrant complete freedom to compose his own prayer, provided he remains orthodox. This may well have continued to be the situation during our period; and it should be noted that all these possibly authentic attributions, except Hippolytus, fall within the century from 350 to 450, a period which is generally regarded as that within which the great eucharistic prayers of East and West were beginning to take definite shape, however much subsequent revision may have befallen them. In Africa the first 'regulations for the adoption of fixed liturgical formularies' were being made in order to avoid the intrusion of heretical phrases, at councils in 393 and 407.¹⁹ A century later a candidate for the episcopate is required to *learn* and *repeat* the anaphora²⁰, and the era of conceived prayer is clearly over. But in the East in our period there was still some freedom of composition; and no doubt

¹⁸ Legatio, 10. 1 (Migne, PG, 6, col. 908 B).

¹⁹ M. H. Shepherd, 'The Formation and Influence of the Antiochene Liturgy', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), p. 24.

²⁰ Wagner, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 33.

there was a desire to record the prayers of local leaders. Indeed the authors themselves probably wished to preserve their more successful efforts.

But likewise at this stage in history there were already considerable limitations on the bishop's freedom to improvise. Origen refers to certain conventions (*συνθήκαι*) within which the bishop was expected to remain, even at that early date²¹. By our period the conventions certainly required the inclusion in the prayer of the Sanctus (at any rate in the East) and the Institution Narrative (everywhere). In Syria they also required an anamnesis of the type already found in the *Apostolic Tradition*, and a consecratory epiclesis, which St Basil says was handed down by unwritten tradition.²² Tradition still dictated allusions to creation and redemption, though St Basil laid more stress on the latter. The intercessions were largely drawn from the *Formelgut*; and this also supplied the vocabulary for the approach to the Sanctus. The concluding doxology tended to become stereotyped from an early date. Thus a fourth-century bishop had really little freedom of action, and his contribution must in practice have consisted of relatively short passages slotted into an existing framework. This is true even of so individualistic an affair as the *εὐχὴ προσφύρον* attributed to Sarapion. It is remarkable, in the circumstances, that the great anaphoras manage to display their special characteristics to such an extent.

One last criterion is that of style. This necessarily requires a more subjective judgment, but it might turn out to be the most useful criterion of all. Raes writes that 'the language' of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom 'belongs to the better postclassical period'²³, and this judgment is surely a pointer towards authenticity. It is certainly superior to its kinsman, the Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles, as a literary creation, notably in its smooth transitions, which anyone who has spent much time on the composition of liturgical prayers will agree to be the hardest part of the task. A thorough stylistic investigation which also took account of St Basil, St James, and the Apostolic Constitutions might well yield conclusive results.

We have reached no firm decision about the authenticity or otherwise of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. Such was not my intention. What has, I hope, become clear is that there are several criteria of authenticity which must all be applied in assessing the authenticity of an anaphora. What is its relationship to other anaphoras? What do the manuscripts actually claim? Can convincing parallels be drawn from the unchallenged writings of the author concerned? Is it certain that these are not really quotations from the liturgy? How much of the phraseology reflects the common interests of the time? Has the text undergone much alteration in

²¹ R. P. C. Hanson, 'The Liberty of the Bishop to improvise prayer in the Eucharist', in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 15 (1961), pp. 173–176.

²² *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27. 66.

²³ *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem* (Rome 1947), p. 45.

later centuries? Does the style suggest that of the putative author? The relative weight to be placed on the answers to these various questions will be a matter of opinion. It may be said at once that to accept someone's authorship of parts of the anaphora is a good deal easier than to accept his authorship of the entire liturgy. Also, that with the knowledge at our disposal it appears unlikely that we shall ever be able to attain to certainty on this point. Often we must remain content with a modest degree of probability. Above all, let us beware of imperceptibly transforming attractive hypotheses into 'assured results'.

Sacratissimi Martyres: an early Irish Latin Hymn

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One of the hymns included in the seventh-century Antiphonary of Bangor is entitled *Ymnum in natale martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinum*¹. It comprises nine stanzas, each of which consists of three lines and a variable refrain. The lines, including the refrains, vary in length from eleven to fifteen syllables. Its metrical form appears to be unique in the world of Latin hymnody and it lacks almost entirely the characteristic Irish adornment of rhyme and alliteration.

Wilhelm Meyer attempted to prove, with great brilliance and imagination, that the hymn is a strictly rhythmical one, written in anapaestic accentual feet, in imitation of certain Greek hymns in honour of the martyrs². He remarked, first of all, that this hymn stands apart from the rest of Hiberno-Latin rhythmical poetry. Even though the lines, in his view, generally consist of twelve syllables, they are not simply syllabic as in other Hiberno-Latin hymns, but are constructed of accentual feet:

Sacratissimi mártýres súmmi déi
tibi sáncti proclámant: allélúfa

This anapaestic pattern is recognizable in many lines and it can easily be restored in some others; for example,

Armīs spiritalibus munita mēte

can be easily corrected to:

Spiritálibus ármis muníta ménte

The final anapaest is replaced by an amphibrach, because in Latin no line can end in an accentual anapaest: *muníta menté* is impossible.

¹ *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F. E. Warren, 2 vols. = HBS 4 and 10 (London 1893 – 1895). Vol. I, Facsimile, fol. 12^v–13; Vol. II, p. 12–13. A more detailed study of this hymn, as well as of the other hymns and collects of the manuscript, will be found in the author's forthcoming study of the origin and sources of the Antiphonary.

² W. Meyer, 'Die Verskunst der Iren in rhythmischen lateinischen Gedichten', *Nachrichten von der kgl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1916) 612–616.

This type of anapaestic rhythmical line was unheard of in Latin hymnody, but it was frequently used by the Greeks in their rhythmical poetry. Meyer wondered, therefore, whether *Sacratissimi martyres* was not a translation from a Greek original. He failed to discover any such original, but he did find the same anapaestic line used in hymns in praise of the martyrs, with *alleluia* also in the refrain. The particular tone in which these hymns were written was called *autòs mónos*, which consisted of eight lines followed by a refrain. The lines varied in length from ten to twelve syllables and were all in anapaestic rhythm apart from the fifth line, which was constructed of accentual iambs. Meyer considered the sixth line as being particularly significant: it had twelve syllables and it was frequently accented in exactly the same way as the lines of *Sacratissimi martyres* (in Meyer's view), that is, three anapaests followed by an amphibrach. Meyer concluded that this must have been the model according to which our hymn was composed. An Irishman heard a Greek hymn in praise of the martyrs composed in the tone *autòs mónos* and he conceived the desire to write something similar in Latin. To simplify the task, he chose one line of the Greek hymn as his structural model and repeated it four times in each stanza. The last word in the fourth line is always *allélúia*.

Meyer's conclusion, which he regarded as certain, has been accepted as such by subsequent authorities. But I think his argument is unsatisfactory and inconclusive. In the first place, it is *a priori* unlikely that a seventh-century Irish author would have acquired such knowledge of Greek as is taken for granted in Meyer's explanation of the hymn. Above all, it is clear from the hymn itself and from the manner in which Meyer had to correct it to suit his hypothesis that the composition of the hymn in anapaestic accentual feet was never intended by the author. Meyer found it easy to correct such lines as *Armīs spiritalibus munita mente*, but it is difficult to appreciate how such "scribal errors" were possible when, presumably, the same scribes knew the hymn by heart, since they chanted it every Saturday at matins. The fact that the scribe wrote *Armīs spiritalibus* and that it was left uncorrected is clear enough indication that an anapaestic rhythm never entered their minds. Was it intended by the original author and subsequently forgotten? The answer to this question is found in the hymn itself, where out of the total 36 lines only 19 have, without correction, an anapaestic rhythm. This total of 19 anapaestic lines includes the seven repetitions of the refrain:

tibi sánc̃ti proclámant (*al.* canébant): allélúia

and it includes such lines as:

4,3 qui cum ípsa crucis pateréntur mórtē
9,2 ut in ípsius glóriam cósummémur

Seven of the remaining seventeen lines defy correction to an anapaestic rhythm, but Meyer proposed correct readings for the other ten lines, which affect every stanza except the first. I think it is unacceptable that the hymn could have become so totally corrupt between the time of its composition—some time in the seventh century, according to Meyer—and the date of its incorporation into the Antiphonary of Bangor.

How, then, are we to explain the appearance of this strange rhythmical form, for which there is no model in Latin hymnody? Firstly, it is necessary to point out that it is not so unique in form as has been supposed. There are over twenty other items in the Antiphonary which, in rhythmical form, correspond to it exactly. These other items are the many rhythmical collects and antiphons destined, along with *Sacratissimi martyres*, for the morning office at Bangor. The number of lines in these pieces can be either two, or three, or four; the number of syllables in each line varies from ten to sixteen, though it is generally between ten and thirteen. Many of the lines have a partly-anapaestic rhythm. One example will have to suffice here to show the structural similarity:

Collectio super evangelium
Diluculo lucis auctore resurgente
exultémus in dómno devicta morte,
quo peccáta possímus semper obire
vitaeque ambulemus in novitate³.

The key to the understanding of this rhythmical verse is not to be sought in rhythmic Greek models, but in native Irish vernacular poetry. The Irish literary tradition always had a preference for poetry rather than prose, and poetry was used as the favoured medium of expression for every subject thought worthy of discussion. The earliest type of poetry, which pre-dated the introduction of Christianity, consisted of certain rhythmical patterns and made plentiful use of alliteration for purposes of binding and decoration. The distinction between this poetry and rhetorical prose is not always clear-cut, but the poetic form is readily recognizable in the case of poems which were composed in short lines of almost identical rhythm with regular alliteration. Gerard Murphy describes the metrical form of these poems:

“Each short line ... commonly contains two or three stressed feet; the final foot in each line commonly has the rhythm — — (though not in all examples), and a line of slightly different build may be used to mark off a section; there is commonly alliteration between words in each short line, and almost always between the last word of each short line and the first word of the next”⁴.

³ Warren, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 26.

⁴ G. Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin 1961), p. 3.

Stress and alliteration were, therefore, the chief features of the earliest Irish verse. The introduction of Latin poetry and the composition of syllabic or so-called 'rhythmical' hymns in Latin by Irish authors led to the adoption of strictly syllabic metres, with rhyme as well as alliteration, for vernacular verse from the seventh century onwards. But the old rhythmical form continued to be used alongside the new syllabic metres for centuries to come. Besides, there are certain poems which contain some features of both types of verse and in this sense belong to the period of transition between the old accentual verse and the new syllabic metres. These poems belong to the old tradition of accentual verse in the rhythm and irregular length of the lines. But the binding and decorative functions formerly served by alliteration are now ever more fully taken over by rhyme. This type of rhymed alliterative accentual verse continued to be used alongside the syllabic metres from the seventh to the ninth century⁵.

In seventh-century Ireland, therefore, there were two main types of vernacular Irish verse: the old "rudely rhythmical" unrhymed alliterative verse, which continued to be cultivated in secular and ecclesiastical literature until the ninth century, and the new syllabic verse which used rhyme and alliteration as its chief ornaments. A transitional stage in the development of the new metres is witnessed in certain poems which are still basically rhythmical rather than syllabic, but which show an incipient use of rhyme and a more sparing use of alliteration. I suggest that *Sacratissimi martyres* and the many other rhythmical pieces contained in the Antiphonary of Bangor are structural imitations of those poems which we have classed as transitional. They are rhythmical, not syllabic, compositions and they show that incipient use of rhyme and more sparing use of alliteration which characterize the vernacular poems. They offer us a new hitherto, unsuspected, aspect of that encounter and interaction between the native Irish tradition and the new Christian Latin culture which resulted in the distinctive Irish type of Christian life and spirituality in the seventh century.

The hymn *Sacratissimi martyres* must be considered as rhythmical verse in the sense of the early tradition of Irish vernacular poetry. The number of syllables in each line is not "mostly twelve", as Meyer claimed for his corrected version; it is either eleven (9 lines), or twelve (10 lines), or thirteen (9 lines), but there are also lines of fourteen and fifteen syllables. In the Irish prototype each short line had two or three stressed feet – the number varied even within the same poem. In *Sacratissimi martyres* each half-line has two stresses, apart from a few which appear to have three stresses. A greater variety of rhythmical patterns is possible in Latin than in Irish, in which the stress must fall on the first syllable and in which a line could not begin with a rhythmical anapaest. In *Sacratissimi martyres*, on the other hand, the most prevalent rhythmical beat is the anapaestic; this

⁵ Examples are given by G. Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford 1956), p. xvi, and by J. Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual Poems', *Ériu* 22 (1971) 23–80.

is particularly marked in the first stanza. But it cannot have been the author's intention to construct his hymn of "anapaestic feet". This rhythm came to him implicitly in his very choice of the majestic words of the opening lines, words which express in superlative fashion the depth of his own feelings for the martyrs:

Sacratissimi mártýres súmmi déi,
bellatóres fortíssimi Christi régis,
potentíssimi dúces exércitus déi,
victóres in caélis déo canéntes: allelúia.

This anapaestic beat is only one of many varieties of strict rhythmical feet (iambic, trochaic ...) used in the course of the hymn. This variety does not destroy the overall unity of the hymn, which goes forward on the basic rhythm, which even we today can appreciate in reading it, of two stresses in each half-line. Another feature of the Irish prototype which we find also in our hymn is the use of a line of slightly different build, in our case the refrain, to mark off sections of the hymn. Again, as in the Irish model, the line ends with a trochaic cadence (—); the exceptions here are *glória*, *saéculo* (5, 2-3), *mártýres*, *víncerent* (6, 2-3). The absence of rhyme is an indication that the hymn was written in the sixth century rather than in the seventh.

From the point of view of its content, the hymn is also well situated in the Irish context. In contrast to other Latin hymns in honour of the martyrs, there are no detailed references in it to the historical existence or to the sufferings of the martyrs. This is significant in view of the absence of martyrdom from the experience of the early Irish Church. The hymn is one in praise of the martyrs, but it is much more a hymn in praise of Christ and of his power as manifested in the heroic fidelity of the martyrs. In his opening words the author expresses his admiration for the martyrs, their fortitude and power, but then he immediately turns his attention to Christ. The Lord is now glorified and surrounded by choirs of angels and martyrs, but he was the first to suffer and he gave his apostles the strength to follow him and be crucified along with him. He is the strength of the martyrs; he gives them the Holy Spirit, so that they may remain steadfast in the struggle and finally share in the reign of Christ and obtain the crown which awaits them.

Sacratissimi martyres is a striking witness to the veneration of the martyrs in the early Irish Church. It mirrors for us in the clearest light the thoughts and aspirations of the Irish monastic movement of the early period, revealing the source of its strength and the goal to which it aspired. Its spirit and even its language is well summarized in Columban's *Epist.* 5, 17.

De caetero, sancte papa et fratres, orate pro me, vilissimo peccatore, et meis comperegrinis, iuxta loca sancta et sanctorum cineres et praecipue iuxta Petrum et Paulum, viros

similiter et magnos magni regis duces ac fortissimos campi felicissimi bellatores, dominum crucifixum cum cruore sequentes, ut mereamur Christo haerere . . .⁶

God the Father is a remote figure, *Deus summus*, hidden behind the halo of glory which surrounds Christ the King. Christ is the most exalted King, *Christus Deus* (stanzas 2, 8, 9), surrounded by the radiant choir of angels and martyrs. His passion and death, his resurrection and ascension were a magnificent triumph, not only for himself but also for his followers. His glory does not remove him from his disciples. On the contrary, they share in his victory, carry on the battle against death and the devil, as God's army in the world, are strengthened by him through the Holy Spirit, until, finally, in total fidelity to the faith (*fides trinitatis*), they reign with him in glory.

The victory of the apostles and of the other martyrs was achieved through a struggle comparable to that of Christ, through spiritual armour, strength and fidelity. There is not a word here about the martyrs' love for Christ, or about salvation and holiness. Rather, the martyrs are *fortified* by Christ and by the Holy Spirit so that they may crush the devil and march victoriously through death into glory.

This aspect of Christian existence, the spiritual combat, appealed in a marked degree to the Irish monastic spirit. The *red martyrdom* of the apostles and other martyrs was replaced by the *white martyrdom* of "renunciation of all things for the love of God" and by the *green martyrdom* of "mortification of their desires by privations and hardships in order to repent and do penance"⁷. The mystical aspirations of Irish monasticism are apparent in the writings of Columban, but the spiritual combat, with its arms of prayer and penance, was regarded as the great way to perfection and glory.

In conclusion, *Sacratissimi martyres* is a distinctively Irish hymn in its rhythmical structure, inspiration and content. Written probably in the sixth century, possibly at Bangor, it gives us an interesting insight into that fusion between the old order and the new which was being carried out in the Irish monasteries, as well as into the inspiration and goal of the Irish monastic movement of the earliest period.

⁶ *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker = *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* II (Dublin 1957), p. 56.

⁷ From an Irish homily of the seventh or eighth century, cited by L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices of the Middle Ages* (London 1927), p. 213.

Some Greek Liturgical Fragments from Q'asr Ibrim in Nubia

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The gradual unfolding of the life and worship of the extinct Nubian Christian civilization of Nubia is one of the most important developments in the field of early Christian scholarship since World War ii. That the great stretch of territory flanking each side of the Nile between Aswan and the Ethiopian border had once been Christian was well known. John of Ephesus, the Monophysite historian (d 585) had written of the conversion of the Nubian kingdoms of Nobatia in the north and Alwah in the south to Monophysitism through the agency of the empress Theodora in 542-3, while the middle kingdom, Makurrah, had been converted to Chalcedonian orthodoxy between 567-9. In the early years of the eighth century Nobatia and Makurrah had joined into a single state whose capital was Old Dongola and Monophysitism became the state religion. It was known that this kingdom had survived until 1317 when the last Christian king Kudanbes was believed to have been overthrown by a Moslem rival and Christianity had to all intents and purposes perished with him. From 1900 onwards the remains of churches and forts belonging to the Christian period of Nubian history were surveyed and sometimes excavated by the Antiquities Services of Sudan and Egypt. Here in Oxford we need only recall the work of F Llewelyn Griffith, a pioneer in Nubian linguistic studies, whose excavations established the importance of Faras as a Nubian administrative ecclesiastical and cultural centre.

Down to a decade ago, however, despite Griffith's publication of Nubian ecclesiastical texts in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, the history of Nubian Christianity was regarded less as a subject for patristic scholars than among the more marginal questions of Egyptology. Where it was studied, it was studied as an offshoot of Coptic Christianity. This was justified to some extent because Coptic was used in Nubia and the Coptic patriarch extended his jurisdiction to the Nubian as well as the Ethiopian Church. Bishops were consecrated by him at Old Cairo. Research in the last fifteen years, particularly by Professor Kazimierz Michalowski and the Polish scholars has changed this perspective radically. It has established first, that organized Christianity continued into the fifteenth century, and secondly that though episcopal consecrations were carried out by the Coptic Patriarch as late as the end of the fourteenth century, the Church in Nubia was as autonomous in its rites and language as that of Ethiopia or Armenia. Thirdly,

that Nubian Christianity produced an artistic tradition second to none in its beauty, its vigour and its originality within the Byzantine tradition. The normal languages of the liturgy were Greek, and from the tenth century onwards Greek and Nubian. Coptic remained a school language in which the Bible was read and the Fathers studied, but the languages in normal use were Greek, the language of the administration, increasingly supplemented by Nubian. It is even possible too, that for periods in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, Monophysitism gave way to Melkite influence at the court of the Eparch of Faras, though this view is still very much a matter for debate.

Michalowski's discoveries at Faras have enabled some of the outlines of the history of the northern Nubian kingdom to be filled in. We know now the names of most of the kings of Nobatia and something of the organization of the court at Faras. We have a list of the bishops there, extending from mid seventh to the end of the twelfth century with the exact dates of their consecration and death, and occasionally a brief record of their deeds. Most important, the magnificent frescoes found layer on layer on the walls of the cathedral at Faras provide priceless evidence for the artistic history of Nubian Christianity and of the life and liturgy of the Church.

The impression left by these discoveries is that Nubia was an outpost of Byzantine civilization. The iconography of the Nubian Church could be reproduced with some variations throughout the Byzantine world in the Middle Ages. The emphasis of popular and official piety lay on the *Theotokos* and her associates, the archangels, apostles, saints and monks. Images of Christ are less frequent.

At Faras there were no less than eleven separate representations of the Madonna compared with six of Christ either enthroned and nursing her Child or protecting a young Nubian prince, or both. She is associated there and elsewhere, where frescoes have been found with the archangels Michael and Gabriel, occasionally Uriel and personages taken from the Apocryphal Gospels especially St Anne, whose beautiful portrait from the eighth century layer at Faras is known as one of the masterpieces among the paintings there. Of the Apostles, Peter and John are the most frequent, the Magi, the Three Hebrew Children in the fiery furnace, then the soldier-martyrs venerated in Egypt especially Mercurius and George, and finally the doctors of the Church honoured in Monophysite environments, Ignatius of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Basil and Epiphanius, and finally monks, especially Arab, Amone and Onophrios from Upper Egypt. Curiously enough, the leaders of the Egyptian Church, Athanasius, Cyril and Dioscorus do not appear to figure.

This in itself suggests a liturgy, Monophysite certainly, but not slavishly beholden to Coptic models. This is further indicated by the manuscript discoveries made in the other important ecclesiastical site in northern Nubia, Q'asr Ibrim. This was a relatively small (30 acre) rocky fortress standing some 210 feet above the 1963 level of the Nile on the east bank of the river.

It was, however, the seat of a bishop and probably of an eparch as well.¹ In the latest period of Nubian history it was the centre of a semi-autonomous Christian kingdom. From Pharaonic and through Meroitic times, it had been regarded as a sacred place, and perhaps also as an administrative centre. It was occupied briefly by the Romans under the Prefect of Egypt, Petronius, in 23 BC, and evidence of that occupation has come to light in the form of military lists, remains of letters in Latin and 40 fragments of Homer's *Odyssey* (Petronius' library?) found by the writer of this note in March 1974 working with Rev Professor J M Plumley for the Egypt Exploration Society. After the conversion of Nubia to Christianity, Q'asr Ibrim was the site of the only known stonebuilt cathedral in Nubia, dating probably to the second half of the seventh century. It was an imposing building measuring 29.50 m × 20 m, its central nave flanked by six granite columns and two side aisles delimited by finely constructed stone arcades. The cathedral was in use down to the end of the fourteenth century, if not beyond. One incident in its long life may bear on the finds of liturgical material made during the 1963–4 season of excavation under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. In 1172 during a war between the Nubians and the recently established Agyubite dynasty in Egypt, the Egyptians led by Saladin's brother, Shams ed-Doula advanced south from Aswan, and took and sacked Ibrim. We are told by Arab chroniclers that large numbers of Christians were captured and the church desecrated and turned into a mosque. Soon after 1175 the Moslems withdrew, but the finds made in the cathedral seem to point to the results of the desecration.

On Christmas Day 1963, Sayed Ali el Koholy, the Inspector from the Egyptian Antiquities Service attached to the expedition, found a small bundle of assorted manuscript fragments deep in a deposit above the stone floor of the cathedral. Between then and 4 January 1964 about 100 fragments of all shapes and sizes, including some almost complete pages of parchment were found in an area near the middle of the cathedral between the pulpit and the flight of steep steps leading to the raised apse above the sanctuary enclosure. Some other fragments were found, however, among the debris that had accumulated on the steps leading down into the north crypt, which had been sealed by flagstones laid down in what appears to have been the final repair to the cathedral.

All the manuscripts recovered had been either torn up or burnt, and sometimes both. They were scattered over a level about 2–3 cm, above the stone floor of the cathedral in accumulated light, windblown silt, betokening perhaps a period of abandonment as a Christian building. When the Christians reoccupied and repaired the cathedral, the fragments had been covered

¹ See the successive reports by J. M. Plumley published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1963–70 on the progress of the work at Q'asr Ibrim, and the writer's report on the 1963–4 excavations in *Acta*, VII Congress of Christian Archaeology (Trier 1965), Roma 1968, pp 531–8.

by a further thin layer of silt. No effort was made to recover and restore them. They lay as they had been scattered until found by the excavators.

Greek and Nubian fragments lay intermingled in about equal numbers, each accounting for some 25 separate documents. There were a very few Coptic and one Arabic fragment. The Greek fragments represented three types of document – (a) Liturgical fragments from a Eucharistic sequence based on the Liturgy of St Mark. (b) A homily (?) based on a Birth-narrative of Jesus. (c) Fragments of two *Acta Martyrum*, namely of St Mercurius and St George.

Here we publish one fragment of a Eucharistic sequence, including prayers of Thanksgiving and Dismissal at the end of the service. The whole series of Greek liturgical fragment from Q'asr Ibrim will be published by the writer for the Egypt Exploration Society in *Texts from Excavations* (ed. T. G. H. James).

Prayers of Thanksgiving and Dismissal²

This was the longest liturgical fragment found in the cathedral, comprising thirty lines of text on one side and twenty eight on the other. It came from the area between the east edge of the pulpit and the sanctuary area (*haikal*), lying like other similar fragments among soft, windblown debris a centimetre or two above the stone floor of the church.

The text of the prayers seems to have been taken down at dictation, and though the meaning is generally clear, little attention was paid by the scribe to grammar; the articles are sometimes joined to the nouns they govern, and some curious mistakes of orthography occur. *Omicron* and *omega* appear to be used indiscriminately in case endings. Some obvious errors may be pointed out: In line 5 *recto*, the scribe has written *παραισθᾶναι* for *παρασταθῆναι*. On line 12 the curious *επιτηγμων* must be a corruption of *επιτιμων*. And on line 21 *απολυσαι τον θανατον* should surely read *απολυσαι των αθανατων*. Though it might be possible to pray to “release the congregation from death”, it is more likely that the intercession is directed to “enjoying the immortal and heavenly mysteries of the holy body and honoured blood”. On *verso*, line 2 has *εφερων* instead of *εφορων*, line 20–21 *κατ'αξιων* must read *καταξιοςον*, line 24 for *δυνμος* read *δυναμειν*. The last word of the *verso* page, *μισταποδοσι[αν]* must be a corruption for *μισθαποδοσιαν*. Yet, much of the text is reasonably easy to read and follow, and the general meaning could not have been lost on the congregation.

The sequence consists of –

- (a) The conclusion of a prayer referring to “the mystery”(?) (*recto* line 1).
- (b) Prayers of Thanksgiving for the Communion followed by Petitions. Un-

² I am most grateful for the help given me by Dr. J. Zizoulas, Senior Lecturer in Systematic Theology, University of Glasgow.

fortunately, the page has been torn in such a way that it is not clear whether line 3 has *metalepsis* or *analepsis*, but two short prayers follow. One gives thanks for the privilege of "standing in front of the sanctuary and performing this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice". In the second, petitionary prayer, grace is prayed for, and the favour of spending the rest of life in peace and love (lines 3–15).

(c) Another rubric follows (line 16); this time it is clear that the prayers come after the *analepsis*, ie the uplifting of the gifts from the altar. Thanks are again given that the people have been privileged to bring their bloodless sacrifice to the sanctuary and to be partakers in the heavenly mystery of the holy body and honoured blood of Christ (lines 16–23). As in (b) this is followed by a short petitionary prayer (lines 23–28) for forgiveness of sins and Christ's protection. A strict balance between thanksgiving and petition may be observed in this part of the service preceding the Inclination and Dismissal.

(d) In the rubric that follows (lines 28–29), the priest is instructed to say, "Through whom and with whom" aloud and to stretch forth his hands in absolution (the *chirothesia*). Then comes the Inclination where the people bow their heads and the priest begins a long prayer opening with a quotation from Isaiah 57.5 followed by Ps 112. 4. "O holy One, who resteth in the holy places, highest in the highest". These final words are separated from the first words continuing the quotation on the next page by a stop.

(e) The whole *verso* is occupied by the continuation of this long prayer. This includes petitions for the continuance of divine favour and mercy, and for the congregation for increase of faith, blessing on works done with hands, the answering of prayers, increase of family and wise counsel according to age, and safeguard from all perils and guidance into all good works.

The sequence presents a number of problems. Unlike most Nubian liturgical pieces these texts bear no resemblance to corresponding parts of the liturgy of St Mark. The nearest analogy to the sequence (a) to (c), seems to be the Byzantine rite of St Basil, where the prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion resembles our texts (See Brightman, p 329)³. There is also a similarity to the fragment of a prayer contained in Heidelberg Papyrus No 2, lines 35–51 (lines 39–44 missing), published by Hans Lietzmann with another Greek liturgical papyrus, Berlin Pap. 13918⁴. This is a prayer recited before the Inclination without, however, as Lietzmann points out, having a clear relationship to the Communion. It includes, like our Nubian text, the invocation of God as "almighty", rather than as "Lord" as in Basil, but it omits the terms "all holy" and "lifegiving" in describing the "body of Christ". It also adds a petition for confirming hope of salvation not found in

³ Publ. in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies eastern and western*, Oxford 1896, p 342.

⁴ "Ein liturgischer Papyrus des Berliner Museums", in *Kleine Schriften* iii (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 74, Berlin 1962), pp 56–70.

the Nubian text, while the latter adds a reference to "the sanctuary" (line 19) that is not included in the surviving fragment of the Heidelberg text.

The long petitionary prayer occupying the *verso* of our fragment bears a general resemblance to the prayer in the Berlin papyrus, with the same words and phrases occurring in each. Both are recited after the Inclination. The opening word of the Nubian *verso* "κατοικων" is almost certainly from a quotation from Ps 112 verse 4 (LXX), and is found in Berlin papyrus, lines 7 and 8, though the Nubian scribe has misunderstood the context by putting a stop after *νηλοις* at the end of the preceding page. The quotation is used in the Jacobite liturgy (Brightman, p 44, line 11) where it is also associated with the Inclination, but earlier in the service than our text seems to be. In line 4 of the Nubian, *τον αυχενα ταις καρδιας κ(αι) [του σω]ματ[ος]*=Berlin, line 9; and the phrase, *κλινον το ους σου* occurs in Berlin papyrus line 10, and Nubian text line 9. The petitions however, in lines 11–12 are the same as those contained in the Heidelberg papyrus, line 10, i.e. they precede the deacon's command to the people to stand, and bow their head to the Lord (Heidelberg, line 51). Whereas, in the Heidelberg prayer, the petitions lead to the end of the prayer, the Nubian prayer omits "through the only begotten Son", after "giving" (line 12) and moves straight on to further petitions. The words and petitions of the remainder seem to be taken from a number of sources, particularly from the opening prayer of the Liturgy of St Mark, (Brightman, p 113–4). Though the sequence of ideas flows logically, no exact parallel to this prayer can be found and none of the early Greek liturgies seem to have had so long a prayer at dismissal.

Abbreviations:

The abbreviations of the nomina sacra in the text, $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ for *κυριε*, $\overline{\chi\nu}$ for *χριστον*, $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ for *θεος*, *φιλανε* for *φιλανθρωπε* correspond to normal Byzantine usage. *και* is nearly always abbreviated as *K*, or *ζ*.

Punctuation and Accentuation:

The Nubians used two colours of ink, black and red, in writing their liturgical documents. Occasionally in documents of special value and for illumination, green and blue would also be used. The document published here shows a fairly elaborate system of punctuation using red and black ink. Major divisions, eg to indicate the beginning of a prayer are shown by four dots using both colours arranged thus : :, as on line 8 *recto*. The usual sign for the end of a period or at the end of an abbreviation is the colon. Other breaks or pauses are marked by two horizontal dots, usually the black preceding the red.

The same symbol is used to accentuate vowels which are usually marked, whether they stand as the first or second syllable of a word. No capital letters are used. Elisions are not often indicated, but *κατ'ᾱξιῶσας* occurs on *recto* line 18. Much further work needs to be done on the Nubian use of

points and accents in their liturgical work. Have these, for instance, any notational significance? Do they provide any clue how the liturgy was said or sung?

The text and translation is reproduced.

Practically a whole page, torn at the top and down the side. Brownish paper. L. 18.5 cm. W. 13.7 cm. Written on both sides in clear hand. Nubian style hand. Margins, *recto* 1 cm. and 1.7 cm.; *verso* 2 cm. and 1 cm. Letters 0.30 cm. *recto* and 0.35 cm. *verso*.

Recto 28–37 letters on each line

- 17 letters]ους δ[6 letters] στηριον
 χαριτη] και οικτειρμοις:: εκφ(ωνως):
 . . .]μετα τη[ν α]ναλημψις: ευχαριστουμεν
 σοι] κ(υρι)ε ο Θ(εο)ς ο παντωκρᾶτωρ οτι ἀναξιους ἡμας
 5 ο]ντας ·· ἀξιους ἀπειργασω του παραισθαναι το^{η(sic)}
 αγιῶς σ(ο)ν θυσιαστηριῷ ·· κ(αι) της μεταλημψεως
 του πανᾶγιον κ(αι) ζωῶποιον κ(αι) σωματος κ(αι) του αιματος
 του μονογεννου σου Υ(ι)ου: δεῶμεθα και παρακα
 λουμεν σε ·· ἀμεταμεληται γενεσθαι τα κατ' ἡμας
 10 χαρισματα ·· οικειους ἡμας τη ἀγαθοτητα σου:
 οικονομῆσον την ζωην ἡμων προς το(υ)ς συμ
 φῶρον ο προς πιστιν ἐπι την μων ·· κ(αι) χαρισαι ἡ
 μιν το ὑπολοιπον ταις ἡμερας διηλθην ἀνα
 μαρτητους ·· κ(αι) παντα τον χρῶνον της ζωης ἡμ
 15 ων εν τοις ειρηνη κ(αι) ἀγαπης εκφ(ωνως): χαριτη κ(αι)
^{τ(sic)}οικ(ειρ)μοις: ^{χ(sic)}ευ(η) μετα την ἀναλημ(ιν): ^νευχαριστου
 μεν σοι δεσποτα φιλαν(θρωπ)ε οτι ἀναξιους ἡ
 μας οντας ·· κατ' ἀξιῶσας παρασθηναι τω
 ἁγιῷ σου τουτο θυσιαστηριῷ προσεney
 20 κεν σοι την λογικην κ(αι) αναιμαικτον θυσιαν
 κ(αι) ἀπολυσαι τον θανατον κ(αι) επ ου(ρα)νοιον μ
 υστηριον του ἁγιου σωματος κ(αι) του τιμι
 ου αιματος· του χ(ριστο)υ δεῶμεθα κ(αι) παρακαλου
^{τ(sic)}μενο σε χαρισαι ἡμιν διὰ της λημψεως αυ
 25 της·^{εις(sic)}αφесιν ἁματιων συγχωρισον πα
 ρα]πτῶματων· παντας ἡμας διαφνυλα
 ξο]ν· υπο τας πτερυγας του μονογεννου σου
 Υ(ι)ου εκφ(ωνως): δι ου κ(αι) μεθο^{ν(sic)}: χειρωθεσιᾶ εις
 . . .]απολυσαι: εκ(λινε?) τας κεφαλας:: ἁγιε εν ἁγι
 30 οις α]ναπαυῶμενε ·· ὑψιστε εν ὑψιλοις ··

Verso 30–38 letters on each line

- κατοικω[ν. κ(αι) τα ταπεινα 25 letters missing
 ἔφερω[ν. . . .] ννα[. ο λαος 21 letters missing
 σον τας εαυτον κεφ[αλας. 15 letters missing
 τον αυχενα τας καρδιας κ[αι του σω]ματ[(?)ος . . . 5 letters missing
 5 α σου ταις ευλογιαις λαβειν:εκτεινον τ(?)[η(?)] 2 letters missing
 ν χειρα την ἀορατον την πλήρης ἔλεους [των
 οικτειρμων κ(αι) τας βράχιόνας σου τον ὕψη[λο
 ν· κ(αι) ευλογησον αυτους και τας ου(ρανι)ου(ς) ευλογια[ς
 κλινον αυτοις ταχεινον το ους σου κ(αι) επα
 10 κουσιν αυτων· τα σᾶ νοειν· τα σᾶ φρονειν . .
 τα σᾶ μελεταν χαρισαι τον σον αντεχεσθαι
 δωρησαι· προσθεις πιστιν αυτοις κ(αι) ευλαβει
 αν· και ασφαλῦσαι αυτω τω εις σε φοβω·
 τα εργα των χειρων αυτων ευλογησον την
 15 ζωην αυτων οικονομισον των δρομον
 αυτου απτητον διαφυλαξον:: τα αιτη
 μετα των καρδιων αυτων εις ἄγαθον πλη
 ροφορησον . . τα τεκνα αυτον αυξησον .
 φρονισον ἄγαγε αυτους εις μετρον η
 20 λῆκια . . και βοήθειά αυτοις γενεσθαι κατ'
 ἄξιον . . παντα φτῶνον παντα πειρασμον·
 (νας) πασαν ἐπιβουλην πονηραν εκδιωξιῶσαν
 απ αυτον· περιχαρᾶκωσον αυτους ταις ἀγγελ[ι
 καις κ(αι) ἀρχαγγελικαις δυνamos . . τα κατα τα [. . .] σ[υ 2 letters missing
 25 μφεροντα αυτους επιχωρηγησον . . εν [εν
 λαβειαν διάφυλαξον· εν παση ἄρετη[ορ(?)] 2 or 3 letters missing
 μηνσον την ὀπουδην αυτον κ(αι) διδ(?)[ω 2 or 3 letters missing
 σιν νπροσδεξαμενος μισταποδοσι[αν 2 or 3 letters missing

Translation: Recto

Prayer i

"We thank thee o Lord God Almighty that we being unworthy have been found worthy by thy goodness to stand in front of thy holy sanctuary; and through the communion of the all Holy and life giving body and blood of thy Only Begotten Son."

Prayer ii

"We pray and beseech thee, to make thy gifts for us irrevocable, (make us) sharers of thy Goodness, order our lives for the benefit of our faith and (order) and grant that we pass the rest of our days without sin, and all the time of our life we may spend in peace and love".

Prayer iii

The prayer after the Communion:

"We thank thee o Lord most gracious that we being unworthy have been worthy to apprehend thy holiness in performing this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice in the sanctuary, to enjoy the immortal and heavenly mystery of thy holy body and most honoured blood of Christ."

Prayer iv

"We beseech and request Thee to grant us through this Communion the forgiveness of sins and amendment of our misdeeds. Guard us all with the wings of thy Only Begotten Son."

Prayer v

Occupies the last two lines of *recto* and the whole of *verso*. "O Thou Holy One, resting in the holy places (Is 57⁵). "Highest in the Highest", dwelling [in the high places] looking down [on the low things in heaven and on earth?] (cf Ps 112. 4) to thy (people) who bow their heads and the needs of their hearts and bodies to receive thy blessings, stretch forth thy unseen hand filled with mercy and favours, and thy upstretched arms, and bless them with heavenly benedictions. Incline thy ears to them speedily and hearken to them. Grant that they apprehend thy things (τὰ σὰ), to set their mind on them, to practice them, and to give (power) to cleave to what is thine. Increase their faith and reverence, and preserve to each fear towards Thee. Bless the works of their hands and sustain their lives, and safeguard their way so that they do not fall. Fulfil the desires of their hearts for good. Increase their children. Lead them to discretion according to the measure of their age (cf Eph 4¹³): make them worthy of thy aid: chase far from them all envy, all trials and every evil plot. Surround them with angelic and archangelic powers. Allow to them what is expedient, and protect them in reverence. Guide their exertion (σπουδήν) into every virtue and thou, accepting thy due service, may give them . . ."

The Origins of Easter

S. G. HALL, London

Two fine studies of the Paschal problem have been published in the last seven years. One is Wolfgang Huber's *Passa und Ostern*¹, and the other is Raniero Cantalamessa's *La pasqua della nostra salvezza*.² Their agreements and disagreements are equally interesting. We shall confine ourselves to some historical questions in the earlier period, though I hope to touch on some theological implications.

There is welcome agreement between these two authorities that the Paschal decision of the Council of Nicaea was not about Quartodeciman practice, but chiefly concerned a dispute on how one fixed Easter Sunday.³ This was long ago put forward by Duchesne⁴, whose position is decisively vindicated by Huber against the rather clumsy criticism of Lohse.⁵ Only if keeping Pascha "with the Jews" means relating the date of Holy Week to the Jewish 14th Nisan, can we make sense of the various notices in Epiphanius⁶, Chrysostom⁷, and the anonymous preacher of 387.⁸ It is with the earlier period that I am concerned, and especially with the state of affairs in the second century.

1. To Cantalamessa, it is almost axiomatic that the Church kept an annual fast and festival from the earliest times, clearly continuous with the pascha of the Jews, which was decisively fulfilled by the voluntary sacrifice of Jesus Christ. His whole treatment of the question supposes that there is a conti-

¹ *Passa und Ostern*, Untersuchungen zur Osterfeier der alten Kirche (BZNW 35), Berlin 1969. Since the present paper was written, there have appeared N. Brox, *Tendenzen und Parteilichkeiten im Osterfeststreit des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, ZKG 83, 1972, 291–324 and H. von Campenhausen, *Ostertermin oder Osterfasten?* Vig Chr 28, 1974, 114–38. The latter in part agrees with the argument here presented.

² *La pasqua della nostra salvezza*, le tradizioni pasquali della bibbia e della primitiva chiesa, published by Marietti (Milan 1971).

³ Huber 61–84; Cantalamessa 132–7.

⁴ L. Duchesne, RQH 28, 1880, 23–5.

⁵ B. Lohse, *Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner* (BFTCh. M 54), Gütersloh 1953, 16–8; Huber 69–75.

⁶ *Haer.* 70 (PG 42. 339–72).

⁷ *Jud.* 3 (PG 49. 861–72).

⁸ See P. Nautin, *Homélies pascales iii* (SC 48), Paris 1967.

num of divine action and revelation, and of human response and celebration, from the time of the first Exodus through the Church today to the end. His treatment is scarcely compatible with the belief of Huber that much of the Church, and especially the Church of Rome, had no Easter feast at all until the middle of the second century.⁹ Cantalamessa argues that the Sunday Easter was already widespread early in the second century, and suggests that Peter and Paul founded the Sunday Easter in Rome itself.¹⁰ We must look at this more closely.

In 1961 Marcel Richard restated the case of Karl Holl¹¹, arguing that the Sunday Easter originated in Palestine after the war of Bar Cochba had destroyed the Jewish Christian bishopric of Jerusalem, and that it was introduced by Bishop Soter at Rome, i.e. between 168 and 175, when the outcome of the obscure paschal dispute in Asiatic Laodicea of around 166 was known.¹² Furthermore, Holl and Richard deduce from the second extract preserved by Eusebius from Irenaeus's letter to Victor¹³ that at Rome there was no paschal observance before Soter's innovation. The crucial passage is as follows, in my own translation:

"Among them the elders before Soter, who governed the church which you rule today, Anicetus I mean and Pius, Hyginus and Telesphorus and Xystus, neither themselves observed nor permitted those with them (to do so), and none the less they who themselves did not observe were at peace with those who came to them from the communities in which it was observed; and yet the observance was more opposed to those who did not observe. And never because of this pattern were any thrust out, but the elders before you, themselves not observing, used to send eucharist to those from the communities who did observe."¹⁴

The question is, what observance is this passage about? Holl and Richard say that with *τηρεῖν* we must understand as object "the day of the Pascha", or simply "the Pascha". The harmonious relations then reported by Irenaeus are between the visitors who keep the Pascha and the Romans who do not. One can then easily understand Irenaeus's point that the observance was "more opposed" (*μᾶλλον ἐναντίον*) to those who did not observe it. The contrast is with the present state of affairs, when both parties to the dispute "ob-

⁹ Huber 45-61.

¹⁰ Cantalamessa 116-32.

¹¹ M. Richard, *La question pascale au II^e siècle*, OrSyr 6, 1961, 179-212, cf K. Holl, *Ein Bruchstück aus einem bisher unbekannten Brief des Epiphanius*, *Gesammelte Aufsätze für Kirchengeschichte* ii, Tübingen 1928, 204-24 (= *Festgabe Ad. Jülicher* 1927, 159-89). Holl's views had illustrious followers, see Richard p. 183.

¹² Richard 194-7.

¹³ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 14-7.

¹⁴ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 14-5.

serve" Pascha, and are quarrelling merely over the day. Indeed, this sentence, contrasting the present discrepancy with the greater one in the past, is taken by Huber as decisive for Holl's position.¹⁵ In refuting Huber, Cantalamessa is able to cite the excellent study of Christine Mohrmann, in which she reviewed both Richard's article and the contribution of Pierre Nautin to the debate.¹⁶ Mohrmann renews the case for Duchesne's interpretation of *τηρεῖν*: it means "observe the 14th day".¹⁷ Her main argument is linguistic. In the LXX and the New Testament, and in the early Church generally, the term *τηρεῖν* occurs in the sense "to keep, hold to, observe" mostly with God's law or commandment as object, or some expression of similar meaning. Rarely, in Hermas, does the object "fast", or "liturgy" in the sense of charitable works, or "chastity" turn up. She missed an interesting reference in Justin *Dial.* 10. 3, where "the feasts and the sabbaths" are object (*μήτε τὰς ἑορτὰς μήτε τὰ σάββατα τηροῦντες*). But generally her case is well made, that we do not find *τηρεῖν* in the sense of "to keep a festival": only Polycrates says that the Quartodecimans have always "kept the day of the fourteenth of the Pascha" (*ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα*).¹⁸ Thus the word has, Mohrmann argues, an antique flavour, and is specially appropriate for conserving a solemn divine injunction or tradition. In this sense, it took on the specific meaning in second-century paschal controversy: the Quartodecimans meant by it "to keep the fourteenth day", as distinct from any other. So the contrast in Irenaeus' letter to Victor is between those who in time past followed Quartodeciman practice, and those who did not. At Rome specifically, where Irenaeus goes on to illustrate his point with reference to the visit of Polycarp to Anicetus, when neither persuaded the other to forsake his ancestral practice, the difference between the observing and the non-observing was the difference between Quartodeciman and Sunday Easter practice.¹⁹ The "more opposed" nature of the observance is explained with reference to the immediate context: it is those "coming to them" in Rome, whose quartodecimanism is more offensive than when carried on in the remoter overseas provinces, which (on this hypothesis) are in question in Victor's time. Mohrmann scores heavily in her article, because she has done serious research on *τηρεῖν*, which is never used as the verb with "Pascha" or "the day of the Pascha" as object, the regular verbs (even in Polycrates and Eusebius) being *ἄγειν* and *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*. She also catches Richard out for his quite unnecessary attempt to magic away the dispute between Anicetus and Polycarp as merely hypothetical; he simply gets the grammar wrong.²⁰ This

¹⁵ Huber 58.

¹⁶ Cantalamessa 121-4; C. Mohrmann, *Le conflit pascale au IIe siècle*, VigChr 16, 1962, 154-71; P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des IIe et IIIe siècles*, Paris 1961, 65-104.

¹⁷ L. Duchesne, RQH 28, 1880, 12; B. Lohse defended this view in *Das Passafest der Quartodecimaner* (BFTCh. M 54), Gütersloh 1953, 114-6.

¹⁸ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 6.

¹⁹ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 16-7.

²⁰ Richard 189-93; Mohrmann 163-4.

shakes confidence in the rest of Richard's position, even though it is not logically connected with it.

It is not my purpose to arbitrate between my betters in this dispute. But I must ask whether Duchesne, Mohrmann and Cantalamessa on the one hand, and Holl, Richard and Huber on the other, have done justice to all the data. First, I have to ask whether they have exhausted the possible reference of "observe/not observe" in the context. If we are to take Eusebius seriously, Irenaeus is here illustrating from the period before Soter what he has asserted in the previous extract: "The disagreement is not merely about the day, but also about the very pattern (*εἶδος*) of the fast. For some think that they must fast one day, others two, others even more; some make their day measure forty diurnal and nocturnal hours. And this variety among those who observe (*ἐπιτηροῦντες*) has existed not just in our present time, but also much earlier in the time of our predecessors, who quite scrupulously, in all probability, held the custom in simplicity and humble ignorance (*ἰδιωτισμόν*), and have established it for the future. And none the less all these were at peace and we are at peace with each other, and the discord about the fast enhances the concord of the faith."²¹ The passage is plainly about people who observe the same Paschal day, but do not agree about the pattern of the fast. And they still do it, even in the time of Irenaeus's letter: *εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν* "they were at peace and we are at peace". One might raise the question: Does Irenaeus write this about the Quartodecimans, or the Sunday Easter observers? If *τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων* means "those who observe the fourteenth day", Irenaeus says "we are at peace with each other" as one of them. Though strictly that contradicts Eusebius's statement that Irenaeus supports the Sunday Easter²², it is not impossible as an irenic touch, particularly from one of Asiatic extraction who boasted his connexions with Polycarp.²³ But I do not think this conclusion inevitable; Mohrmann would have to, since she can hardly distinguish *ἐπιτηρεῖν* used absolutely in this paragraph from *τηρεῖν* used absolutely in the next, a paragraph which is supposed to illustrate this.

Let us turn now to *h.e.* 5. 24. 14–17, and assume that it illustrates what Irenaeus writes in 5. 24. 12–13. It then describes a situation in which Romans and visitors keep the same day for the end of the fast, but there is something which some observe and others do not. What could that something be? It could not be, as Th. Zahn maintained²⁴, the fast itself. The verb *τηρεῖν* is certainly appropriate with "fast" as object, but the position described by Irenaeus previously is about different forms of fast, and he does not include no fast at all among the options.²⁵ Besides, the Pascha is a fast with a ter-

²¹ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 12–3.

²² *H.e.* 5. 24. 11.

²³ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 20. 6–7.

²⁴ Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentliche Kanons* iv, Erlangen/Leipzig 1891, 283. 308.

²⁵ So Huber 56, giving other references for Zahn's view.

mination; without the fast there is no such thing in the Church. For the evidence, consider any of the statements by Eusebius and his sources in this passage, or any other passages relating to paschal controversy in the early Church. But if not the fast itself, then it is a particular pattern of fasting or fasting on one particular day and not another, that is referred to. Here I call attention to some words regularly mistranslated, so far as I can see. Irenaeus writes of those who observed: "never because of this pattern were any thrust out, but the elders before you, themselves not observing, sent eucharist to those from the communities who did observe". "Because of this pattern" is *διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο*, and corresponds closely to the earlier statement that there was dispute "about the very pattern of the fast", *περὶ τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας*. By what do translators justify the rendering of *τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο*, "this course of action", which is Lawlor and Oulton, or "cette conduite" which is Bardy and Mohrmann? I can find no lexical justification for it. Taken in its natural sense, and interpreting the two passages together, the words confirm the suggestion that Rome and its visitors disagreed about the form or pattern of the paschal fast, at a time when they agreed about the day.

If this is so, there must have been a passage in Irenaeus's letter which Eusebius does not quote, explaining the particular dispute which he discussed in *h.e.* 5. 24. 14-7. There was some day, related to the agreed terminal day, when the Romans did not fast but the foreigners, and notably Polycarp, did. Sometimes, one might speculate, this additional fast day might fall on a Sunday, and then the two practices, of observing and not observing, would be even more opposed (*μᾶλλον ἐναντίον*), since it is offensive to sit at home in sorrow while the Church makes eucharist. I shall add a further suggestion along these lines later. Alternatively, *μᾶλλον ἐναντίον* may be explained as Mohrmann explains it: it was the more objectionable in the case of visitors in Rome not to do as Rome does, than for Asiatics and others on their home ground. However, there is one slight difficulty which my speculation does help to clear up. Scholars have puzzled over Irenaeus's statement that the predecessors of Victor, far from excommunicating them, "used to send eucharist to those from the communities who did observe". Of course, "those from the communities" could mean "those in the communities", and this led Nautin to suggest that mutual communion was in the early period signified by one bishop sending a packet of eucharistic element to another; though he preferred the view that *ἐπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν* was a metaphorical expression for "to permit to offer the eucharist", i.e. to recognize as a lawful and orthodox minister.²⁶ Mohrmann goes for the former explanation, citing the practice of carrying home the eucharist and using it domestically, and the Roman bishop's *fermentum*.²⁷ I find none of this very convincing. A close look at the context suggests that it is foreigners in Rome who are meant. Irenaeus has just spoken of "those who came to them from the communi-

²⁶ P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des II^e et III^e siècles*, Paris 1961, 81.

²⁷ Mohrmann 161-2.

ties in which it was observed." Surely "those from the provinces" in this sentence are the self-same. They are in Rome. The eucharist has to be sent to them either because they are fasting at home while the Roman church is offering the eucharist, and they are treated like the sick to whom the elements are sent, or else because at that period the visitors met in distinct congregations, and were already united with the Roman bishop's mass through something like the *fermentum*, as a regular practice.

But the most momentous conclusion is the one I have not stated. If my interpretation is correct, then Rome and Asia agreed on the date of the end of the paschal fast in the period before Soter, though there were differences about the pattern of fasting. Anicetus and Polycarp, whatever their differences, agreed on that. Now, in the light of the letter of Polycrates about the long-standing Quartodeciman tradition in Asia, in which he explicitly cites Polycarp as a key witness²⁸, this must entail that Rome was at that period Quartodeciman. On this hypothesis, then, the opening words of *h.e.* 5. 24. 14 become intelligible: "Among them (*ἐν οἷς*) the elders before Soter, Anicetus I mean and Pius, Hyginus and Telesphorus and Xystus, neither themselves observed nor permitted those with them (to do so)." What he writes applies to the period *before Soter*. From then on, some other situation prevailed. What more likely than that Soter presided over a change in the practice of the church of Rome, whereby it adopted exclusively the Sunday Easter? In that interpretation, I follow Holl, Richard and Huber. It is, I believe, the strongest point they have to make. But they are wrong to assume that no Paschal observance existed in Rome before that date. That Soter should have made the change is compatible with various things we know of him. For one thing, he was active and informed on Greek affairs, as the correspondence with Dionysius of Corinth shews.²⁹ For another, his accession coincided approximately with the Laodicene dispute, as we have already mentioned, and a decision by Rome to change its practice could well have been connected with it. If Rome changed, one imagines it did so circumspectly, with its usual practical conservatism. In that case, it changed when already most of Christendom had already adopted the Sunday Easter. The situation which Victor documented by writing to numerous foreign churches reflects an only slightly later state of affairs. It is not impossible, in terms of dates, that the Laodicene dispute was precipitated by the Roman decision. Soter's accession would have to be early (say 165) and the dispute late (say 166) among the dates usually proposed. If so, it left the churches of Asia unmoved in their traditional position, and the seeds of Victor's controversy ready to germinate, perhaps in the schism of Blastus³⁰, perhaps simply among the Asiatic congregations in Rome. But the connexion need not

²⁸ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 2-7; for Polycarp, 4.

²⁹ Eusebius *h.e.* 4. 23; cf. P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains* ch. 1.

³⁰ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 15, cf 5. 20. 1; Ps-Tertullian *Adv. haer.* 8 (CSEL 47, 225), cf Huber 60.

be direct. It may simply be that the pressure for a decision came to a head about the same time in Rome and in the border-lands of Asia and Phrygia.

2. We turn briefly to the Laodicene dispute. Our evidence is a slight note in Eusebius's chapter on Melito of Sardis:

"In his work *Peri tou pascha*, he indicates as he begins the time at which he composed it, as follows: 'In the time of Servilius (*Rufinus reads Sergius*) Paulus the proconsul of Asia, at the time ($\phi \dots \kappa \alpha \iota \phi$) when Sagaris bore witness, there was much dispute at Laodicea about the pascha, which fell seasonably (*κατὰ καιρόν*) in those days, and these things were written.' And Clement of Alexandria mentions this work in his own work on the Pascha, which he says he composed as it were prompted ($\acute{\omega} \varsigma \acute{\epsilon} \xi \alpha \iota \tau \acute{\iota} \alpha \varsigma$) by Melito's writing."³¹

If this really was the opening of Melito's work, it could not have been the *Peri Pascha* of the papyri. But it could have been a chronological note by the author or an editor.³² In view of Eusebius's references here and later³³ to Clement, however, it may even be that he owed all his knowledge of Melito's work to the Alexandrine, with grave results for the reliability of the report quoted.³⁴ That Clement knew the *Peri Pascha* of the papyri is suggested by Fragment 33, from his own *Peri tou Pascha*³⁵, where the discussion of the picture or image owes something to *Peri Pascha* 36–7.³⁶ But Eusebius's remarks do not justify any conclusion on the question whether Clement approved or disapproved of Melito's views. It is mere speculation to argue, as Huber does, that because another fragment of Clement's work argues the Johannine passion chronology, Eusebius is describing a Melito work making the opposite case.³⁷ What one can deduce is that 166–7 is the most likely date for the dispute, though a date before 162 is possible, and slight emendations make a later date likely.³⁸ One can also see that the paschal dispute was connected with the martyrdom of the Quartodeciman bishop Sagaris at

³¹ Eusebius *h.e.* 4. 26. 3–4.

³² So Perler, *Méliton de Sardes Sur la pâque* (S. C. 123), Paris 1966, 19–20.

³³ *H.e.* 6. 13. 9.

³⁴ See B. Gustafsson, Eusebius' principles in handling his sources, *StPatr* 4 (TU 78), Berlin 1961, 427–41.

³⁵ O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus iii* (GCS 17²), 218. 3–6.

³⁶ C. Bonner, *The Homily on the passion by Melito bishop of Sardis* (StD 12), London 1941, 68–9.

³⁷ Huber 39–41; see Clement Fragment 28 (Stählin 216. 21–217. 10).

³⁸ See A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur j*, Leipzig 1897, 359–60. Rufinus read *Sergius Paulus*, implying a date after his consulate in 168, and Perler proposed *Servilius Pudens*, who was Consul in 166 (Méliton 21–2).

Laodicea.³⁹ I myself believe that it arose from the observance of the Pascha which coincided approximately with the execution itself, and that the writer of the fragment considered this "opportune" (*κατὰ καιρὸν*); the assimilation of Polycarp's passion to that of Christ in substance and possibly in date is a good parallel.⁴⁰ But it may have been the *natalia* of Sagaris that provoked the debate, and the meaning of *κατὰ καιρὸν* remains uncertain.

It is reasonable to connect the writing of Apollinaris of Hierapolis with this occasion, though the evidence is slight. Hierapolis is very near Laodicea; Apollinaris is paired with Melito by Eusebius.⁴¹ In the fragments of his *Peri tou pascha* he attacks those who believe that Christ ate the Passover before he suffered, basing their view on Matthew, and advocates a Johannine paschal chronology.⁴² From this, and from the fragments of Clement, I would deduce that one of the subjects of dispute was the passion chronology of the gospels. But it is not likely that this was the only theme, and it would be rash to assume that Quartodecimans favoured one chronology and Sunday Easter observers favoured the other.

Huber is driven to argue that Melito was involved as a defender of the Roman Sunday Easter and opponent of Quartodecimanism.⁴³ This is absurd because of the presence of Melito's name, with circumstantial biographical particulars, among the luminaries of Asia cited by Polycrates as champions of the Quartodeciman cause.⁴⁴ Polycrates may have been a liar at times; most of us are. But to expose himself to correction on so recent a matter, when *ex hypothesi* Melito had actually written to argue the opposite case, was scarcely in his own interests. As to what actually happened at Laodicea, we shall never know. But we should not assume that paschal disputes in the second century were simple. It is precisely through so limiting his options that Huber is led to absurdity. He will not allow that there could be division between different groups of Quartodecimans. Therefore, since Apollinaris of Hierapolis argued for the Johannine passion chronology, and he was a Quartodeciman, those who argue for the synoptic chronology must be advocates of a Sunday Easter; but Clement of Alexandria is alleged to have criticized Melito in a work in which he himself defended the Johannine chronology; therefore Melito argued the opposite case from Apollinaris', i.e. the synoptic chronology and the Sunday Easter.⁴⁵ Huber admits an inconsistency himself: Rome and (especially) Alexandria support the Sunday Easter and the Johannine chronology. Such are the consequences of trying to simplify the issues.

³⁹ See Polycrates apud Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 5.

⁴⁰ *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, esp. 21.

⁴¹ *H.e.* 4. 26. 1.

⁴² *Chronicon Pascale* (PG 92. 80C–81A), conveniently in Perler, *Méliton* 244–6.

⁴³ Huber 37–45.

⁴⁴ Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 5.

⁴⁵ Huber 37–41, who refers to all the sources.

I would point out some possible sources of conflict, any or all of which may have been involved in the Laodicean dispute around 165. First, there is the obvious issue, do we finish the Paschal fast on 14th Nisan, or always on a Sunday? Secondly, there is the chronological problem, did Christ die on the 14th Nisan or the 15th? With this Apollinaris of Hierapolis was certainly concerned. But that issue could divide Quartodecimans and Sunday Easter observers alike. Thirdly, there were the questions about the form or length of the paschal fast, which we have already discussed; these could affect the adherents of both main parties, too. Fourthly, there was a constellation of problems for the Quartodecimans, which doubtless contributed to the downfall of their practice. They would be involved, as the Sunday-observers were not, in the question arising when the paschal fast clashed with the regular Sunday festival. But they also had liturgical problems which flowed from the development of the eucharist as a sacrificial ceremony distinct from the festival meal in the evening. On this I think a little more needs to be said.

In the earliest times, Christians celebrated the Lord's Supper in the evening. The biblical narratives of the institution are unanimous on this. But so are the accounts of the Lord's resurrection appearances in eucharistic situations and such hints as we get in Acts.⁴⁶ The earliest Quartodecimans, we may suppose, ate and drank a Passover meal as they had always done. There is no reason to doubt, unless Jesus and his disciples were already excommunicate, that in the earliest times the eating of the Passover lamb continued among those believers who stood firm for circumcision, the sabbath and the food-laws. Others, especially in the Diaspora, will have celebrated the Passover night with a meal of some other kind, as Jews have always done since the Temple was destroyed. Among the Jews, it may have included a lamb in some places, but not in others. It is this latter kind of provincial meal that would serve as the model for both Jews and Christians in the second century. But it was essentially an evening affair. In the early days, this would be one more occasion like the regular Christian agape and eucharist. Pliny had heard of the Christian assemblies in the early morning on a fixed day (presumably Sunday) for reciting a prayer or hymn and for *sacramentum*, which he takes to be an oath, and another assembly later in the day for a meal; the latter had been abandoned to comply with an edict against *collegia*. This either indicates that the eucharist was distinct from the agape, and was already held in the morning; or else, that Pliny's edict could have furnished cause to replace the common meal with a formal sacrificial commemoration in the early morning, the scale and time of which would be less likely to attract the notice of the police. Now, if we assume the gradual progress of the

⁴⁶ Luke 24. 28–43, cf John 20. 19–29; Acts 20. 7. Since this was written, R. Staats has argued the widespread observance of the nocturnal worship: *Die Sonntagnachtgottesdienste der christlichen Frühzeit*, ZNW 66, 1975, 242–63.

⁴⁷ Pliny Letters 96. 7.

morning sacrificial observance in the second century, where does it leave the Quartodeciman Passover? One obvious possibility was to defer the meal till the early morning. This is exactly the situation reflected in *Epistula Apostolorum* 15, which may be a Quartodeciman document.⁴⁸ There a paschal vigil ends with agape and "remembrance" of Christ at cock-crow. But this at once raises a problem for the earnest Quartodeciman. He has learned that according to the rule of faith, the paschal fast ends on the day when the people put away the leaven.⁴⁹ But if you postpone the meal till the morning, it is then 15th Nisan. One way forward is to say that Jesus ate the Passover and died the next day, and that you are commemorating on the 15th the death of the true paschal lamb, the Christ. The chronology of this view was attacked by Apollinaris of Hierapolis, as we have noted. Alternatively, one could advance the observance, and break bread early on the morning of 14 Nisan, and plead the Johannine chronology of the death. We have thus the makings of ample controversy, and controversy in which the divergent gospel chronologies become of great importance. Previously, while the Christian Passover was held in the evening, the conflicting chronologies were of no great consequence. Christ had died, the true Passover Lamb, and his resurrection had declared his significance; what Christians do at their Passover is enshrined in the eucharistic words of Jesus, not only in the Synoptic narratives but also in John 13–17. When ordinary Christians today keep Pascha, they do not notice the discrepancies in the Gospels, and they never did then; Melito's *Peri Pascha*, for instance, is equally compatible with either Gospel chronology, as it would be with either Quartodeciman or Sunday Easter practice. It is only when a change is made – as for instance, if we were now to decide to abolish Good Friday – that the foundation documents are looked at. So there was room in the middle of the second century for dispute between Quartodeciman groups who made eucharist early on 14 Nisan and those who made it early on 15 Nisan. It is scarcely surprising that modern scholarship is divided on the question of the night of the Quartodeciman observance.⁵⁰ There cannot be a right answer. If by 165 there were any Quartodecimans still celebrating agape and eucharist in the evening, their position would be that of one more minority group claiming to be right.

Since I am permitting myself to be speculative, one could explore the possibility that the differences over the length of the fast to which Irenaeus refers in the passage already discussed were in fact another way of expressing different practices in relation to 14 Nisan. If we suppose (and it is mere supposition) a custom of fasting from early on 13 Nisan, one day would bring us to early in the morning of 14th, two days to early in the morning of

⁴⁸ C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (TU 43), Leipzig 1919, 368–9; 577–9.

⁴⁹ So Polycrates ap. Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 6.

⁵⁰ C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu* 603; B. Lohse, *Das Passafest* 44–6; Huber 9 all favour night of 13–14; F. E. Brightman, *JThS* 25 1924, 261–2; Cantalamessa 151–2 favour 14–15.

the 15th, and a nominal day, actually lasting 40 hours, to sundown on 14th, which is when the Jews eat the Passover. There could then be an easy explanation of the difficulties at Rome, if the visitors were "observing" the second day of the fast while the Romans had already broken theirs. The charitable Romans could even have "sent" the paschal eucharist to the visitors for use at the end of their paschal fast. If this were so, then the difficult expression *μᾶλλον ἐναντίον* would mean: "the practice of observing the longer fast was more contrary to those who did not observe than not observing was to those who did." One can certainly understand why the Roman bishops neither observed themselves nor permitted their own people to do so: to observe a two-day fast would mean abstaining from the eucharistic assembly for the annual paschal feast!

In this situation a change to the Sunday Easter had manifest advantages. The timing of the festive meal or sacrificial offering was dictated already by regular Sunday practice of meeting at dawn. Like the baptismal eucharist of St. Hippolytus⁵¹ it follows a fast and vigil, and takes place at cock-crow. It imitates the resurrection of Jesus Christ, first discovered at early dawn. That would not limit its meaning to a commemoration of the rising of Jesus: the slaughtered lamb and the crucified Messiah and the impending return for judgment, not to mention the new light of creation and the coming of spring, were all appropriate. But the liturgical difficulties were clearly less. Problems did remain. I take it that the complexities of *Didascalia Apostolorum* 21⁵², if one is sceptical about Mlle Jaubert's brilliant thesis⁵³, are an attempt to unravel the implications of a Sunday Easter for the Gospel chronology. And there did remain the issues later to divide the Sunday Easter observers: whether you accept the current Jewish dating for 14 Nisan, or fix the Pascha always after the vernal equinox; and whether Easter Sunday can fall as early as 15 Nisan, or must always be 16th or later. However, the Sunday Easter was, if nothing else, a convenient way out of the Quartodeciman difficulties.

But there were other advantages in the Sunday Easter. There was always pressure in Christianity to sever the links with Judaism. Ignatius' direction to cease sabbatizing and live according to *kyriake*⁵⁴, or the *Didache*'s injunction to avoid the fast-days and prayers of the "hypocrites", and substitute peculiarly Christian ones⁵⁵, both illustrate this attitude. Huber is prepared to embrace Schwartz's theory that the weekly Sunday festival itself arose as a distinction from the Jewish Sabbath, but he has weighty authorities against him.⁵⁶ At certain times, it might be dangerous to keep a

⁵¹ *Apostolic Tradition* xx. 9; xxi. 1.

⁵² Especially the second half, Connolly pp. 187–92.

⁵³ A. Jaubert, *The date of the last supper*, New York 1965, 69–80 (*La date de la cène*, Paris 1957 II, 1).

⁵⁴ *Magnesians* 9. 1.

⁵⁵ *Didache* 8.

⁵⁶ See Huber 50–1 and authorities cited.

festival with the Jews: anywhere in the Empire during the war of Bar Cochba, or in Jerusalem after it, for instance. But the main pressure must have been theological. Pressure among Christians for a clean break with the Jewish past was often intense in the second century. Marcion and the gnostic leaders wanted to weave a liberated Gospel out of the message of St. Paul, one which relieved Christians of all the burden of the law. It must have seemed to them very idle to abolish circumcision, sabbath, and most of the food laws, and still to keep the Passover of the Jewish Diaspora, even in an adapted form. After all, God had destroyed the sacrificial system as a punishment to the Jews themselves for their obtuseness. The defenders of the Old Testament revelation, those such as Theophilus and Irenaeus, would find themselves not very well placed to justify it. To transfer the end of the fast to the day of the resurrection would settle it once for all as a Christian feast. Rome's reluctance to permit Easter Sunday to fall as early as 15 Nisan is attributed by Huber to the Johannine chronology, in which Christ rose on 16th.⁵⁷ It could equally have been to ensure that even when 14 Nisan fell on the Sabbath, the Christian vigil and the Jewish meal, the Christian Easter Day and the Jewish festival day, did not coincide.

3. So far we have confined our attention to the nature of the change from Quartodeciman to Sunday Easter practice. One might explore further the origin of these practices severally, and seek that of the Quartodecimans in the Sadducean Temple observance of the first Christians, or the existing practices of the Diaspora Jews, while the Sunday Easter could derive from the solar calendar of Qumran or from the historic resurrection of Jesus on the first day of the week.⁵⁸ I shall confine myself to drawing attention to an aspect of the festival that can be easily overlooked.

We have already noted that one of the reasons for preferring the Sunday Easter to the Quartodeciman Pascha was the desire to avoid the imputation of judaizing. The imputation would be pressed by Marcionite and gnostic groups who rejected the Law outright. I cannot document this pressure directly. But I can refer to the work of Melito *Peri Pascha*, which (if polemical at all) is a justification of the Pascha as a divine institution fulfilled in Christ, and celebrated by a reading and exegesis of Exodus 12. It contains in its first part a lengthy discussion of the function of the Old Testament laws and narratives, and a justification of their Christian use.⁵⁹ The fragment of Clement's *On the Pascha* to which we have already referred also deals with the matter of Old Testament typology.⁶⁰

But the dispute with Marcion and the gnostics was only partly about the Scripture. The Scripture in dispute was fundamentally a matter of creation

⁵⁷ Huber 53-4, citing Holl.

⁵⁸ Huber 45-9 is well documented but not compelling.

⁵⁹ *Peri Pascha* 35-45.

⁶⁰ Fragment 33 (Stählin iii 218. 1-6).

and providence: Was the supreme Father who sent the Saviour Christ also the Originator and Disposer of this physical universe? On the meaning and authority of Genesis turned much controversy and apologetic in the second century. Now the observance of Pascha has more than one line of connexion with this dispute. It can be regarded as a test case for the validity of the Old Testament, as already indicated. But it is also linked both directly and indirectly with the doctrine of creation.

It is linked directly because in the time of Christian origins the Jewish Passover included the Creation in the celebration. The first of months was the time of creation, and the subject is clearly one of the four commemorated in the poem of the "Four Nights".⁶¹ It is clearly taken up in the early Christian homiletic, as when Melito begins his Haggadah with the creation of the world and man⁶², or enlarges upon the creative work of Christ⁶³; or when Pseudo-Hippolytus invokes the glories of spring and calls upon the universe to celebrate, or directly refers to the Jewish tradition that the world was created at "this season" and enlarges on it.⁶⁴ Less directly, it was present in the earliest stages of the development of Passover in the Biblical and pre-Biblical period, as a sacrifice of the firstlings of the nomad's flock, or as a gift of the firstfruits of the ground. Among the pre-Exodus Hebrews, and in pre-settlement Canaan, it was already a herdsman's or a farmer's New Year, ready to attract the myth and cult pattern of a New Year festival, even before its historic involvement with Yahwism and the covenant of Israel with its God.⁶⁵ In Christian times, some assimilation probably occurred of the Pascha to the pagan mysteries, such as Attis and Demeter, which celebrated the rising of the dead god in spring-time; and though the year begins for most northerners now with the winter solstice and not the vernal equinox, the myths and images of Easter still reflect the delight at the emerging flowers and chickens.

I know that it is the custom of Christian preachers to minimize this connexion, and to emphasize the unique quality of the resurrection of Jesus as the foundation miracle of Christian revelation; and if they refer to the Old Testament background of Pascha at all, to find in it the unique, miraculous anticipation of that mighty deliverance in the escape from Egypt of the first People of God. But if you decide to keep an annual feast, linked to the movement of the heavenly bodies and the spring of the year, as distinct from the mechanical seven-day Sunday observance, you commit yourself thereby to a nature-religion. In the second century, I believe this was felt and positively embraced by those who retained the Jewish heritage and resisted gnosticism. One might recall Clement of Rome, who based his belief in the future resur-

⁶¹ Cantalamessa 43-50.

⁶² *Peri Pascha* 47; cf S. G. Hall, JThS NS 22, 1971, 38-40.

⁶³ *Peri Pascha* 82-3; cf 96-8; 104-5.

⁶⁴ *In sanctum pascha* 1; 3; 17 (Nautin 117-9; 121-3; 145-9).

⁶⁵ Cantalamessa 13-22.

rection on the resurrection of day and night, of the seed sown in the earth, and of the Phoenix, almost to the exclusion of Christ the first-fruits.⁶⁶ I need hardly add, what is well known to any who have considered the text of Melito, that the material world receives vindication in his *Peri Pascha* not only through the repeated references to creation, but through the emphasis on the incarnation and physical death of the divine Creator of the world and Author of Scripture.⁶⁷ By retaining the annual festival, the first age of Christianity sided with natural religion against the absolutism of revelation, with the God of the material world against the "God beyond God", the noetic and impalpable Father accessible only to the enlightened elect. We do them no honour if we retain their cultic practice and ignore the motivation of it. We certainly do scant justice to the Saviour who took bread and wine as the tokens of his paschal memorial, and after his cruel death showed his disciples his hands and his side. Whatever we make of the narratives of the physical resurrection of Christ and their historical origin, it can scarcely be doubted that they were treasured in the Church as a pledge of the resurrection of the body of every believer, that those who suffer with him will also be glorified with him and will in the end be robed in a body like his when they see their God.⁶⁸

Conclusion

We have proposed three rather disparate points. First, by strictly linking the two extracts from Irenaeus in Eusebius *h.e.* 5. 24. 12–7 we found reason to suppose that the Roman Church changed in the time of bishop Soter from a Quartodeciman to a Sunday Easter practice. Second, beginning from the Laodicean dispute of about 165 we speculated upon the motive for the change in the Church from the Quartodeciman to Sunday Easter practice, and sought it in the difficulties produced for Quartodecimans by the celebration of the eucharist in the morning, and the desire to distinguish the Christian Pascha from that of the unbelieving Jews. Finally, we commented on the function of the annual Pascha in Christianity as an anti-Marcionite and anti-gnostic institution, securing as it did not only continuity with the Old Testament, but the commemoration of creation, and an emphasis upon the bodily suffering and resurrection of Jesus, which itself holds out a hope of bodily consummation for his disciples. I hope that these theses, if not thoroughly persuasive, will at least help truer arguments to show themselves.

⁶⁶ 1 Clement 34–5.

⁶⁷ Among other passages, PP 46–7; 56–7; 66–7; 79–80; 104.

⁶⁸ Romans 8, 17; Philippians 3, 21; Melito *Peri Pascha* 103 (the last 3 lines in Perler's edition should be restored to the order 800, 798, 799, as in the Coptic version).

Reservation Vessels in the Earliest Roman Liturgy

JOAN HAZELDEN-WALKER, Swinton Dene

The practice of handling and preserving the sacred species in and outside the liturgy for viaticum, communion and other devotional practices must have been as old as Christianity itself. The use of the *fermentum*, a portion of the consecrated bread taken from the bishop's eucharist to other, seemingly nearby, communities as a symbol of unity, may well date from the beginning of the second century. Irenaeus, deploring pope Victor's conduct towards the Asian Christians may be referring to this token of unity with his remark that, as far back as Sixtus, the eucharist was offered to those who followed the quartodeciman usage¹. Communion for those absent is mentioned by Justin in his Apology² which dates from the middle of the same century. Daily communion by the laity is known to Hippolytus writing his Apostolic Tradition³ in the second decade of the third. All references are associated with Rome, but apart from the *fermentum* which is undoubtedly of Roman origin⁴, it would be unwise to assert that the use of the reserved sacrament originated there.

The transportation of the sacrament was one of the liturgical functions of the deacon⁵ and remained so until the mid-third century at least. It was at this time, according to the letter of Cornelius⁶ that 42 acolytes were appointed, the number of which has relevance to the recorded *tituli*⁷. Although the acolytes took over the function of the deacon in respect to the reserved sacrament, tradition, in Rome at least, seems to have died hard. When the sacrament was locked away it was the deacon who held the key. Prudentius sings in honour of the deacon Lawrence⁸:

¹ Quoted by Eusebius, HE V, 24, 14–7. Norbert Brox gives a different interpretation to the passage, namely that the Asians were given the eucharist at the bishop's celebration. See, 'The Conflict between Anicetus and Polycarp' in *Concilium: Theology in the Age of Renewal*, I, no. 8, Eng. ed., London 1972, 37ff.

² Apologia I, no. 65 in PG VI, 427.

³ Ed. G. Dix (2nd ed. H. Chadwick), London 1937/58f.

⁴ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis, texte, introduction et commentaire I*, Paris 1886, attributes it to Miltiades (311–14), p. 168 and to Siricius (384–99), p. 216; but it almost certainly belongs to an earlier period.

⁵ Justin, loc. cit.

⁶ Recorded in Eusebius HE VI, 43, 11.

⁷ R. Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome chrétienne*, 2nd. ed., Rome 1959, believes that the list of clergy enumerated corresponds to the number of existing foundations.

⁸ Peristephanon, hymn 2; PL LXX, 302.

Claustris sacrorum praeerat
 Coelestis arcanum domus
 fidis gubernans clavibus
 Votasque dispensans opes.

and the twelfth-century miniaturist of the Psalter of Melissanda, from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, depicts Stephen, deacon and protomartyr, with the reserved sacrament in a portable container⁹. As for the acolytes, their official duties were later described by Innocent I in his letter to Decentius¹⁰. These included the taking of the *fermentum* to their own *titulus*¹¹. Through Gallican influence the *traditio* at the time of the making of an acolyte was cruet and candlestick, signifying his then accepted role at mass. At Rome however, at the time of his appointment, he appeared before the pope wearing his little linen bag as a certificate of office¹². The use of the linen bag for the reserved sacrament is probably as old as the custom itself. Ideal in the times of persecution when it could be concealed on the person, yet it must have been generally inadequate. Evidence of lay carelessness or superstition¹³ does not necessarily mean that everyone at all times walked about with the sacrament tucked away somewhere on his person. Daily communion, as suggested by the passage in Hippolytus, raises not only the question of safe storage, which he himself mentions, but the quantity required. The small linen bag suggests a portion of the flat loaf familiar in early Christian iconography. This was sufficient for the *fermentum* and perhaps the immediate needs of one or two individuals, but surely not for daily communion, nor indeed distribution on a wider scale, which did occur in times of persecution. One would think that suitable containers were fashioned to hold the linen bag or such quantities of the reserved species required. These would have been kept either at home by the layman, as suggested by Hippolytus, or by the clergy or accredited officials in their churches, private oratories and the like. They were obviously portable. Iconographic tradition from later times indicates clearly the evolution of the vessel which could be carried, housed within an aumbry or niche, or suspended from a chain.

In *The Myth of the Aumbry*¹⁴, the late Fr S. J. P. van Dijk and I searched for the earliest recorded types. We identified three from the first centuries,

⁹ London, British Museum, Egerton 1139, fol. 208. Reproduced in S. J. P. van Dijk, J. Hazelden Walker, *The Myth of the Aumbry. Notes on medieval reservation practice and eucharistic devotion*, London 1967, pl. 4.

¹⁰ PL LVI, 516–7.

¹¹ De fermentum vero . . . per titulos mittimus . . . idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt . . .

¹² For all these details and references, see M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani de haut moyen Age III*, Louvain 1951, 546 and note; also ordo XXXV, 8 in vol. IV, Louvain 1956, 34.

¹³ Stories of laymen such as the man who took the sacrament to the circus and lost it; others who wore it as a charm, are often found in patristic literature.

¹⁴ Ed. cit. See especially 27 ff.

basket, box and tower. With hindsight, I now believe that what we established for the *turris* and its variants *capsa*, *capsella*, *pyxis*, is true also for that of the *arc(ul)a*, *cista* (box). Both vessels are variations of a blue print which dates back to primitive man and one which betrays the intimate connection which he made between home and tomb, hence tomb and shrine or temple¹⁵. The *canistrum* (*vimeneum*) or (wicker) basket, familiar in both murals and mosaics¹⁶ has no such connections. It was already known in pagan and Jewish cults, but it is essentially associated with the meal element of both. Hence one is tempted to ask whether its Christian use, literary¹⁷ or artistic, is symbolic rather than factual. In other words a conscious application of the parallel, already drawn in the fourth gospel between the miracle of the loaves and fishes and the eucharistic feast, is made. Of course baskets were no doubt used within the liturgy at offertory and distribution. What is questionable is their practicability, on more than one count, outside the liturgy. In conclusion, I believe that one is left with only the *arcula* and *turris* as the earliest reservation vessels. The word for the former means a small tomb, box or shrine, for the preservation of precious trinkets or sacred objects. It was a simple rectangular shape with lid fashioned like the sloping roof. The Christian artist in Rome used this design for his tomb of Lazarus¹⁸. Granted that the form was all too familiar in the Jewish cultus, a well-known furbishment of the synagogue where it housed the rolls of the sacred scriptures¹⁹, yet the Jews did not bury their dead in the tomb of the artist's imagination. He copied his design from the familiar. His drawings, sometimes complete with flight of entrance steps²⁰, are variations of the Roman temple; an outstanding witness is the Maison Carrée at Nîmes²¹ dating from the year 16 BC. This excellently preserved temple is an enlarged sophisticated version of the terra cotta shrines which have survived from the Etruscan period, themselves small-sized versions of the no longer extant temples²², which, in their turn reproduced domestic architecture, namely a form of the gabled roof rectangular hall (gk. *megaron*). The Christian artist, therefore, not only depicted the raising of Lazarus in familiar surroundings but also used the replica he knew from domestic and religious furniture for the storage of the reserved sacrament. The earliest known example is an early third

¹⁵ D. M. Robb and J. J. Garrison, *Art in the Western World*, 4th ed., New York, London, Tokyo 1966, 15f.

¹⁶ Several examples are produced in *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, ed. F. van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, Eng. ed., London 1958, pls. 57, 60 (2nd. cent.); pl. 132 (cf. enlarged illustration, pl. 422), pavement of Aquileia (4th. cent.) See also pls. 399, 400, possibly dating from the 4th. cent.

¹⁷ See Myth. p. 27 and note 3.

¹⁸ Atlas, pls. 558, 560.

¹⁹ Atlas, pl. 490 shows Christian application for gospel books.

²⁰ Atlas, pls. 203-2, early 5th.-cent. diptych for gospel book.

²¹ *Art of the Western World*, 61, fig. 50.

²² *Art of the Western World*, 58, fig. 47; cf. 37, fig. 28.

century mural in the Roman cemetery of Sts Peter and Marcellinus²³. Texts which have survived suggest that it was a customary vessel for private reservation²⁴.

Alongside the megaron version of domestic, funerary and religious art and architecture was that of the beehive, the circular, polygonal construction with conical roof. Beehive tombs, as they were called, are known as far back as c. 1325 BC. That reconstructed from the Treasury of Atreus, Mycenae, clearly foreshadows later developments²⁵. It is of interest to note that both styles are believed to have evolved from the primitive conical hut. Examples of the latter still exist today among tribal and primitive peoples attesting, at times, to their use for dwelling, burial and cult.

At the beginning of the Christian era, perhaps earlier, the Romans returned to the significance of the circular for memorial or commemorative constructions. More research is necessary before one could give an exact chronological sequence from the surviving evidence. Briefly I note, first the cinerary urn found among *objets d'art* in the tomb of Sulpicius Platorinus, a magistrate in the time of the emperor Augustus²⁶. It is an exquisite example of the beehive, its conical lid is made of leaf-shaped tiles. At first glance it could be the same article as that carried by Stephen in the twelfth-century miniature. The emperor Hadrian used both megaron and beehive construction for his Pantheon (c. 120 AD); but his own tomb, now the Castello Sant'Angelo, follows the circular design. Archaeological evidence from Roman Britain dating from the second and third centuries of the Christian era has revealed many circular, polygonal (hexagonal or octagonal) shrines and temples which had been built by lesser mortals²⁷. Their inspiration is obvious. From all known examples, it is quite evident that these buildings were not intended for the gathering of devotees, in other words for anything like public worship. They appear to have housed small altars or shelves, and the remains of statues and statuettes that have been discovered in the vicinity of the excavations make it quite clear that these were, so to speak, 'wayside chapels', and domestic shrines.

It is impossible to pin point before the fourth century the actual time when Christians first began to copy the circular fashion. It was certainly 'all around them' in Rome and seemingly wherever the Romans settled. We know that later on imperial families who had embraced the faith copied the impressive mausolea of their ancestors; the evidence is still with us. Some sort of *memoria (tropaion)* was erected to mark the alleged site of the

²³ G. Wilpert, 'Le pitture recentemente scoperte nel cimitero dei Ss. Pietro e Marcellino' in Nuova bullettino di archeologia cristiana, VI, 1900, 90f., and pl. 1.

²⁴ Myth, 27, n. 6.

²⁵ Art of the Western World, 36, fig. 27.

²⁶ See R. Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, London 1892, pl. op. p. 268.

²⁷ J. Liversidge, Britain in the Roman Empire, London 1968, 440f. See pl. 169 for reconstruction of the Pagans Hill octagonal shrine.

graves of Sts Peter and Paul probably around the middle of the second century²⁸. We have no way of knowing what form, if any²⁹, this took. But later on the beehive shape was used for the *memoriae* of martyrs, just as Constantine's architects used it for the chapel which marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem³⁰.

The use of the diminutive form for eucharistic vessels is first attested in the gift made by Constantine to pope Sylvester, '... a tower of the purest gold ...'³¹. Popes Innocent I and Hilarius continued with this custom of donating precious towers to the basilicas during the next century. But it is only in the late seventh that the origin of the name tower is given. It is found in the *Explanation of the Gallican Mass*, formerly ascribed to St Germanus of Paris: 'The body of the Lord is carried in towers because the tomb of the Lord was cut out of the rock in the shape of a tower'³². One has only to study the diptychs, ivories and sculptures of the chapel which marked the site of the resurrection to see every form of beehive construction from the simple conical shape which looks like a primitive hut³³ to the sophisticated octagonal buildings reminiscent of the glories of the empire³⁴. The sequence is logical enough.

The mediterranean world preserved for all to see the evidence of that evolution from house to tomb, tomb to shrine and temple, cinerary urn and mausoleum. The Christians were part and parcel of that world. At Rome, then, at some early date before the peace of the church, the connection between Christ's birth, passion, death and resurrection and his eucharistic body was demonstrated in the vessel of reservation be it *arcula* or *turris*.

²⁸ For the statement of Gaius quoted by Eusebius, see the scholarly analysis of D.W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome. The Literary, Liturgical and Archaeological Evidence*, New York, London 1969, 95 ff.

²⁹ It is sometimes argued that trophaion was used metaphorically; see F. Lammert, "τρόπαιον" in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd. ser. vol. VII, part I, 1939, 663–73; C. Mohrmann, 'A propos de deux Mots controversés de la Latinité chrétienne – trophaion – nomen' in *Vigiliae Christianae* VIII, 1954, 154–73.

³⁰ E. Wistrand, *Konstantius Kirche am heiligen Grab in Jerusalem nach den ältesten literarischen Zeugnissen*, in *Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis* LVIII, no. 1, Göteborg 1952. Also A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le cult de reliques et de l'art chrétien antique* I Paris 1946.

³¹ *Liber Pontificalis* I, ed. cit., 176.

³² PL LXXII, 93; ed. J. Quasten in *Opuscula et Textus ... Series liturgica* III, Münster i. W. 1934, 18.

³³ London, British Museum ivory, English 12th-cent. reliquary in shape of H. Sepulchre. See reprod. in *Myth*, pl. 2.

³⁴ London, British Museum ivory, early 5th-cent. casket panel. See also reproductions from Milan and Munich in *Atlas*, pl. 195, 5th-cent. diptych; pl. 197, 5th-cent. ivory ...?

**« INFRA ACTIONEM: Memento, Domine, . . . » ou mieux,
paléographiquement et critiquement,
« . . . una cum papa nostro N. in fractione communicantes » ?**

J. MAGNE, Paris

Le titre *INFRA ACTIONEM* figure en rouge au canon de la messe romaine, entre le *Te igitur* et le *Memento* des vivants, depuis la première édition du missel, en 1474.

Ce titre, dont la traduction exacte serait «au dessous de l'action», est difficile à justifier.

Dans les sacramentaires il ne figure jamais au canon, mais seulement au propre des messes où il introduit, à certains jours, de légères modifications ou additions au texte des prières suivantes :

Memento vivorum (les 3e, 4e et 5e dimanches de carême, mention des parrains et marraines des candidats au prochain baptême);

Communicantes (aux grandes fêtes du temporel, addition de *et diem sacratissimum celebrantes* . . . , avec mention de la fête);

Hanc igitur (aux messes votives ainsi qu'à Pâques et à la Pentecôte, mention de l'intention pour laquelle la messe est offerte);

Qui pridie quam pateretur (le jeudi saint, addition de *hoc est hodie* ou, mieux, changement en *hac die antequam pateretur*).

Les variantes relevées dans la cinquantaine de manuscrits que j'ai pu examiner, sont les suivantes :

1 – l'omission, c'est-à-dire l'absence de tout titre pour introduire ces mentions propres, les premiers mots de chacune, *Memento*, *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, ayant été jugés suffisamment clairs par les éditeurs du Léonien, du Grégorien de Cambrai, des sacramentaires de Prague, de St Gall, etc.

2 – des essais d'interprétation: dans le Gélasien *Reginensis* 316, où *INFRA ACTIONEM* est de règle, on trouve cinq fois *INFRA CANONE*, sans le trait marquant l'accusatif attendu, et au folio 30, aussitôt après *INFRA CANONE UBI DICIT MEMENTO*, on lit *IŦ INTRA ACTIŦ HANC IGITUR*. Ainsi, pour introduire la variante du *Hanc igitur*, l'éditeur interprète *infra*, «au dessous de», par *intra*, «à l'intérieur de», qui est le mot attendu, et pour introduire la variante du *Memento*, il interprète *actio* par *canon*. Plus loin, cependant, il essaie de justifier *actio* en écrivant *INCIPIT CANON ACTIONIS*.

3 – des écritures *INFRACTIONE*, sans redoublement du A et sans trait de l'accusatif, de sorte que, les mots n'étant pas séparés dans les manuscrits, on doit comprendre «dans la fraction» plutôt que «en dessous de l'action».

4 – le plus souvent, des écritures abrégées de l'une ou l'autre des façons suivantes: INF̄, INF̄R̄, INFRĀ, INFRAĀ, INFRAC̄T̄, etc. Or les deux premières au moins de ces abréviations n'ont pu naître à partir de l'écriture pleine INFRA ACTIONEM puisque le mot *actio* n'y est en aucune façon représenté, mais seulement à partir de IN FRACTIONE.

En conclusion, les lectures INFRA ACTIONEM, INTRA ACTIONEM, INFRA CANONE apparaissent comme des interprétations cherchant à donner un sens à la leçon originale IN FRACTIONE devenue incomprise.

Quel sens pouvait-elle avoir? Et pourquoi ne l'a-t-on plus compris?

Rapprochée des premiers mots des *capitula* variables qu'elle introduit, l'expression IN FRACTIONE n'offre de sens, mais il est excellent, qu'avec *communicantes*: *in fractione communicantes*, «communiquant» ou «en communion que nous sommes dans la fraction», ce qui évoque immédiatement:

1^o l'envoi de l'eucharistie en signe de paix et d'unité dans la foi dont parle Irénée, d'après Eusèbe, *H.E.* V, 24, à propos de la querelle quartodécimane;

2^o la notice dans le *Liber pontificalis* du pape Miltiade (311–314) qui aurait institué que «oblationes consecratas per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigerentur»; et

3^o, avec plus d'à propos encore, l'envoi du *fermentum* dans les *tituli*, dont parle Innocent I (401–417) dans sa lettre du 19 mars 416 à Decentius, évêque de Gubbio: «Au sujet du *fermentum* que nous envoyons le dimanche dans les différents *tituli* (c'est-à-dire les paroisses de Rome, au nombre de 25 à l'époque), il était superflu de nous consulter puisque toutes nos églises se trouvent à l'intérieur de la ville. Leurs prêtres, parce qu'ils ne peuvent se réunir avec nous ce jour-là à cause du peuple qui leur est confié, reçoivent par des acolythes le *fermentum* consacré par nous afin qu'ils ne se croient pas séparés de notre communion surtout en un tel jour. Mais je ne pense pas que cela doive se faire pour les paroisses (éloignées), parce qu'il ne convient pas de transporter les sacrements au loin – nous ne les envoyons pas, nous-même, aux prêtres préposés aux différents cimetières, et les prêtres ont le pouvoir et le droit de les confectionner.»

Les prêtres des *tituli* recevaient donc en signe de *communio* une parcelle eucharistique provenant de la *fraction* des pains consacrés par le pape. N'était-il pas naturel qu'ils en fissent mention dans leur récitation du canon? Mais pour que les mots *in fractione communicantes* expriment correctement la chose, il manque, outre le verbe à la première personne du pluriel auquel rapporter le participe *communicantes*, la mention même du pape. Ces deux manques se trouveraient admirablement comblés si l'on pouvait lire, au *Te igitur*: *haec dona . . . , in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua . . . una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. in fractione communicantes*, «ces dons . . . , en premier lieu ceux que nous t'offrons au nom de ta sainte Eglise . . . communiquant dans la fraction avec ton serviteur notre pape N.»

Mais a-t-on le droit d'éliminer comme plus tardifs les éléments importants

qui s'intercalent entre les deux parties de la phrase à reconstituer? Assurément, oui, pour les raisons suivantes :

1) la mention *et antistite nostro* est évidemment une addition faite en dehors de Rome ;

2) la mention *et omnibus orthodoxis* (lire? : *orthodoxae*) *atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus* ne figure dans le plus ancien sacramentaire, le *Reginensis* 316, qu'entre les lignes, en écriture tironienne, et qualifiée de *superscribenda*, c'est-à-dire « à ajouter ».

3) quant au *Memento*, la même lettre d'Innocent I à Decentius permet de l'éliminer lui aussi : « Au sujet de la récitation des noms avant que le prêtre ait fait la prière et ait recommandé par son oraison les oblations de ceux dont les noms ont à être récités, il est vraiment superflu, et toi-même dans ta sagesse le reconnais, de faire savoir à Dieu, à qui rien n'échappe, le nom de quelqu'un dont l'oblation ne lui a pas même encore été offerte. Il faut donc d'abord présenter les oblations et ensuite seulement proclamer les noms de ceux dont elles proviennent, en sorte qu'ils soient nommés au cours des mystères sacrés et non parmi les autres choses dont nous les faisons précéder, en sorte que par les mystères eux-mêmes nous ouvrons la voie aux prières qui suivent. » Comme les oblations sont présentées et recommandées à Dieu non seulement par le *Te igitur*, mais encore par les prières *Hanc igitur oblationem, Quam oblationem, Unde et memores, Supra quae, Supplices te rogamus*, et qu'Innocent I attribuait certainement la consécration aux paroles du récit de la cène, le *Memento* des offrants ne pouvait se trouver qu'entre le *Supplices* et le *Memento etiam*, ou *Memento* des morts, qui se relie à lui par les mots mêmes.

Si donc les prêtres qui célébraient dans les *tituli* ajoutaient au *Te igitur*, le dimanche, la phrase *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. in fractione communicantes*, que disaient à la place ceux qui célébraient dans les cimetières, au Vatican, par exemple, dans la basilique élevée par Constantin sur le tombeau de Pierre, ou sur la voie d'Ostie dans la basilique élevée à la mémoire de Paul? Assurément les mots *memoriam venerantes*, qui suivent actuellement le mot *communicantes*, en nommant le saint sur le tombeau, ou « *memoria* », duquel ils célébraient l'eucharistie.

Ces deux mentions entre lesquelles les prêtres romains devaient choisir suivant qu'ils célébraient dans un *titulus* ou une *memoria*, se sont ensuite additionnées, et cela d'autant plus facilement qu'après le sac de Rome par Alaric en 410 de nombreuses reliques de martyrs furent transférées à l'intérieur de Rome, en sorte que certains *tituli* devinrent en même temps des *memoriae*.

Plus tard, par suite de l'institution des « stations », c'est-à-dire du déplacement de l'office pontifical dans les différentes basiliques, à tour de rôle, *intra* ou *extra muros*, l'envoi du *fermentum* tomba en désuétude, et les mots *in fractione* furent supprimés au canon. La phrase *una cum papa nostro N. communicantes*, demeurée en place, prit ainsi un sens plus général, la commu-

nication « dans la fraction » n'étant que le signe, en effet, de la communion dans la foi; les prêtres de partout pouvaient dire: « daigne agréer ces dons . . . en premier lieu ceux que nous t'offrons au nom de ta sainte Eglise . . . en communion que nous sommes avec notre pape N., notre évêque N., et tous les tenants de la foi orthodoxe. » C'est encore dans ce sens qu'entendait ce passage du canon le pape Pélage (555-561) écrivant aux évêques de Toscane: « Comment ne vous croyez-vous pas séparés de la communion de l'Eglise universelle si, contrairement à la coutume, vous taisez la mémoire de mon nom pendant les mystères? »

Mais, au propre du temps, les mots *in fractione* subsistèrent, par oubli et par routine, devant le mot *communicantes*, avec lequel ils constituaient la « réclame » de la mention des grandes fêtes, c'est-à-dire indiquaient l'endroit du *Te igitur* où l'on devait l'insérer. Or, rayés au canon, ils ne renvoyaient plus à rien; ils apparurent comme un titre, et firent prendre le mot *communicantes*, dernier mot d'une phrase, pour le premier mot d'une prière destinée à faire mémoire des saints: *Communicantes et memoriam venerantes* . . .

Amputée donc du mot *communicantes*, la phrase du *Te igitur* fut interprétée dès lors avec les multiples contresens qu'on lit encore aujourd'hui dans les traductions: « ces dons . . . que nous t'offrons *d'abord pour ta sainte Eglise . . . ainsi que pour* notre pape, notre évêque et tous les tenants de la foi orthodoxe », soit: *in primis quae* compris comme *quae in primis*; *pro*, « au nom de », compris « à l'intention de »; *una cum*, préposition d'accompagnement, pris pour une conjonction de coordination.

Les belles affirmations de l'offrande « au nom de l'Eglise » du sacrifice eucharistique et de la « communion » de tous dans la foi étaient ainsi remplacées par une banale énumération d'intentions, qui, d'une part, rendait inutile la grande prière des fidèles (rétablie depuis Vatican II), et, d'autre part, appelait comme une suite naturelle la récitation des noms, inscrits sur les « diptyques », du *Memento* des offrants, déjà devenu le *Memento* des vivants, lequel fut donc inséré entre le *Te igitur* et le prétendu *Communicantes*.

Ce transfert fut fait d'autant plus allègrement que les mots *memoriam venerantes*, au début du canon, permettaient avec le *Nobis quoque*, à la fin, de répartir les saints qu'on croyait devoir « vénérer » en deux longues listes complémentaires et symétriques bien hiérarchisées, et qu'en faisant précéder du *Memento* des vivants la liste du *Communicantes* comme était précédée du *Memento* des morts la liste du *Nobis quoque*, on parachevait l'encadrement symétrique que formaient déjà les prières d'offrande, au nombre de trois de part et d'autre de la consécration.

Telle est, contée par les textes, l'histoire du pseudo-titre INFRA ACTIO-NEM.

Roman Sacramentaries and Ancient Prayer-Traditions

M. B. MORETON, Middleton Cheney

The last century has seen great changes in the approach to the study of the Roman sacramentaries, and perhaps most of all in the understanding of the Verona Sacramentary, Verona 85. This is still commonly referred to as the 'Leonine Sacramentary', even though the ascription of authorship to Leo I has long been generally abandoned. It is now widely recognized that earlier collections of prayers and mass-sets may be detected within this sacramentary, and that it was composed of libelli from the papal (Lateran) archives.

However, I do not think that sufficient emphasis has been given to the naturalization of these prayers outside Rome; nor to the possibility, indeed the probability, that the libelli were passed on from centre to centre in the provinces, doubtless being modified a little at each new copying. With this in mind, I shall try to show how the concepts which have emerged from the study of Verona 85 may properly be extended to that of the principal Roman sacramentaries.

The title 'Gelasian Sacramentary' is often used for Reg. 316 of the Vatican Library, though the justification for this is not wholly clear. Much has been made of the supposed Roman origins of this sacramentary. According to Chavasse¹, for example, it is a Roman presbyteral sacramentary, as distinct from the papal sacramentary of Gregorian tradition.

But let us look at Reg. 316 as it is: a Frankish book of the mid- to late-eighth century². Although it is a unicum, the Index of St Thierry and the Valenciennes Fragment represent sacramentaries closely akin to it. These fragments are generally dated to the last quarter of the eighth century. Perhaps, therefore, we should be cautious about assigning any date earlier than the mid-eighth century to the redaction of this group.

The structure of Reg. 316 is far from logical. It consists of three books: but there is no indication of this until the end of the first of them, and the principal title refers only to a single *liber sacramentorum*. There is good reason to suppose that when the redactor began his work he had no intention of going beyond a single collection – part of what is now only the first of three; for at

¹ *Le Sacramentaire gélasien*, Tournai 1958.

² Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, I. 105.

the very least we must note that in each book the main matériel comes at the beginning and is well-ordered, but after this the collections deteriorate into a jumble of amorphous matter, much of which, as I suggested in a communication to the last Conference³, was first gathered together on separate libelli.

In contrast to this, the structure of the sacramentary Prague 0. 83, which clearly belongs to the same text-family, is rational and planned: similar to but not the same as that of the eighth-century Gelasians. A close examination suggests that this structure is based on tradition, and not dependent either on that in Reg. 316 or on that in the eighth-century Gelasians.

We should conclude, I submit, that the structure of the sacramentaries of this family is secondary to the composition of the mass-sets. These must have existed in some other form of collection before being brought together in sacramentaries, either of the type of Reg. 316 or of the type of Prague 0. 83. But what form this earlier collection took we must leave for the moment an open question.

The Gregorian Sacramentary, as I think is now generally accepted, was not known, at least by that name, until the middle of the eighth century. We know it best in the form in which it was sent by Hadrian I to Charlemagne; and this is commonly supposed to be its archetypal form. But how far is this true?

Many have argued that Padua D. 47 represents an earlier form; but I do not think that this argument can be sustained. Like any other sacramentary, its primary witness is to what was being done at the time and place for which it was written: in this case, the early ninth century – but where, is another matter. Its supporting fragments, however, all seem to come from upper Bavaria, Switzerland, or northern Italy. Doubtless this form of sacramentary had some antecedents. I cannot think they were anything like Hadrianum; but I do not see that priority can be established for either type. Padua D. 47 and its supporters must therefore be treated as an independent form of the Gregorian tradition.

Dom Deshusses has drawn our attention to the Sacramentary of Trent, as representing a supposedly earlier version of Hadrianum. This sacramentary is undoubtedly of great importance; but again it is of the ninth century. It might be better said that Trent and Hadrianum together may properly be used to establish something about an earlier form of the tradition.

Padua and Trent, however, together with other members of the Gregorian family, must raise questions as to the text of Hadrianum, for they show occasional divergences from it: sometimes in complete mass-sets, sometimes in a few of the prayers in a given set, but most often in single prayers. It is often suggested that the redactors of these sacramentaries may have alter-

³ 'The *liber secundus* of the eighth-century Gelasians: a reassessment', in *Studia Patristica XIII*, TU 116, 1975, pp. 382–8.

ed a basic text so as to avoid the repetition of prayers, which is a feature more remarkable in Gregorianum than in any other type of sacramentary. However, after studying these supposed changes, I remain unconvinced. It must be asked whether this is the only possible reason for the existence of these variants. More important, it must be asked why there are so many repetitions in the first place. The earlier forms of the Gregorian tradition must be brought into question.

The key to the earlier development of the sacramentaries is, I believe, to be found in the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary. This has in the past been thought to be only a compromise between the 'true' Gelasian and the Gregorian, a combination of prayers from these two 'earlier' Sacramentaries. However, there is good reason to believe that it is rather the result of a fusion of two more primitive prayer-traditions lying behind the extant forms of sacramentary⁴. These traditions seem to have been collections of incomplete mass-sets analogous to those in Verona 85, or perhaps more precisely analogous to those which Stuiber detected lying behind Verona 85⁵. This tends to imply that neither the Gelasian nor the Gregorian prayer-traditions were codified into the form of a sacramentary, at least in the Frankish and Lombardic lands, until the mid-eighth century. And this suggestion, I think, is in accordance with all the available external evidence.

The Gregorian tradition we must of necessity suppose to be of Roman origin. But what are we to think about the Gelasian tradition? It is certainly for the most part Roman in ethos, and it shows occasional traces of Roman topographical detail; but the almost complete distinction between this and the Gregorian tradition must be taken to indicate a separation in their development, and that a separation in terms of European rather than merely Roman geography. Where then was the Gelasian tradition developed? The sanctoral shows a considerable interest in Italian saints; but on the other hand, there is some fairly close textual relationship with *Missale Francorum*. It is probable then that the Gelasian prayer-collections had north-Italian origins, but were developed in the Frankish kingdom.

The so-called Gelasian or 'old'-Gelasian Sacramentary came into being there in the mid- to late-eighth century; but it was finally developed in two forms, that of Reg. 316 being, as I have already suggested, somewhat accidental, while that of Prague 0. 83 represents a deliberate attempt to bring together the prayers of the whole tradition in a single cohesive structure – a true sacramentary.

Hadrianum, we must suppose, was founded in Rome; though I have some reservations about the Thursday masses of Lent and some of the prayer-

⁴ For a detailed justification see my study *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford 1976.

⁵ *Libelli Sacramentorum Romani*, Bonn 1950.

collections which end the Sacramentary. Trent likewise is presumably of Roman origin. Padua D. 47, on the other hand, is perhaps better seen as having been produced outside Rome, though again out of a developed form of the Roman prayer-collections.

The eighth-century Gelasian, I suggest, was formed in a Benedictine House somewhere in the region of the Rhaetian Alps in the third quarter of the eighth century. It spread rapidly, as the 'old' Gelasian did not: doubtless on the recommendation of its practical convenience. I believe that it was this type of sacramentary that in the catalogues of the ninth century was called 'Gelasian'.

Between Verona 85 and these Roman sacramentaries lies a century and a half of change and development. Both bear witness to the liturgical expectations of the ages in which they were written. There is a great difference in ethos, but at the same time a manifest continuity in the prayer-traditions. The study of Verona 85, with the attention that has been paid to prayer-collections and libelli, has raised an inescapable question as to the part these played in the evolution of the Roman sacramentaries. To this question, I submit, the views I have outlined, being grounded in the study of the manuscripts and in a close analysis of the prayers, form a proper answer: the prayer-collections, albeit in some more developed form, were still in circulation in the eighth and even in the mid-eighth century; and until the middle of that century it was these collections and not sacramentaries which were the normal repository of the variable prayers of the liturgy.

Pliny and the Liturgy – yet again

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The purpose of this communication is to offer further support for an old theory – at least as old as 1654, when it was maintained by G. J. Voss¹ – which sees Pliny the Younger's report to Trajan (*Epp.* X. xcvi) as incorporating an account of Christian initiation.

The limitations of the document as a liturgical source are well known: an unsympathetic author, a Latin account of trials presumably conducted in Greek; witnesses anxious to present the matter in the most favourable light. Indeed, so anxious are they to please the Imperial Commissioner that they are prepared to point to their apostasy of long before as an act of obedience to Trajan's recent edict! To accept this claim would be charitable, but unwise. Conclusions as to the relative timing, separation, or content of *Agape* and Eucharist cannot be safely drawn from this part of their evidence².

However, Pliny's account is not to be dismissed, as some cautious writers have done³. He is reporting to an Emperor whose standards of justice are demanding. Whether to facilitate indictments or to plead for a measure of legal relief, he is looking for reliable facts⁴. The in itself unnecessary reference to the *status dies* suggests the kind of interrogation in which the witnesses are encouraged to speak freely and fully, so that the cross-examiner can pick out what seems to him most noteworthy.

¹ See G. J. Voss, *In epistolam Plinii . . . commentarius* (Amsterdam 1654); Balduinus in C. Kortholt, *In Plinii et Trajani . . . epistolas* (Kiel 1674) 122–4; Wall, *Infant Baptism*, II. ix. 9; Lietzmann in *Gesch. Studien* . . . Albert Hauck (Leipzig 1916) 34–8 and in *Rhein. Museum*, N. F. 71 (1916) 281–2 (tying the baptismal interpretation too closely with the identification of *carmen* with *sacramentum* and of both with the baptismal creed); Casel in *J. L. W.* 8 (1928) 225–32; Nock in *Classical Review* 38 (1924) 58–9; Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism* (Copenhagen 1946) 198; Telfer, *The Forgiveness of Sins* (London 1959) 51–2.

² For 'eucharistic' and other interpretations based on an alleged giving up of the *Agape*, see (e.g.) Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, I (London 1889) 52n; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire* (London 1903) 219; Kraemer in *Classical Philology* 29 (1934) 293–300; Sherwin-White, *Letters of Pliny* (Oxford 1966) 702–8. Important criticisms of this kind of argument in Robinson, *Encycl. Bibl.* II (London 1901) 1425; Mohler in *Classical Philology* 30 (1935) 167–9. Appeal to the supposed disciplina arcani is inadmissible.

³ cf Stählin in *Leitourgia* I (Kassel 1954) 17.

⁴ cf Ramsay, *op. cit.*, ch. x; Merrill in *Amer. Journal of Theol.* 22/1 (Jan. 1918) 124–35.

But how were the questions framed? Pliny did not come to these hearings with an empty mind⁵. It is to be expected that he assumed this *superstitio prava immodica*, this fanatical outlandish vulgarity, to resemble other Oriental cults in being an initiation-mystery. Bearing this in mind, we may perhaps find a new significance in the hesitant contradictions with which the apostates began their evidence. Pliny, in his irritated contempt, is quick to notice it: *alii . . . se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt*. How could the question 'Are you Christians?' call forth the answer 'Yes and No'? The people involved are not only such as may surely have fallen away in the very hour of this examination, for lapsed Christians from several years before are also of this number. The simple explanation, that they admitted to having been Christians but added that they were now no longer so (which is indeed what they finally managed to say), is a shade too simple. A plain statement to that effect would not be evasive as Pliny obviously felt their answers to be. However: if, at some stage in the chaotic business of separating the three categories of prisoner⁶, the Commissioner asked, or seemed to ask, whether the defendants were initiated into the Christian mystery, even an apostate might well be thrown into confusion. When the lapsed Christians became at last the target of separate attention, the next stage of the examination (that is, as to whether their abandoned Christian practice had included indictable offences) followed on naturally: 'Now describe for me your Christian *initia*'.

A reply to such a question would provide the only natural context for a *sacramentum* in the sense which it must certainly bear here (as in *Epp. X. xxix*), that of 'oath' or 'vow'. Its terms can be spelled out precisely: *non in scelus aliquod . . . sed ne furta . . .* and so forth. To bind oneself to a criminal conspiracy, *in scelus*, could be done by an oath, which is what Pliny suspects, to do so by a *μυστήριον* or by the chanting of a song of praise does not seem very likely. No doubt Christians preferred to avoid saying that they had *sworn* an *oath* (cf Matt. v. 33–7), but they could admit to making a binding promise – and where else than at baptism? *Nam ut milites Romani jurabant se ituros, quo jussisset Senatus, populusque Romanus*, wrote Voss (p. 56), *ita in baptisate nos obligamus Imperatori Christo, velle nos diabolo, & angelis ejus renunciare, inque omnibus obtemperare Christi mandatis*.

Some Anatolian mystery-cults imposed ethical vows upon their would-be initiates, and it has been suggested that this practice had been borrowed by the Pontic Christians⁷. It is more likely than pagan customs of such a character encouraged Christians to make the most of comparable features already present in their own rites. In any case, closer parallels are to hand in a Christian document, *I Peter*, which we take to belong to the general area of

⁵ cf Grant in H. Th. R. 41 (1948) 273–4.

⁶ cf Ramsay, op. cit., p. 201–5.

⁷ cf Nock, art. cit.

Bithynia-Pontus and to a time not far removed from Pliny's⁸. Whether this 'letter' was not in its first state a baptismal homily⁹, *I Peter* is certainly full of baptismal themes. At iii. 21 the definitive character of baptism is marked out in terms of *συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν*. However we may read this phrase, the drift of the argument is clear: baptism is a matter of moral commitment and moral renewal before God. Christians familiar with this style of preaching would undoubtedly, when questioned as to their rites, lay great stress on this aspect of moral engagement in their initiation. Their motive might be apologetic; the facts for apologetic use were already there. A more striking verbal parallel to Pliny's *sacramentum* has been noted¹⁰ at *I Peter* iv. 14–6, where Christians faced with persecution are urged not to make themselves liable to prosecution 'as a murderer, or a thief, or a wrong-doer, or a mischief-maker'. In the light of iii. 21 and in view of what we shall notice shortly, we might paraphrase iv. 15 thus: Do not lay yourselves open to punishment for the kind of wickedness which you forswore at your baptism.

The similarity between the *sacramentum* and some elements of the Decalogue has been taken as evidence that Pontic Christians of the early second century recited the Decalogue, and that as part of a Christian version of the synagogue service¹¹. Since, as the papyri show, so much Christian liturgical material has been lost, the lack of such a practice at later times is no compelling evidence against this view. However, three comments must still be made which speak against this theory. Firstly: the history of synagogue use in this matter is not as simple as might be wished¹², and need not be interpreted so as to encourage this idea. Secondly: Pliny's list of abjured vices does not correspond exactly with the Decalogue. Thirdly: a formula which does correspond with Pliny's is already to be found — in the *Didache*.

In the description of the 'way of death', where elements of Torah, Christian paraenesis (and perhaps also proverbial morality) are combined, there occurs this catalogue of sins to be avoided: 'murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications,

⁸ cf Beare, *First Epistle of Peter* (London 1947 — not 21958). Liturgical arguments for a Roman provenance quite unreasonable.

⁹ First suggested by Harnack in his *Chronologie*; developed by Bornemann in *Z. n. W.* 19 (1919/20) 143–64; Streeter, *Primitive Church* (London 1929) 115–128; Leaney in *N. T. S.* 10/2 (Jan. 1964) 238–250. The weighty arguments against Perdelwitz and the 'liturgical' theory brought by C. F. D. Moule in *N. T. S.* 3/1 (Nov. 1956), Thornton in *J. T. S.*, N. S. 12 (1961) and by E. Best in his commentary do not apply directly to the baptismal homily theory.

¹⁰ By J. Knox in *J. B. L.* 72 (1953) 187–9, who draws no liturgical conclusions, and reads iv. 14 ff (most improbably) as a response to Pliny's questions.

¹¹ For recitation of the Decalogue, cf Rittershusius in Kortholt 122–4 (an early Christian prone!); Kraemer, *art. cit.*; Coulter in *Classical Philology* 35 (1940) 60–3; Dugmore, *Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (London 21964) 105; Rankin in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 1 (1949) 27–32.

¹² cf Büchler (essay on *The Minim of Sepphoris and Tiberias*) in his *Studies in Jewish History* (London 1956) 245–274: 'Gnostic', not Christian, propaganda led Jews to stop reciting the Decalogue.

thefts, idolatries, witch-crafts, sorceries, robberies, perjuries, deceptions, disloyalties, fraud' (*Did.* v. 1). Compare Pliny's 'thefts, robberies, adulteries, breach of faith (= perjury?), and misappropriation of trust (= fraud, as conceived by a Roman lawyer?)'. There is more here than common catechetical tradition. *Did.* i-vi has all the appearance of a charge *immediately before the administration of baptism*, even if its present form is rather long for such use¹³, and we may suppose that especially the section on the way of life has been substantially expanded. ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, you are to baptize in the Triune Name and in running water (*Did.* vii. 1-2). That such a charge, or ἐπερώτημα, corresponding to the final exhortation in the baptism of proselytes (*Gerim* i. 5), would be followed by a ὁμολογία, in this case an abjuration of sin, might well be expected from the nature of the case. Indeed, evidence for some such abjuration may be found in the 'good confession' in *I Timothy* vi. 11-14, which is adduced as an incentive to shun all kinds of evil and to 'keep the commandment unstained and free from reproach'.

The 'appointed day' (not merely the 'regular' day) on which the Christians met before dawn (cf *Matt.* xxviii. 1 and *John* xx. 1, rather than *Mark* xvi. 2 and *Luke* xxiv. 1) may well have been Easter, although the preference for this season was not a rigid rule (cf Tertullian, *de Bapt.* xx), and one suspects that baptisms would be particularly frequent in a rapidly growing Church such as Pliny seems to suspect. After the baptism - Pliny does not mention the ritual common-place of lustration - which took place in the sea or a river or stream if running water were insisted on, the gathering broke up, to meet again (in a more private place, no doubt) *ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium*. The neophytes went to their first Communion, so entering upon their regular sacramental life. Clearly, Pliny asks for details here; but, when provided, since they assure him that none of the conventional ritual horrors take place, they do not need to be set out in full for Trajan.

An objection to the baptismal theory is that all this is shown as a repeated process (*essent soliti . . . morem fuisse*), whereas baptism is once-for-all. Pliny's account may nonetheless easily be read in a sense compatible with baptism. When the apostates belonged to the Church, its custom had been, as indeed it still was, that the candidates should gather on the appointed day . . . and so on. Even if established members of the Church did not come to the baptism of later converts to renew their own vows (conceivable but improbable, pace Plummer¹⁴ and others), their presence as witnesses is strongly suggested by *I Timothy* vi. 12¹⁵.

The *carmen* might be taken as a pre-baptismal hymn, such as has been

¹³ cf Molland in *Stud. Patrist.* V (=T.U. 80) 104.

¹⁴ in *H. D. B.* IV (Edinburgh 1902) 326.

¹⁵ Note parallel with proselyte-baptism; Torrance in *N. T. S.* 1 (1954/5) 151. The Elchasaite vows adduced by Halliday, *Pagan Background of Early Christianity* (Liverpool 1925) 302-3 and Peterson, *Frühkirche, Judentum, Gnosis* (Rome, etc. 1959) 221-35 are so far removed from our sacramentum as to be quite unhelpful.

suspected to lie behind such passages as Col. i. 12–20¹⁶, or consisting of Psalm xxiv or something similar¹⁷. However, in view of Pliny's own use of *carmen* as a general word for devotional utterances at *Panegyricus* iii. 5, we should prefer to see in this term and its present use a hasty characterization of Christian worship as a whole, so far as Pliny has now come to know it. He says, in effect: In their worship, in which they all share by turns, they address their worship to Christ as if he were a God.

One last point: who were the *ancillae* whom the Christians called *ministrae*? Their being of the servant class does not of itself define their place in the Christian community. That place has always been assumed to be diaconal, in the care of the sick and poor and of women candidates for baptism. Could it have been rather a ministry of prayer, like that of the 'widows' in *I Timothy* v. 5, not so much a *διακονία* as a *λειτουργία*?

¹⁶ cf Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London 1964) 149–63.

¹⁷ cf Cabaniss in *Vig. Chr.* 7 (1953) 65–74. This psalm might be the *carmen* but hardly the *sacramentum*. Its suitability for the context would more probably attract it to an already existing ritual nexus than lead to a rite being built around the Psalm. Note also the suggestion of Bornemann that Ps xxxiv was the 'Predigttext' of I Peter. Other identifications of the *carmen* include: the Anaphora; the baptismal creed; a litany of intercession (Lockton in *J. T. S.* 16, 548–50, and Mohlberg in *Scuola Cattolica* 64, 211–3 and also in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 14, 43–123); the baptismal vows of adherence and faith (Fourrier in *Rev. de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 31/1964, 161–174); a particular but unidentifiable Christian hymn (Pritchard and Bernard, *Selected letters of Pliny*, II 65; Kroll, *Christliche Hymnodik*, 1968, 18–19; Martin, *Carmen Christi*, C. U. P. 1967, 1–9).

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